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WHOLE
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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(1)

I know not who paints the pictures on memory's canvas ; but whoever he may be, what he is painting are pictures ; by which I mean that he is not there with his brush simply to make a faithful copy of all that is happening. He takes in and leaves out according to his taste. He makes many a big thing small and small thing big. He has no compunction in putting into the background that which was to the fore, or bringing to the front that which was behind. In short he is painting pictures, and not writing history.

Thus, over Life's outward aspect flow the series of events, and within is being painted a set of pictures. The two correspond but are not one.

We do not get the leisure to thoroughly view this studio within us. Portions of it now and then catch our eye, but the greater part remains out of sight in the darkness. Why the ever-busy painter is painting ; when he will have done ; for what gallery his pictures are destined ;—who can tell ?

Some years ago, on being questioned as to the events of my past life, I had occasion to pry into this picture-chamber. I had thought to be content with selecting some few materials for my Life's story. I then discovered, as I opened the door, that Life's memories are not Life's history, but the original work of an unseen Artist. The variegated colours scattered about are not reflections of outside lights, but belong to the painter himself, and come passion-tinged from his heart ; thereby unfitting the record on the canvas for use as evidence in a court of law.

But though the attempt to gather precise history from memory's storehouse may be fruitless, there is a fascination in looking over the pictures, a fascination which casts its spell on me.

The road over which we journey, the wayside shelter in which we sojourn, are not pictures while still travelling—they are too necessary, too obvious. When, however, before turning into the evening rest-house, we look back upon the cities, fields, rivers and hills which we have been through in Life's morning, then, in the light of the passing day, are they pictures indeed. Thus, when my opportunity came, did I look back, and was engrossed.

Was this interest aroused within me solely by a natural affection for my own past ? Some personal feeling, of course, there must have been, but the pictures had also an independent artistic value of their own. There is no event in my reminiscences worthy of being preserved for all time. But the quality of the subject is not the only justification for a record. What one has truly felt, if only it can be made sensible to others, is always of importance to one's fellow men. If pictures which have taken shape in memory can be brought out in words, they are worth a place in literature.

It is as literary material that I offer my memory pictures. To take them as an attempt at autobiography would be a mistake. In such view these reminiscences would appear useless as well as incomplete.

(2) TEACHING BEGINS.

We three boys were being brought up together. Both my companions were two years older than I. When they were placed

under their tutor, my teaching also began, but of what I learnt nothing remains in my memory.

What constantly recurs to me is "The rain patters, the leaf quivers*". I am just come to anchor after crossing the stormy region of the *karq, khalat* series; and I am reading "The rain patters, the leaf quivers", for me the first poem of the Arch Poet. Whenever the joy of that day comes back to me, even now, I realise why rhyme is so needful in poetry. Because of it the words come to an end, and yet end not; the utterance is over, but not its ring; and the ear and the mind can go on and on with their game of tossing the rhyme to each other. Thus did the rain patter and the leaves quiver again and again, the live-long day in my consciousness.

Another episode of this period of my early boyhood is held fast in my mind.

We had an old cashier, Kailash by name, who was like one of the family. He was a great wit, and would be constantly cracking jokes with everybody, old and young; recently married sons-in-law, new comers into the family circle, being his special butts. There was room for the suspicion that his humour had not deserted him even after death. Once my elders were engaged in an attempt to start a postal service with the other world by means of a planchette. At one of the sittings the pencil scrawled out the name of Kailash. He was asked as to the sort of life one led where he was. Not a bit of it, was the reply. "Why should you get so cheap what I had to die to learn?"

This Kailash used to rattle off for my special delectation a doggerel ballad of his own composition. The hero was myself and there was a glowing anticipation of the arrival of a heroine. And as I listened my interest would wax intense at the picture of this world-charming bride illuminating the lap of the future in which she sat enthroned. The list of the jewellery with which she was bedecked from head to foot, and the unheard of splendour of the preparations for the bridal, might have turned older and wiser heads; but what moved the boy, and set wonderful joy pictures flitting before his vision, was the rapid jingle of the frequent rhymes and the swing of the rhythm.

These two literary delights still linger in

my memory - and there is the other, the infants' classic: "The rain falls pit-a-pat, the tide comes up the river."

The next thing I remember is the beginning of my school-life. One day I saw my elder brother, and my sister's son Satya, also a little older than myself, starting off to school, leaving me behind, accounted unfit. I had never before ridden in a carriage nor even been out of the house. So when Satya came back, full of unduly glowing accounts of his adventures on the way, I felt I simply could not stay at home. Our tutor tried to dispel my illusion with sound advice and a resounding slap: "You're crying to go to school now, you'll have to cry a lot more to be let off later on." I have no recollection of the name, features or disposition of this tutor of ours, but the impression of his weighty advice and weightier hand has not yet faded. Never in my life have I heard a truer prophecy.

My crying drove me prematurely into the Oriental Seminary. What I learnt there I have no idea, but one of its methods of punishment I still bear in mind. The boy who was unable to repeat his lessons was made to stand on a bench with arms extended, and on his upturned palms were piled a number of slates. It is for psychologists to debate how far this method is likely to conduce to a better receptivity of mind. I thus began my schooling at an extremely tender age.

My initiation into literature had its origin, at the same time, in the books which were in vogue in the servants' quarters. Chief among these were a Bengali translation of Chanakya's aphorisms, and the Ramayana of Krittivasa.

A picture of one day's reading of the Ramayana comes clearly back to me.

The day was a cloudy one. I was playing about in the long verandah* overlooking the road. All of a sudden Satya, for some reason I do not remember, wanted to frighten me by shouting, "Policeman! Policeman!" My ideas of the duties of policemen were of an extremely vague description. One thing I was certain about, that a person charged with crime once placed in a policeman's hands would, as

* Roofed colonade or balcony. The writer's family house is an irregular three-storied mass of buildings, which had grown with the joint family it sheltered, built round several courtyards or quadrangles, with long colonades along the outer faces, and narrower galleries running round each quadrangle, giving access to the single rows of rooms.

* A jingling sentence in the Bengali Chhiti's Primer.

† Exercises in two-syllables.



sure as the wretch caught in a crocodile's serrated grip, go under and be seen no more. Not knowing how an innocent boy could escape this relentless penal code, I bolted towards the inner apartments, with shudders running down my back for blind fear of pursuing policemen. I broke to my mother the news of my impending doom, but it did not seem to disturb her much. However, not deeming it safe to venture out again, I sat down on the sill of my mother's door to read the dog-eared *Ramayana*, with a marbled paper cover, which belonged to her old aunt. Alongside stretched the verandah running round the four sides of the open inner quadrangle, on which had fallen the faint afternoon glow of the clouded sky, and finding me weeping over one of its sorrowful situations my great-aunt came and took away the book from me.

(3) WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

Luxury was a thing almost unknown in the days of our infancy. The standard of living was then, as a whole, much more simple than it is now. Apart from that, the children of our household were entirely free from the fuss of being too much looked after. The fact is that, while the process of looking after may be an occasional treat for the guardians, to the children it is always an unmitigated nuisance.

We used to be under the rule of the servants. To save themselves trouble they had almost suppressed our right of free movement. But the freedom of not being petted made up even for the harshness of this bondage, for our minds were left clear of the toils of constant coddling, pampering and dressing-up.

Our food had nothing to do with delicacies. A list of our articles of clothing would only invite the modern boy's scorn. On no pretext did we wear socks or shoes till we had passed our tenth year. In the cold weather a second cotton tunic over the first one sufficed. I never entered our heads to consider ourselves ill-off for that reason. It was only when old Niyamat, the tailor, would forget to put a pocket into one of our tunics that we complained, for no boy has yet been born so poor as not to have the wherewithal to stuff his pockets; nor, by a merciful dispensation of providence, is there much difference between the wealth of boys of rich or poor parentage. We used to have a pair of slip-

pers each, but not always where we had our feet. Our habit of kicking the slippers on ahead, and catching them up again, made them work none the less hard, through effectually defeating at every step the reason of their being.

Our elders were in every way at a great distance from us, in their dress and food, living and doing, conversation and amusement. We caught glimpses of these, but they were beyond our reach. Elders have become cheap to modern children; they are too readily accessible, and so are all objects of desire. Nothing ever came so easily to us. Many a trivial thing was for us a rarity, and we lived mostly in the hope of attaining, when we were old enough, the things which the distant future held in trust for us. The result was that what little we did get we enjoyed to the utmost; from skin to core nothing was thrown away. The modern child of a well-to-do family nibbles at only half the things he gets; the greater part of his world is wasted on him.

Our days were spent in the servants' quarters in the south-east corner of the outer apartments. One of our servants was Shyam, a dark chubby boy with curly locks, hailing from the District of Khulna. He would put me into a selected spot and, tracing a chalk line all round, warn me with solemn face and uplifted finger of the perils of transgressing this ring. Whether the threatened danger was material or spiritual I never fully understood, but a great fear used to possess me. I had read in the *Ramayana* of the tribulations of Sita for having left the ring drawn by Lakshman, so it was not possible for me to be sceptical of its potency.

Just below the window of this room was a tank* with a flight of masonry steps leading down into the water; on its west bank, along the garden wall, an immense banyan tree; to the south a fringe of cocoanut palms. Ringed round as I was near this window I would spend the whole day peering through the drawn venetian shutters, gazing and gazing on this scene as on a picture book. From early morning our neighbours would drop in one by one to have their bath. I knew the time for each one to arrive. I was familiar with the peculiarities of each one's toilet. One would stop up his ears with his fingers as he took

* An artificial pond usually oblong in shape.

his regulation 'number of dips, after which he would depart. Another would not venture on a complete immersion but be content with only squeezing his wet towel repeatedly over his head. A third would carefully drive the 'surface impurities away from him with a rapid play of his arms, and then on a sudden impulse take his plunge. There was one who jumped in from the top steps without 'any preliminaries' at all. Another would walk slowly in, step by step, muttering his morning prayers the while. One was always in a hurry, hastening home as soon as he was through with his dip. Another was in no sort of hurry at all, taking his bath leisurely, followed with a good rub-down, and a change from wet bathing clothes into clean ones, including a careful adjustment of the folds of his waist cloth, ending with a turn or two in the outer garden, and the gathering of flowers, with which he would finally saunter slowly homewards, radiating the cool comfort of his refreshed body, as he went. This would go on till it was past noon. Then would the bathing places be deserted and become silent. Only the ducks remaining, paddling about after water snails, or busy preening their feathers, the livelong day.

When solitude thus reigned over the water, my whole attention would be drawn to the shadows under the banyan tree. Some of its aerial roots, creeping down along its trunk, had formed a dark complication of coils at its base. It seemed as if into this mysterious region the laws of the universe had not found entrance; as if some old-world dream-land had escaped the divine vigilance and lingered on into the light of modern day. Whom I used to see there, and what those beings did, it is not possible to express in intelligible language. It was about this Banyan tree that I wrote later:

With tangled roots hanging down from
your branches, O ancient banyan tree,
You stand still day and night, like an
ascetic at his penances,
Do you ever remember the child whose
fancy played with your shadows?

Alas! that banyan tree is no more, nor the piece of water which served to mirror the majestic forest-lord! Many of those who used to bathe there have also followed into oblivion the shade of the banyan tree.

* The men's portion of the house is the outer, and the women's the inner.

And that boy, grown older, is counting the alternations of light and darkness which penetrate the complexities with which the roots he has thrown off on all sides have encircled him.

Going out of the house was forbidden to us, in fact we had not even the freedom of all its parts. We perforce took our peeps at nature from behind the barriers. Beyond my reach there was this limitless thing called the Outside, of which flashes and sounds and scents used to momentarily come and touch me through its interstices. It seemed to want to play with me through the bars with so many gestures. But it was free and I was bound—there was no way of meeting. So the attraction was all the stronger. The chalk line has been wiped away today, but the confining ring is still there. The distant is just as distant, the outside is still beyond me; and I am reminded of the poem I wrote when I was older:

The tame bird was in a cage, the free bird was in the forest.

They met when the time came, it was a decree of fate.

The free bird cries, "O my love, let us fly to wood."

The cage bird whispers, "Come hither, let us both live in the cage."

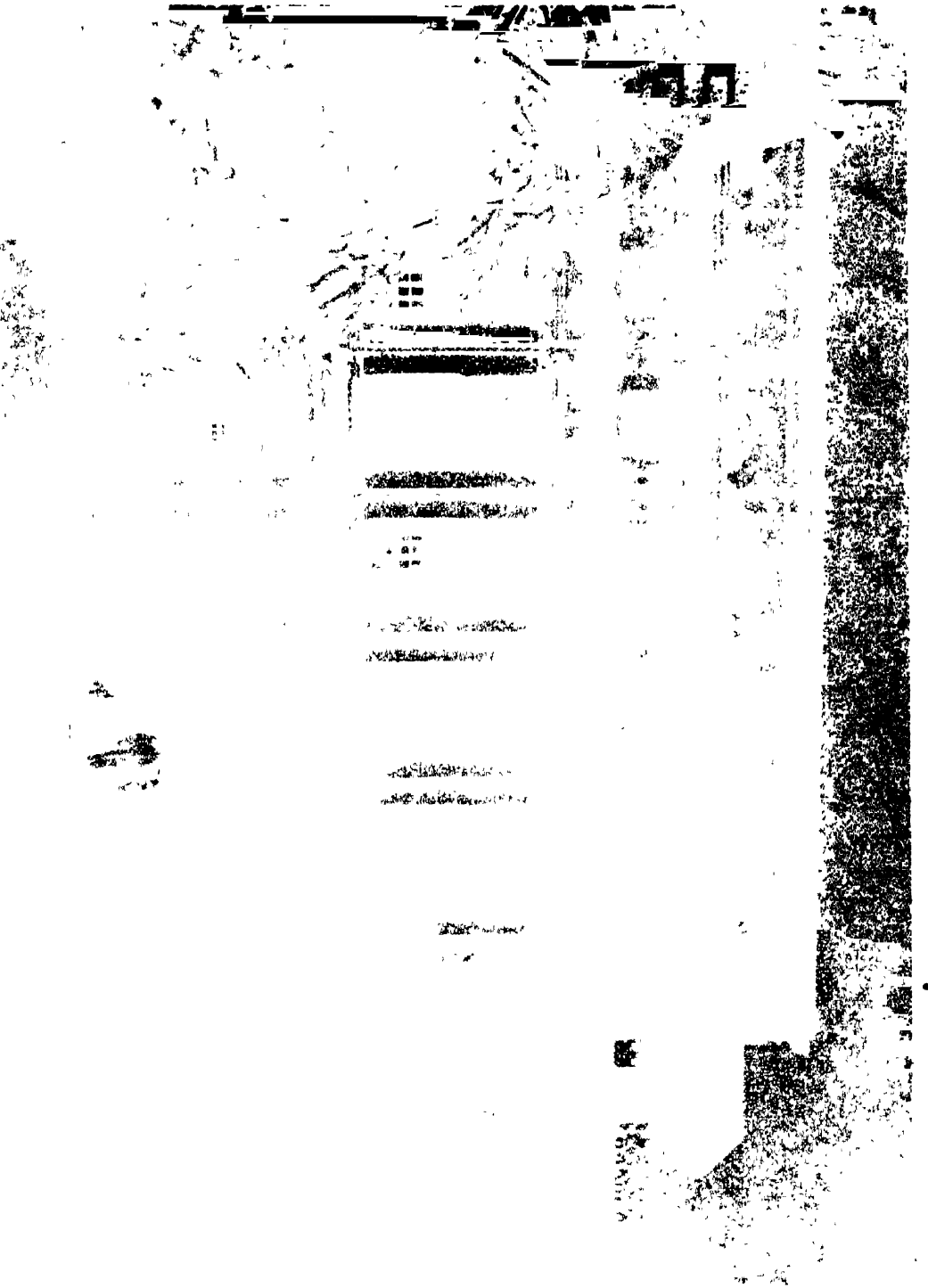
Says the free bird, "Among bars, where is there room to spread one's wings?"

"Alas," cries the cage bird, "I should not know where to sit perched in the sky."

The parapets of our terraced roofs were higher than my head. When I had grown taller; when the tyranny of the servants had relaxed; when, with the coming of a newly married bride into the house, I had achieved some recognition as a companion of her leisure, then did I sometimes come up to the terrace in the middle of the day. By that time everybody in the house would have finished their meal; there would be an interval in the business of the household; over the inner apartments would rest the quiet of the mid-day siesta; the wet bathing clothes would be hanging over the parapets to dry; the crows would be picking at the leavings thrown on the refuse heap at the corner of the yard; in the solitude of that interval the caged bird would, through the gaps in the parapet, commune bill to bill with the free bird!

I would stand and gaze.....My glance first falls on the row of cocoanut trees on the further edge of our inner garden.

SIR RAHINDRANATH TAGORE'S ANCESTRAL HOUSE.



Through these are seen the 'Singhi's Garden' with its cluster of huts* and tank, and on the edge of the tank the dairy of our milkwoman, Tara; still further on, mixed up with the tree-tops, the various shapes and different heights of the terraced roofs of Calcutta, flashing back the blazing whiteness of the midday sun, stretch right away into the grayish blue of the eastern horizon. And from some of these far distant dwellings stand forth their roofed stairways leading upto the terrace, as if with uplifted finger and a wink they are hinting to me of the mysteries of their interiors. Like the beggar at the palace door who imagines impossible treasures to be held in the strong rooms closed to him, I can hardly tell of the wealth of play and freedom which these unknown dwellings seem to me crowded with. From the furthest depth of the sky full of burning sunshine overhead the thin shrill cry of a kite reaches my ear; and from the lane adjoining Singhi's Garden, comes up, past the houses silent in their noonday slumber, the sing-song of the bangle-seller—*chai choori chai*...and my whole being would fly away off the work-a-day world.

My father hardly ever stayed at home, he was constantly roaming about. His rooms on the third storey used to remain shut up. I would pass my hands through the venetian shutters, and thus opening the latch get the door open, and spend the afternoon lying motionless on his sofa at the south end. First of all it was a room always closed, and then there was the stolen entry, this gave it a deep flavour of mystery; further the broad empty expanse of terrace to the south, glowing in the rays of the sun would set me day-dreaming.

There was yet another attraction. The waterworks had just been started in Calcutta, and in the first exuberance of its triumphant entry it did not stint even the Indian quarters of their supply. In that golden age of pipe water, it used to flow even upto my father's third storey rooms. And turning on the shower tap I would indulge to my heart's content in an untimely bath. Not so much for the comfort of it, as to give rein to my desire to do just as I fancied. The alternation of the joy of liberty, and the fear of being caught,

made that shower of municipal water send arrows of delight thrilling into me.

It was perhaps because the possibility of contact with the outside was so remote that the joy of it came to me so much more readily. When material is in profusion, the mind gets lazy and leaves everything to it, forgetting that for a successful feast of joy its internal equipment counts for more than the external. This is the chief lesson which his infant state has to teach to man. There his possessions are few and trivial, yet he needs no more for his happiness. The world of play is spoilt for the unfortunate youngster who is burdened with an unlimited quantity of playthings.

To call our inner garden a garden is to say a deal too much. Its properties consisted of a citron tree, a couple of plum trees of different varieties, and a row of cocoanut trees. In the centre was a paved circle the cracks of which various grasses and weeds had invaded and planted in them their victorious standards. Only those flowering plants which refused to die of neglect continued to uncomplainingly perform their respective duties without casting any aspersions on the gardener. In the northern corner was a rice-husking shed, where the inmates of the inner apartments would occasionally foregather when household necessity demanded. This last vestige of rural life has since owned defeat and slunk away ashamed and unnoticed.

None the less I suspect that Adam's garden of Eden could hardly have been better adorned than this one of ours; for he and his paradise were alike naked; they needed not to be furnished with material things. It is only since his tasting of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and till he can fully digest it, that man's need for external furniture and embellishment is persistently growing. Our inner garden was my paradise; it was enough for me. I well remember how in the early autumn dawn I would run there as soon as I was awake. A scent of dewy grass and foliage would rush to meet me, and the morning with its cool fresh sunlight would peep out at me over the top of the Eastern garden wall from below the trembling tassels of the cocoanut palms.

There is another piece of vacant land to the north of the house which to this day we call the *golabari* (barn house). The name shows that in some remote past this must have been the place where the year's

* These Bustees or settlements consisting of tumble-down hovels, existing side by side with palatial buildings, are still one of the anomalies of Calcutta. T.

store of grain used to be kept in a barn. Then, as with brother and sister in infancy, the likeness between town and country was visible all over. Now the family resemblance can hardly be traced. This *gokhari* would be my holiday haunt if I got the chance. It would hardly be correct to say that I went there to play—it was the place not play, which drew me. Why this was so, is difficult to tell. Perhaps its being a deserted bit of waste land lying in an out-of-the-way corner gave it its charm for me. It was entirely outside the living quarters and bore no stamp of usefulness; moreover it was as unadorned as it was useless, for no one had ever planted anything there; it was doubtless for these reasons that this desert spot offered no resistance to the free play of the boy's imagination. Whenever I got any loop-hole to evade the vigilance of my warders and could contrive to reach the *golabari* I felt I had a holiday indeed.

There was yet another place in our house which I have even yet not succeeded in finding out. A little girl playmate of my own age called this the "King's palace." "I have just been there", she would sometimes tell me. But somehow the propitious moment never turned up when she could take me along with her. That was a wonderful place, and its playthings were as wonderful as the games that were played there. It seems to me it must be somewhere very near—perhaps in the first or second storey—the only thing was one never seemed to be able to get there. How often have I asked my companion, "Only tell me, is it really inside the house or outside?" And she would always reply, "No, no, it's in this very house." I would sit and wonder: "Where then can it be? Don't I know all the rooms of the house?" Who the king might be I never cared to inquire; where his palace is still remains undiscovered; this much was clear—the king's palace was within our house.

Looking back on childhood's days the thing that recurs most often is the mystery which used to fill both life and world. Something undreamt of was lurking everywhere and the uppermost question everyday was: when, Oh! when would we come across it? It was as if nature held something in her closed hands and was smilingly asking us: "What d'you think I have?" What was

impossible for her to have was the thing we had no idea of.

Well do I remember the custard apple seed which I had planted and kept in a corner of the south verandah, and used to water every day. The thought that the seed might possibly grow into a tree kept me in a great state of fluttering wonder. Custard apple seeds still have the habit of sprouting, but no longer to the accompaniment of that feeling of wonder. The fault is not in the custard apple but in the mind. We had once stolen some rocks from an elder cousin's rockery and started a little rockery of our own. The plants which we sowed in its interstices were cared for so excessively that it was only because of their vegetable nature that they managed to put up with it till their untimely death. Words cannot recount the endless joy and wonder which this miniature mountain-top held for us. We had no doubt that this creation of ours would be a wonderful thing to our elders also. The day that we sought to put this to the proof, however, the hillock in the corner of our room, with all its rocks, and all its vegetation, vanished. The knowledge that the schoolroom floor was not a proper foundation for the erection of a mountain was imparted so rudely, and with such suddenness, that it gave us a considerable shock. The weight of stone of which the floor was relieved settled on our minds when we realised the gulf between our fancies and the will of our elders.

How intimately did the life of the world throb for us in those days! Earth, water, foliage and sky, they all spoke to us and would not be disregarded. How often were we struck by the poignant regret that we could only see the upper storey of the earth and knew nothing of its inner storey. All our planning was as to how we could pry beneath its dust-colored cover. If, thought we, we could drive in bamboo after bamboo, one over the other, we might perhaps get into some sort of touch with its inmost depths.

During the *Mugh* festival a series of wooden pillars used to be planted round the outer courtyard for supporting the chandeliers. Digging holes for these would begin on the first of *Mugh*. The preparations for festivity are ever interesting to young folk. But this digging had a special

attraction for me. Though I had watched it done year after year—and seen the hole grow bigger and bigger till the digger had completely disappeared inside, and yet nothing extraordinary, nothing worthy of the quest of prince or knight, had ever appeared—yet, every time I had the feeling of the lid being lifted off a chest of mystery. I felt that a little bit more digging would do it. Year after year passed, but that bit never got done. There was a pull at the curtain but it was not drawn. The elders, thought I, can do whatever they please, why do they rest content with such shallow delving? If we young folk had the ordering of it, the inmost mystery of the earth would no longer be allowed to remain smothered in its dust covering.

And the thought that behind every part of the vault of blue reposed the mysteries

of the sky would also spur our imaginings. When our Pundit, in illustration of some lesson in our Bengali science primer, told us that the blue sphere was not an enclosure, how thunderstruck we were! "Put ladder upon ladder," said he, "and go on mounting away, but you will never bump your head." He must be sparing of his ladders, I opined, and questioned with a rising inflection, "And what if we put more ladders, and more, and more?" When I realised that it was fruitless multiplying ladders I remained dumbfounded pondering over the matter. Surely, I concluded, such an astounding piece of news must be known only to those who are the world's schoolmasters!

(To be continued.)

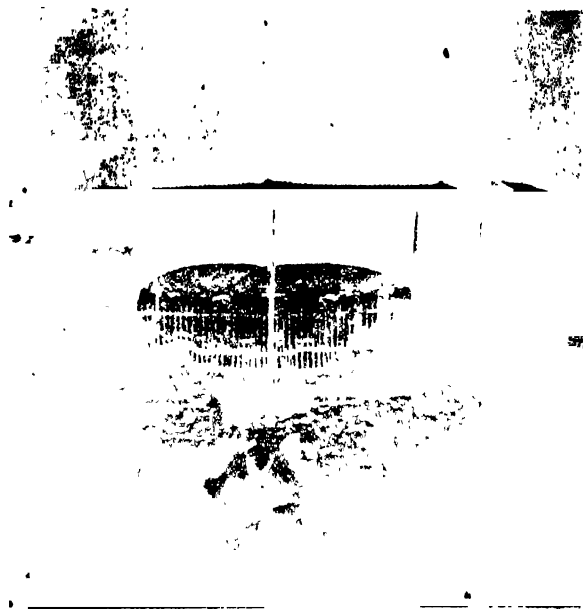
Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

RAJGIR OR RAJAGRIHA.

MRS. MABEL HOLMWOOD.

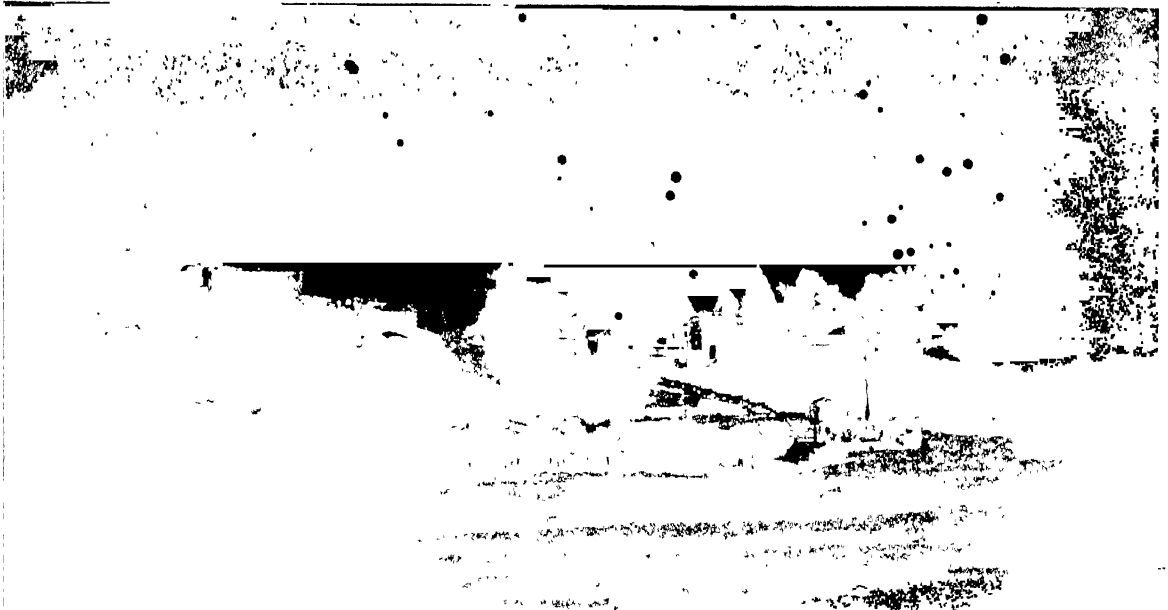
RAJAGRIHA is the most interesting place known to us of ancient Magadha, after Bodh Gaya and Gaya. Pataliputra is at present but a name and its excavation is only now commencing. Raja

griha is a valley of ruins, but the hills localize interest and we are able to trace the positions of the old cities and of many of the sites connected with the stories handed down by the Buddhist writers. The history of the hills goes back into the dim distance of the days recorded in the Mahabharata. We can imagine Krishna arriving there with the two Pandavas, the divine Arjuna (fabled as son of the god Indra) and that strongest of princes, Bhima, all ready to wreak their vengeance on the king of Magadha. In later days when the Buddha came with his message of good will to all men, the mountain city was still the capital of Magadha and Bimbisara of the Saisunaga dynasty was then its ruler. His son, Ajatasatru, built the "new city" of Rajagriha and made it his capital.* It is now in absolute ruins, even the inner walls can hardly be traced. It lay just outside, on the north of the hills, while in the valley which they encircled was the old city commonly known as old Rajagriha. Hwen Thsang calls it "Kusagarapura," the city of the lucky grass, and describes it as "the palace city" as well as "the mountain stronghold." The name,



Photograph Johnston & Hoffmann.
MANYAR MATH, RAJGIR.

* Beal, Buddhist Records, II. 166.



HINDU KUNDS BELOW VAIBHARA, RAJGIR.

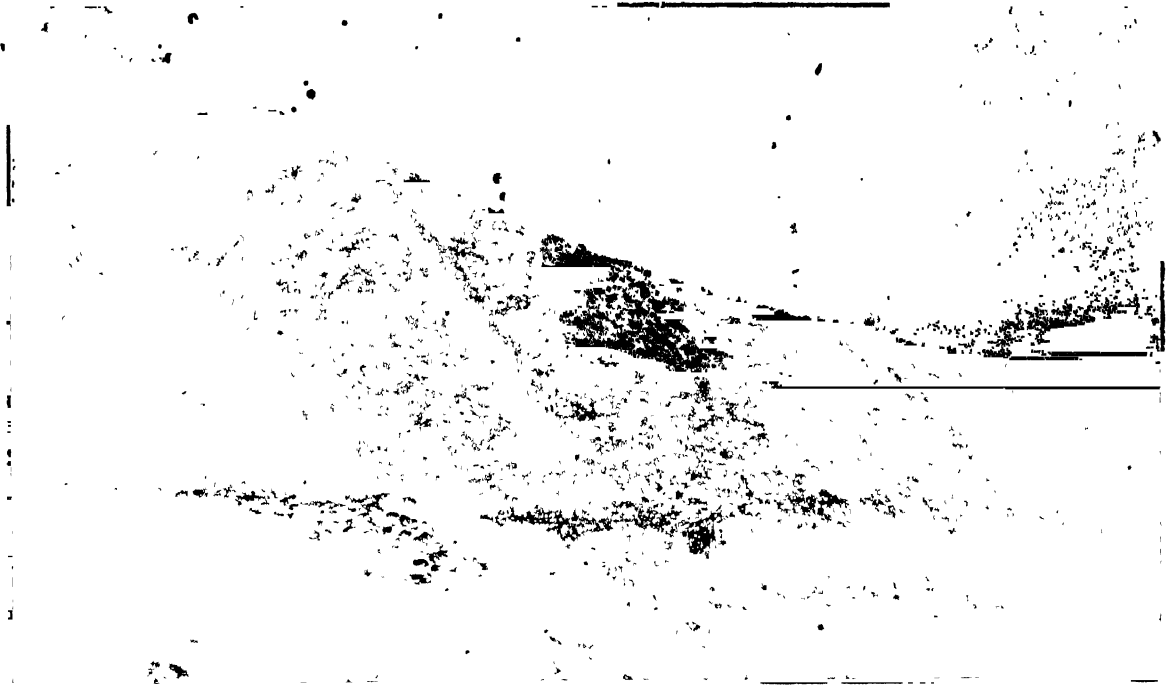
"Girivraja," (the "mountain-girt" city) is the earliest found in its history, when it was the impregnable fortress of Jarasandha of the Danava race, the great king of Magadha.* The Mahabharata gives a long account of his conquests over neighbouring kings, and refers to his wickedness in making human sacrifices of his captives to Siva. Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, being desirous of showing his power as a Chakravartin monarch, is told

that he will never be able to fulfil the Rajasuya sacrifice while Jarasandha lives. Krishna, the prince of Dwarka† and Arjuna and Bhima, two of the Pandava brothers, go to Girivraja, and with the object of killing Jarasandha challenge him to mortal combat. Jarasandha after placing his son on his throne, chooses Bhima as his opponent. The struggle was long, they wrestled—

"these tigers among men, these heroes of great prowess, with their bare arms their only weapons, cheerfully engaged in the encounter each desirous of vanquishing the other. And seizing each other's arms and twining each others legs, they slapped their armpits causing the enclosure to tremble at the sound...they grasped and struck each other like two mad elephants encountering each other with their trunks... and the sound the wrestlers made by the slapping of their arms, the seizing of each other's necks for bringing each other down...became so loud that it resembled

* "The bull of the Danavas...became that bull among men noted as Jarasandha"—Mahabharata, Adi Parva, LXVII. Dr. B. Spooner in J. R. As. S. B., July 1915, considers "Danava" equivalent to "Persian". He traces Danava as a synonym of Dasyavah, the Sanskrit form of "Danghavo" (the only name used by Zoroastrians of themselves) which Manu used to describe the peoples of Behar, Bengal and Orissa as well as the Kambojas, the Paradas and the Pahlavas, all of whom are recognised as of Persian origin. This would explain the enmity between Jarasandha and the Aryans of Northern India as well as the contemptuous allusions to Magadha and its people even before the growth and success of Buddhism produced friction. Dr. Haug in "Language Writings and Religion of the Parsis," p. 279 4th Ed. writes "The name Danava is given, both in the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta, to enemies with whom war is to be waged." Compare Yr. V. 73 and Atharvaveda, IV. 24-2. In the Rigveda it is often the name of the archdemon Vritra, with whom Indra is fighting."

† Krishna is represented as related to some of the captive kings. He was accepted as a partial incarnation of Vishnu and his brother, Balarama, as an epiphany of Sesha, the serpent (also part of him). Their sister was Subhadra; and the three are now worshipped in the Jagannath triad at Puri. They appear as a protest against Buddhism and the Buddhist triad whose worship in Kalinga (which includes Orissa) they superseded. Arjuna, the special friend of Krishna and bravest of the Pandava Brothers, was said to be an incarnation of Indra, while Bhima was of Vayu, the god of the wind.



THE OLD WALLS ON SONAGIRI, RAJGIR.

the roar of thunder or of falling cliffs. Both of them were foremost of mighty men and both took great delight in such encounter."

Bhima conquered, and their historic fight on the Raambhumi (fighting ground) outside the city walls is remembered to this day. In fact the spot is still pointed out where this great wrestling match is supposed to have taken place. The site comprises a considerable area that had evidently been carefully levelled and prepared with a special kind of fine white earth; and wrestlers from different parts of India may still be seen at times taking away supplies of this fine earth, which they use to rub over their bodies before wrestling. They believe it contains some special virtue to give additional strength and aid from the magic of the name of the strongest of the Pandava brothers, Bhima.

Not the least interesting part of the Mahabharata story is the description of the city "full of cheerful and well-fed inhabitants belonging to all the four orders, where the festivities were perennial." The shops had "every kind of wealth that man desires." There were "handsome houses," and we can realize them from those depicted on

* Mahabharata. Sabha Parva, XXIII. It gives quite a "scientific" account of the wrestling which must have been a highly developed art even then.

the oldest basreliefs at Barhut and Sanchi and from the entrance facades of some of the great caves. The lower story was built up strongly in clay or stone, while above rose wooden verandahs and turrets elaborately designed. Wood was used alike in palace and hovel. Probably the more important buildings were made partly of stone, as great mounds of prepared stones are found and we know that the most skilful use was made of stone in the fortification walls, many of which can still be seen on the hills. That wood played the most important part in the construction of the city buildings is evident from the account Hwen Thsang gives of Bimbisara's self-inflicted banishment. The houses of the people were so close together that "when one house was in flames, it was impossible to prevent the whole neighbourhood from sharing in the calamity and consequently the whole was burnt up. Then the people made loud complaints and could not rest quietly in their dwellings." The king, on the advice of his ministers, to make the people more careful, passed a law exiling to the forest north of the hills those in whose dwelling a fire should originate. His own palace was the next to be burned, so to uphold his law he retired to the forest, leaving his son



photograph

offman.

THE PIPPALA STONE-HOUSE FROM THE SOUTH, RAJGIR

to reign in his place.* There would be great difficulty now in obtaining wood for buildings, but in those days Hwen Thsang says the roads were bordered with Kanaka trees†, giving a delicious perfume, and the forests in the spring were all golden in colour. In the Mahabharata, too, we read the hills were covered with forests of Lodhra‡ and Pippala. It goes on to say the valley was "full of flocks and herds, its stock of water never exhausted." To-day, of all this prosperity nothing remains but dense undergrowth and short thick scrub, among which masses of stone mark the

sites of old buildings and temples and the outlines of the city's inner walls. Still its

The Hills and five hills encircle the deserted valley "like the walls of a city" as Pa-Hian describes them.

"Vaibhara, Varaha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri and the delightful Chaitya all high peaks and over-grown with tall trees...seem jointly to protect the city of Girivraja" are the words of Krishna in the Mahabharata*. Considering them as peaks rather than distinct mountains these are easily traced as Vaibhara-giri, Vipula-giri, Ratna-giri, Uday-giri and Sona-giri †. For about 25 miles along these hills run the outer circumvallation of the immense ancient fortifications, joined where necessary across the plains by high bandhs (embankments). "The Jarasandha bandh" joins Vaibhara and Sonagiri on the west. About a quarter of a mile east of this, another bandh leaves the foot of Vaibhara and joins the inner wall.

* Hwen Thsang gives Bimbisara's retirement to the forest as the reason for calling the site Rajagriha or the king's house. Beal. B. Rec. II. 166. History accepts the fact of the murder of Bimbisara by his son Ajatasatru.

† *Pterospermum acerifolium*, or Kanak-champa, Katha-champa, is planted for ornament, the leaves are used for plates and tobacco packing, the flowers as a disinfectant. Watts. Dic. Econ. P.

‡ *Symplocos racemosa* a small tree found in dry forest, on lower hills and plains. The bark is used medicinally and in dyeing. It gives a yellow colour, and is much prized as producing good red shades. Watts. Dic. Econ. Products.

* Mahabharata, Sabha Parva, XXI. In Pali annals the hills are called, Webhara, Wepulo, Isigili, Gijji-kuta, and Pandawo.

† Broadley. Bihar in Patna. Arch. S. T. 1905-6, Bengal Circle, 1901-02.



MUKDUM KUND FROM THE NORTH, RAJGIR.

of the city. One runs from Ratnagiri across to Udayagiri, while joined to it is the wall from the Gr̥hrakuta hill which comes down to the Nakve or Nakpai embankment. The inner walls have a radius of about four miles. The outer fortification walls to the south are specially well preserved. Here the Banganga stream leaves the valley in a narrow defile, only a few feet wide, between Sonagiri and Udayagiri making a picturesque contrast with the old forts and mighty walls of ancient days. These two hills have an easy ascent, and hence were so strongly fortified. On both, the massive stone walls climb up the hill-sides attaining even now 17 feet in width and 12 in height, strengthened by solid bastions at intervals. Steps on the inner side are built into the walls to give access to the summit. The walls are made of an outer casing of large stones, some nearly 5 feet long, carefully fitted without cement, and filled in with smaller stones. These walls are probably the oldest stone work extant in India.

“The very fact that these walls have weathered so many centuries and are still in such a wonderful state of preservation

in places speaks well for the builders of those days of long ago.

When Krishna and his friends, disguised as “Snataka Brahmins”^{*} came to Jarasandha's capital, they did not enter by the gates but pierced with their arrows and with “their mighty arms . . . broke down the Chaityaka peak” which was the glory and pride of the Magadhas, worshipped alike by king and people, where were kept the three great drums of Vrihadratha, whose sound when struck resounded for a month.[†] This act of defiance announced to the king, they came as foes, claimed no hospitality and accepted nothing in his city. The king demands their reason for coming by an “improper gate.” Krishna explains that the vow of the Snataka Brahmana may be taken by Brahmins, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas. “These are the rules of the ordinance, namely, that an enemy's abode should be entered by a wrong gate and a friend's by a

^{*} Snataka or student who has completed his course of religious studies.

[†] These were made from the hide of the Cannibal Rishabha.



Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

OLD FORTIFICATION WALLS ON UDAYAGIRI & BANGANGA PASS, RAJGIR.

right gate."* Thus they held themselves free from all blame of treachery. What the Chaitya peak represents and where it was is impossible to say. At the north and south gates the fortifications were too strong to be evaded. The heroes came from the north-west. "They crossed the Ganges and the Sone and went towards the east."† Hwen Tshang tells us that the city "on the west . . . is approached through a narrow pass." The rocky offshoot of Mount Vaibhara, commonly called Chhata or Chakra according to Mr. Broadley, is only separated from Sonagiri by a narrow ravine and may possibly be "the proper gate," referred to by the incensed king. On the east is another Chhata-giri, the hill identified by Mr. Broadley as the sacred Gridhrakuta peak of the Buddhist annals. It is a high and rugged peak, not easily accessible from the outer (northern) side of the hills. Still there may have been

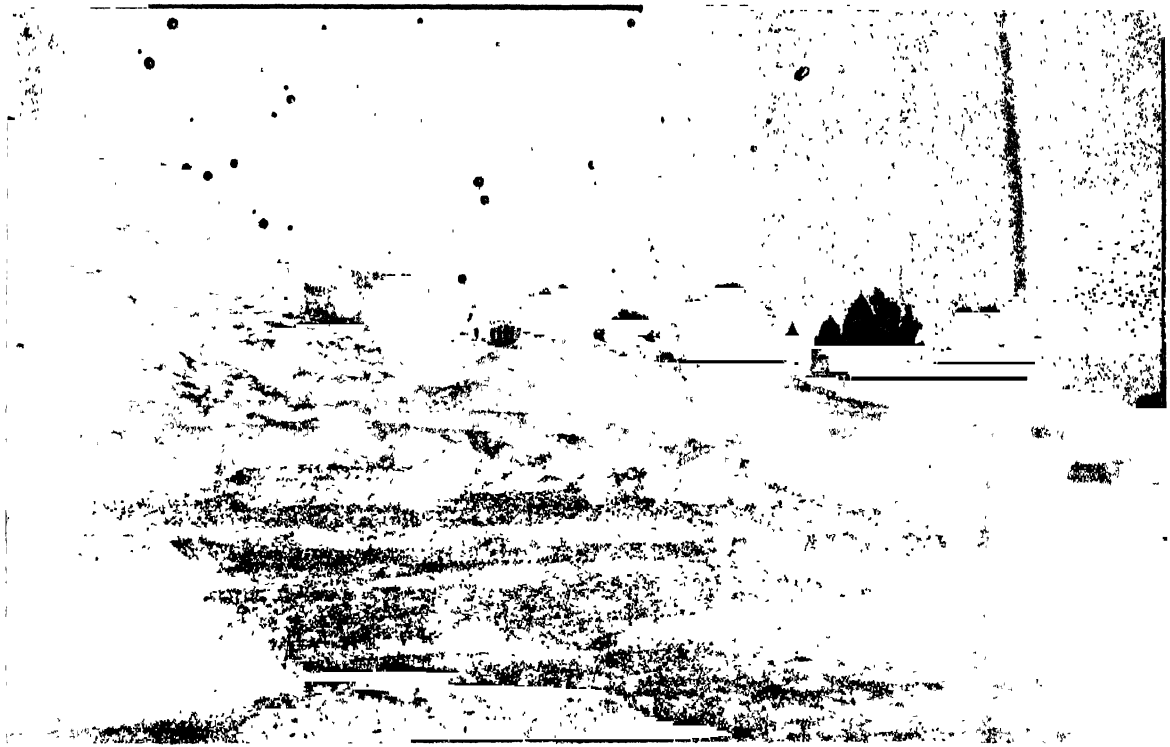
a tradition of sanctity still haunting it when the Buddha chose it for his favourite abode. Viharas and stupas arose on all the hills but this hill is specially associated with the Buddha himself. The ancient folklore of the land was preserved by the Magadhas and Sutas, the chanters of the deeds and legends of the kings and national heroes of the land as well as of the praise of the gods.* Thus it may well be that by degrees celestial honours were given to the popular favorites. To discover the human element underlying this mass of legend and myth is a truly fascinating study, but the result can never be regarded as altogether reliable. Here we have an actually existent geographical foundation in the hills of Rajagriha; and tradition is an obstinate guardian of many forgotten truths.

Of all spots among these hills the Gridhrakuta peak appeals most to Buddhists. There the Tathagata spent most of his time towards the end of his ministry, and preached many sutras. The Mahayanists say the •Saddharma Pundarika and the

* Vishnu P. Book I. Ch. XIII. Pargiter—Dynasties of the Kali Age, II

Mañabh. Sabha Parva, XXI

† Mañabh. S. P. XX. It says further that they arrived at Magadha in the heart of Kushamva and reaching the hills of Goratha they saw the city of Magadha. It is possible from an inscription lately found that the Goratha hills are those of Barabar in the Gaya district.



* Photograph by John & Hoffmann.

JAIN TEMPLES AT NANAN KUND, RAJGIR.

Prajna Paramita were both delivered here, where the Buddha ever resides : "it is only an illusion when men imagine they have seen him in other places."* The hill has been easy to identify from descriptions handed down to us of its appearance and position, "touching the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height," "long from east to west and narrow from north to south."† But most decisive of all was Mr. Broadley's discovery of the actual roadway King Bimbisara is said to have made from the city up the mountain side to enable him to go and hear the Buddha preach. The two stupas he erected on the route were also found as described, one where the king dismounted and walked called the "Dismounting from the chariot" ; the other where the people following were ordered to return called "sending back the crowd". On the west-

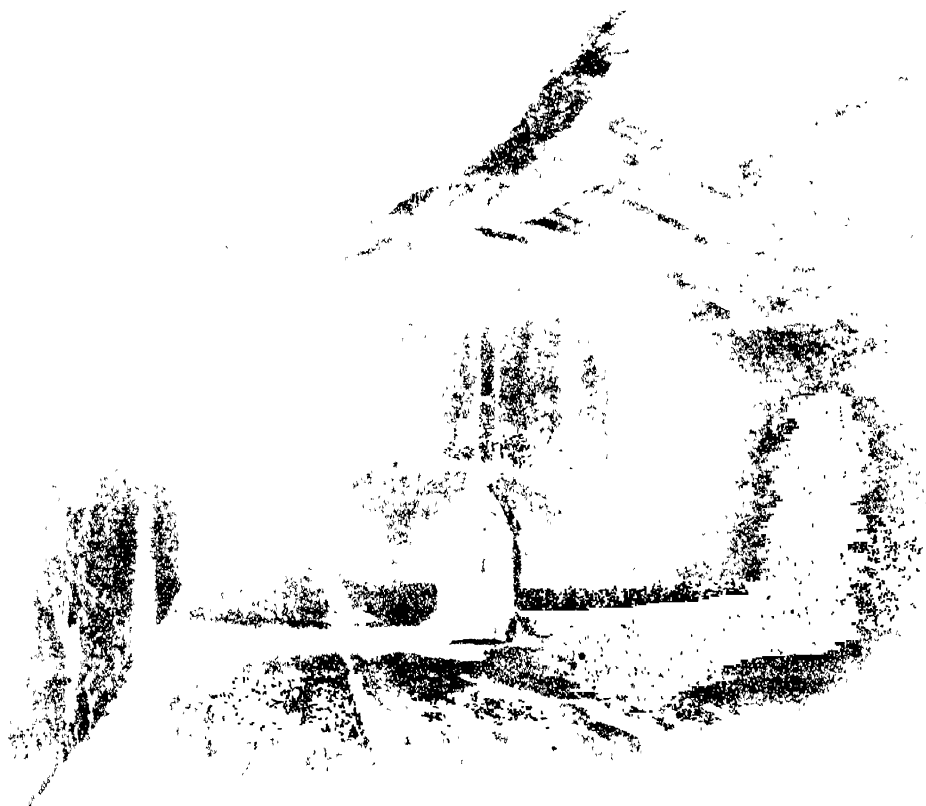
ern face of the mountain there was a vihara where the Buddha preached ; and close by, where he walked up and down, is said to lie the stone that Devadatta threw at him. South of the vihara was the stone house where the Buddha had entered Samadhi in a previous birth, and where Ananda alarmed by Mara was re-assured by the Buddha who passed his hand through the wall and patted him on the head. Traces have been found of all these structures, corroborating the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.* The ruins of a

Sonagiri large Sangharama and Vihara, where now a Jain temple stands, on the top of Sonagiri, are now identified as probably marking the place to which the Emperor Asoka retired in his old age, and thus another great name is added to the interesting story of these hills. Dr. Fleet traces from the last recension of the edicts the history of the last days of the Great Monarch. After the 37th year of his reign, the 255th year having expired since the death of the Buddha, Asoka having placed his grandson on the throne retired to

* Kern, M. 2.

† Beal, B. Rec. 152, 153. Fa-Hian calls it "the loftiest of the five mountains." It is 1147 ft. above sea level, the same as Vajjibhara, but its striking ridge makes it more imposing. Sailagiri further to the east is higher, 1253 ft. See map of Rajgir Hills, A. S. I. 1905-6.

* Beal B. Rec. II, 15, I 55, 58. Broadley, Bihar in Patna, A. S. T. 1905-6, B. S. R. 1901-2.



Photograph by Johnston & Hoffa

INTERIOR OF SON BIANDAR CAVE, RAJGIR.

Suvarnagiri (Sonagiri),* where he spent the next 256 nights in worship. The edict repeats "nights spent in worship two hundred and fifty-six 256", this gives a night of worship for every year since the Parinirvana.†

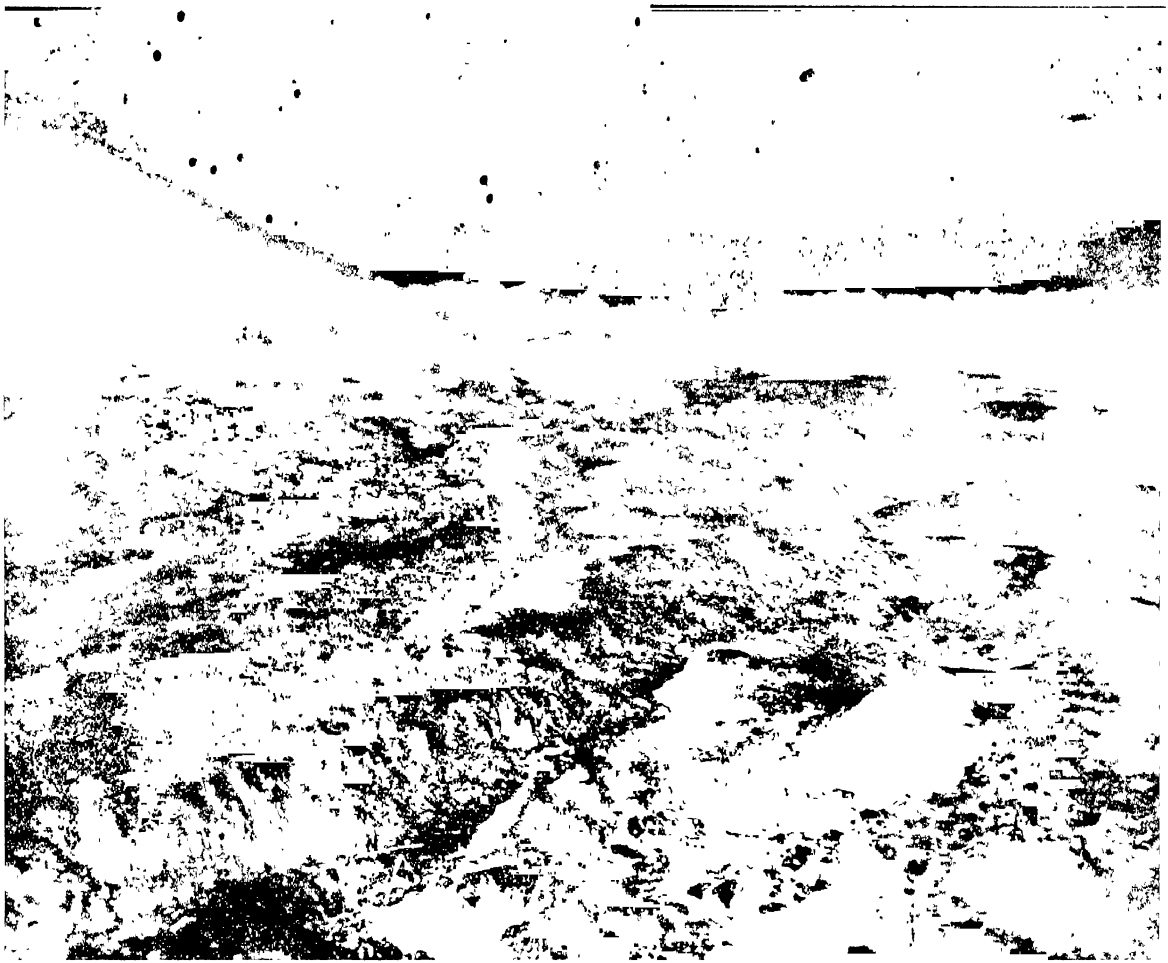
Almost in the centre of the plain between Maniyar Math. Sonagiri and Vaibhara, within the wall of the old city, was an ancient tumulus on which a small and neglected Jain temple stood which was known as the Maniyar Math. Mr. Broadley found by its side fragments of brick and granite pillars and the pieces of a cornice, covered with "Buddhas and Nagas." Later Dr. Bloch excavated the tumulus finding at its base stucco images mostly figures, six with snake hoods, one

which he thinks is meant for the Banasura whose hands were cut off by Krishna, also a dancing Siva, a Ganesha and a garlanded linga. This connection of the worship of Siva, Vishnu and the Nagas is specially interesting, because in the Mahabharata Krishna points out to his companions where "dwelt of old those Nagas Aruvuda and Shakravapin as also the Naga Swastika and that other excellent Naga Mani." It may be in honour of the latter that the site received the name of Maniyar. An old tale of buried wealth is told, and might connect the worship here with "Manibhadra, the king of the Yakshas,"* as well as with the Nagas who are gurdians of treasure, and protectors from drought. "Manu had himself ordered the kingdom of

* Suvarna and Sona both mean "gold."

† See J. R. A. S. of Gt. B. 1911, XXXII.

* Hopkyns, Religions, p. 358 note. Manibhadra is another name for Kuvera, the God of wealth.



Photograph by Johnston & Hoffmann.

SUPPOSED SIGHT OF WRESTLING GROUND, RAJGIR.

the Magadhas never to be afflicted with drought."*

The Mahabharata not only tells us of Krishna's connection with the mountain stronghold but of the worship of Siva established there. It records that Jarasandha kept his 86 captive kings waiting till he obtained 100, "in the temple of Siva, devoted unto that god and offered as sacrifice unto him like so many animals.....as soon as he obtaineth those fourteen, he will begin his cruel act."

Not only does the epic tell us that Vishnu and Siva (Siva-Girika, the mountain Lord) were worshipped in Girivraja but that the fetishism of earlier days continued in snake worship and the festival in honour of the Rakshasi Jara, the dynastic Grihadevi of Vrihadratha's race.†

* Mahabharata, Sabha Parva, XXI.

† The marvel of Jarasandha's birth is told in

About one mile S.W. from the hot springs, at the foot of the Sonbhandar cave, southern slope of the Vaibhara hill, the cave known as the Sonbhandar is found. At first this cave was identified with the Sattapanni hall, the large "stone house" which was shown to Hwen Thsang as the place where the first Buddhist Council was said to have met. The cave is 33 ft. long, by 17 ft. wide and 16 ft. high. Inside there is a stone stupa

Sabha Parva, XVIII. Vrihadratha desirous of offspring obtained from a Muni a magic mango. Each of the king's wives ate half the fruit, each bore half the child. The two parts were joined by the Rakshasi Jara. She describes herself as "created by the Self-Created and named Grihadevi." Hence came the name bestowed on the child "Jara sandha", "united by Jara", and the festival instituted in her honor. J. F. Hewitt explains the myth as symbolizing the union of the Magadhas, Kushikas and Gotamas under one king. See Ruling Races, pp. 21, 75, 146, 431.

with four sides each carved with a standing figure on a lotus, below which are a pair of animals and the wheel. They are presumably the Dhyanī Buddhas, each with his own chihna, or emblem, and attendants. Dr. Bloch considers that the inscription by the door of the 3rd or 4th century A. D. shows that the cave was made by Muni Vairadeva for the Jains. It says he "made two caves for the images of the Arhats." A roughly drawn figure by the side of the inscription is presumably meant, therefore, for a Tirthankara.

The Sattapanni has been more successfully located by Dr. Bloch at the floor of the northern face of the Sattapanni Hall. Vaibhara about a mile from

Karanda-Venuvana on a small low spur of the hill. Here are definite remains of a large platform and the foundations of a wall of huge unhewn blocks similar to those used in the Pippala stone house, giving evidence of a large ruined structural building.

The Vaibhara and Vipula hills form the northern rampart of the valley. Here the inner gates are indicated by the line of the city walls, about 160 feet south-east of the meeting of the two streams which pass out through the defile between the hills. Both streams are called Sarasvati, the one coming from Ratnagiri and the other from the south-west of Vaibhara. * The gates of the outer fortifications were 250 feet further north. † It appears from what remains exist that they were protected by massive walls and bastions. By following the Chinese pilgrim's measurements from the northern gates of "the mountain-girt city" we may trace sites of interests outside the limit of the hills.

Of "New Rajagriha" little can be seen except the outline of the inner ramparts, which average 14 feet in thickness. Between it and the hills lay the Karanda-Venuvana, the bamboo woods and gardens presented to the Sangha by Karanda, and a Vihara. All that now remains is a mound of debris surmounted by a Muhammadan tomb. Dr. Bloch dug some trial trenches in the mound but only a few small miniature clay stupas were found. The Karanda-hrada (tank) was north of the Vihara, and there Mr. Broadley found an image with an inscription of dedi-

cation to the tank. The old Smasana (burning ground) was probably, where the present burning ghat is. Of the two stupas the pilgrims mention, one is possibly the mound at the foot of Vaibhara and the other that at the foot of Vipula, now surmounted with a temple of Mahadeva.

On the banks of the Sarasvati are the celebrated hot springs, 7 or 8 at the foot of Vaibhara and 5 under Vipula near Makhdum Shah's Hujra. † A largely attended fair, known as the "Lawan Mela," is held at the hot springs every three years, i. e., in the Hindu leap year when an extra or intercalary month (called "lawan" or "mala mas") is added to make the lunar year keep pace with the solar year. Some Hindu temples have been constructed near the hot springs but these are of no special interest.

Above the kunds are two large platforms built up of huge stones. Dr. Bloch thought these were the watch towers of the northern entrance and formed part of the fortifications. The upper one is called "Sitamarhi." About 800 feet lower on the hill side, and some 270 feet above the Markanda kund, is the other platform. It is about 28 feet in height forming a rough square of 70 to 80 feet. It is commonly

* Broadly, Bihar in Patna, p. 36.

† The Brahmakund is the principal of the hot springs below Vaibhara. Others are the Ananda-Rikhi, Markande, Vyas and the Ganga-Jamuna nearest the hill. The latter has carved stone stools for the spring water as described by Hwen Tshang, "carved stones sometimes shaped like lions, and at other times as the heads of white elephants, while below there are stone basins in which the water collects like ponds. Here people of every region come and from every city, to bathe." The temperature of the Satdhara-kund is about 105 degrees Fahr. Seven streams enter from the western side, and at the southern end is a small cave temple with modern images of the 7 Rishis. The last kund is the Kashi-tirth through which the waters of the spring pass into the Sarasvati. Further north is a Pakka ghat on both sides of the Sarasvati, where "gau-dan and pinda-dan are performed by the pilgrims. At the foot of Vipulagiri are also hot and cold springs, called Nana-kund, Sita-kund, Soma-kund, Ganesha-kund and Rama-kund. About a quarter of a mile further on, in an enclosure, is a celebrated well called Sringgi-rikhi-kund by Hindus and Makhdum-kund by Muhammadans and equally prized by both. A flight of about 80 steps lead up to the stone cell known as the "hujra" of Makhdum Shah Shaikh Sharf-uddin Ahmad, a great Muhammadan saint specially revered in Bihar. It was the scene of his 40 days' meditation and fast. The platform above it, is where his morning and evening prayers were said." (Broadley, Bihar in Patna.)

* Broadley, Bihar in Patna, 28.

† A. S. I. 1905-1906 "Rajgir."

known as "Jarasandh-ka-Baithak." Local legend tells how in a single day Jarasandha built this and the broad stone roadway which goes right over the hill (probably the foundations of the old fortification walls), to assemble his troops on the hill tops in defence of Girivraja against his enemies from the west. In the lower part of the platform are several small cells, and a cave has been found behind it.* This platform is specially interesting as it has been identified with the "Pippala stone-house" described by Hwen Tshang as west of the hot springs, where the Tathagata stayed in the heat of the day. The deep cavern which is behind the walls of this house is the palace abode of an Asura.† There are three Muhammadan tombs on the top of the platform, one of which is thought by some to be that of Kamdar Khan Mayi, one of the most important Muhammadan chiefs in South Bihar during the first half of the 18th century, whose warlike achievements are still the theme of many a local ballad.

The Buddhist day has passed, but dim memories of the great Sage still haunt these hills. It is not to the Muhammadans or the Hindus, though each claim a sacred place in Rajgir, but to the Jains that the heritage of the hills has come. It is their shrines we see to-day shining white on each crest and spur. To them Rajgir ranks with Parasnath and Pawapuri. The latter village is not far off, on the banks of the Panchana river, south of the town of Bihar. Here Mahavira Vardhamana, their greatest and last Jina (conqueror saint) died. Large numbers of Jain pilgrims come to all three places from every part of India and their subscriptions keep the shrines in good repair. These shrines, however, are all comparatively modern and have been built mostly with materials taken from older temples and stupas. Carved fragments and pillars are used freely in their construction, and Buddhist statues are often found in them. Every shrine contains the "charana paduka" of a Tirthankara. On Vaibhara there is a Jain shrine below the Pippala stone house. Above on the hill are six or more temples. One dedicated to the 15th and 16th Tirthankaras, Dharmanatha and Shantinatha, is interest-

ing from the tradition connecting it with that of the Maniyar Math. Mr. Broadley says it contains two images and a charana with an inscription about 200 years old. The pujari (temple priest) has corrupted the names to Dhanaji and Sathadraji and describes them as two wealthy bankers who lived in the house at the Nirmal kund, i. e., the house that stood on the mound in the south-east corner of the ancient city. This is identified with the mound on which stands "the Maniyar Math." Mr. Broadley was also told that it was in honour of these two wealthy bankers, Dhanaji and Sathadraji, that the Math was built. A little to the north of this on Vaibhara Mr. Broadley found among the ruined Buddhist shrines one that he describes as "the most perfect building of its kind." The cupola had fallen and there was no image of the Buddha left, but one had been carved in the centre of the lintel of the entrance doorway. Above the stupa mound on which the Mahadeva temple stands on a spur of Vipula, are two Jain temples, one of which is dedicated to the great Mahavira. On the summit of Vipula are extensive Buddhist remains as well as a platform about 130 feet long, 30 wide and 6 feet above the rocks made of the materials from the Buddhist mounds including 30 pillars. On this stand four modern Jain temples with fine pieces of Buddhistic carvings inset. There are also two fine slabs, one of the Navagraha (nine planets) and another of the Das Avatar (Vishnu's ten incarnations). From the top of this hill, the view from which is very fine, one can cross to Ratnagiri by a rocky defile. Here is another temple in which some carved pillars have been used. Udayagiri has also debris of Buddhist buildings, and now five Jain temples crown it, each with its Buddha statue engraved with the Buddhist formula "Ye dharma hetu" etc. Over the ruins of the Vihara on Sonagiri is also a Jain shrine. So all the hills are claimed for the Buddha's greatest rival, and only the Gridhrakuta is left. Buddhist pilgrims might well take steps to raise a rest-house there for those who, like Fa-Hian, would pass the night and meditate. "Here it was in by-gone days Buddha dwelt. . . Fa-Hian, not privileged to be born when Buddha lived, can but gaze on the traces of his presence and the place which he occupied."

* Broadley, p. 31, B.S.R. 1901-2.

† Real B. Rec. III, 56.

THE COST OF ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

IT is admitted by all competent observers that India is one of the poorest countries in the world; the average income of an Indian being only 2 pounds a year (10 dollars of American money and 20 Yen of Japanese) according to the official estimate made in Lord Curzon's time. A comparison of the salaries paid to the Indian administrators with those paid to men in similar positions in Great Britain, the United States of America and Japan will show that the Indian administration is the most costly in the world.

Before we quote the actual figures we would like to point out that although the exchange value of the Indian Rupee is equal to 33 cents of American money and about 66 sens of the Japanese money, (i.e. the American dollar is equal to Rs. 3 and the Japanese Yen equal to Rs. 1½), the economic value of the rupee, judged from the prices of necessities of life and from the wages of labour, is about equal to that of the American dollar and the Japanese Yen. It is a fact which I know from my personal experience. The purchasing value of the Rupee has gone down much of late, but still it is as good as that of a dollar in America and a yen in Japan.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The President of the United States of America, who ranks with the great royalties of the world in position, gets a salary of 75,000 dollars without any other allowance. The Prime Minister of Japan gets 12,000 yen. The Viceroy and Governor-General of India gets Rs. 2,50,800 besides a very large amount in the shape of allowances. The Cabinet Ministers of the United States get a salary of 12,000 dollars each, that of Japan, 8,000 yen, and the Members of the Viceroy's Council 80,000 Rs. each.

In the whole Federal Government of the United States there are only 3 offices which

carry a salary of more than 8,000 dollars a year. They are given below:—

The President of the General Navy Board	... 13,500
Solicitor General	... 10,000
Assistant Solicitor General	... 9,000

All the other salaries range from 2,100 to 8,000 dollars. In the State Department all offices, including those of the secretaries, carry salaries of 2,100 to 5,000 dollars. In the Treasury Department the Treasurer gets 8,000, and 3 other officers get 6,000 each. All the remaining get from 2,500 to 5,000 dollars. In the War Department there are only two offices which have a salary of 8,000 each attached to them, viz., that of Chief of Staff and of Quarter Master General. The rest get from 2,000 to 6,000. In the Navy Department, besides the president of the General Board mentioned above, the President of the Naval Examination Board gets 8,000 and so does the Commandant of the Marine Corps. All the rest get from 6,000 downwards. In the Department of Agriculture there is only one office carrying a salary of 6,000. All the rest, from 5,000 downwards. The Chief of the Weather Bureau (an expert) gets 6000. In the commerce Department 4 experts get 6000 each, the rest from 5000 downwards. These are annual salaries.

In Japan the officials of the Imperial Household have salaries ranging from 5500 to 8000 yen, officials of the Higher Civil Service from 3700 to 4200 a year, Vice-Ministers of State 5000, chief of the Legislative Bureau 5000, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet 5000, the Inspector General of Metropolitan Police 5000.

President of the Board of Audit	... 6000
President of the Administrative Litigation Court	... 6000
President of the Railway Board	... 7500
President Privy Council	... 6000
Vice-President of the Privy Council	... 5500
and so on. All the salaries are per annum.	

INDIA.

President of the Railway Board gets 60,000 or 72,000 Rs.

Two Members of the Railway Board ... 48,000 each

Secretaries in the Army, Public Works and Legislative Departments ... 42,000 each

Secretaries in Finance, Foreign, Home, Revenue and Agriculture and Commerce and Industry Departments ... 48,000

Secretary in the Education Department ... 36,000

(The Chief Commissioner of Education in the United States gets only ... 5,000 Dollars).

Joint Secretary ... 30,000

Controller and Auditor General ... 42,000

Accountants General from ... 27,000 to 33,000

Commissioner of Salt Revenue ... 30,000

Director General of Post and Telegraph from ... 36,000 to 42,000

(In the United States the Post Master General is a Cabinet Minister and gets 12,000 Dollars). Post Masters General from 18,000 to 24,000.

Among the officers directly under the Government of India there are only a few who get salaries below Rs. 20000, most of the others get from Rs. 20400 to 36000. The fact that the population of the United States of America consists of people of all races from the world and that there is a constant flow of immigration makes the work of administration very difficult and complex; otherwise also the administrative problems handled by the United States administration are even more complex and difficult than those faced by the administration in India.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIONS.

The United States Government have under it 54 States, some of which are as big in area, if not bigger, as the several provinces of India. The Governors of these States are paid from 2500 dollars a year upto 12000 dollars a year. There is only one State, that of Illinois, which pays 12000 to its Governor, five others, amongst them California and New York, pay 10000; only two, Massachusetts and Indiana,

pay 8000 and only one pays 7000; 3 pay 6000; the rest all 5000 or less. There is only one territory under the United States Government, viz., that of the Phillipines, which pays a salary of 20000 to its Governor General. In India the Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, each receive 120000 Rupees per year besides large amounts for allowances. Lieutenant Governors receive Rs. 100000 each besides allowances. The Chief Commissioner receives 62000 in Assam, 62000 in Central Provinces, and Berar, 36000 in Delhi, and so on. The Political Residents in the Native States receive from 33000 to 48000 besides allowances. In Japan the Governors of Provinces are paid at the rate of, from 3700 to 4500 yens, per year besides allowances varying from 400 to 600 yen per year. The provincial services in India are paid on a similarly lavish scale. In Bengal the salaries range from 4800 Rs. a year allowed to an Assistant Magistrate and Collector to Rs. 64000 allowed to members of council, and the same may be said of the other provinces also. Coming to the judiciary we find that the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States get a salary of 14,500 dollars each, the Chief Justice getting 15,000; the circuit judges get a salary of 7000 dollars each, the District Judges \$ 6000 each. In the States of New York, the Judges of the Supreme Court belonging to the General Sessions get 17500 each and those of the Special Sessions get from 9000 to 10000 each, City Magistrates get a salary of 7000 to 8000 each. In India the Chief Justice of Bengal gets 72000, the Chief Justices of the Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces get 60000 each. The Chief Judges of the Chief Courts of the Punjab and Burmah get 48000 each and the Puisne Judges of the High Courts the same amount, the Puisne Judges of the Chief Courts getting 42000. In the Province of Bengal the salaries of the District and Sessions Judges range from 24000 to 36000 a year. The salaries of the District Judges in the other major provinces range from 20000 to 36000 and so on. The Deputy Commissioners in India get a salary according to different scales in different provinces varying from 18000 to 27000 a year; the Commissioners getting from 30000 to 36000 a year. In Japan the Appeal Court Judges and Procurators get salaries varying from 1200 to 5000 yen per year. Only one officer

that of the President of the Court of Cassation getting 6000. The District Court Judges and Procurators are paid at the rate of 750 to 3700 yen per year.

It is needless to compare the salaries of the minor offices in the three countries. The fact that the Indian taxpayer has to pay so heavily for the European Services engaged in the work of administration makes it necessary that even the Indian officers should be paid on a comparatively high scale, thus raising the cost of administration to the highest pitch and telling very injuriously on the condition of the men in the lowest grades of the Government service. The difference between the salaries of the officers and the men forming the rank and file of the Government offices in the three countries mentioned above shows how the ordinary Government servant in the lowest rank in India suffers from the fact that the officers have to be paid at such high rates. We will illustrate what we mean.

THE POLICE.

Police Force of New York City. The Chief Inspector gets \$3500 a year, Captains \$2750 each, Lieutenants \$2250, Sergeants 1750, Patrol men, corresponding to our Constables, 1400 each. The Commissioner of Police gets \$7500. In Japan the Inspector General of the Metropolitan Police gets 5000 yen. The figures for the lower offices are not available but the minimum salary of a constable, is 13 yen per month, besides which he gets his equipment, uniform and boots, &c., free. In India the Inspectors General get from 24000 to 36000, Deputy Inspectors General from 18000 to 21600, District Superintendents of Police from 8000 to 14400, Assistants from 3600 to 6000, Inspectors from 1800 to 3000, Sub-Inspectors from 600 to 1200, Head Constables from 180 to 240, Constables from Rs. 120 to 144 per year. We have taken these figures from the Indian Year Book published by the Times of India Office, Bombay. We know as a fact that the Police Constables in the Punjab are paid from 8 to 10 rupees a month, that is, from 96 to 120 rupees a year. The reader would mark the difference between grades of salaries from the highest to the lowest in India as compared with the United States and Japan. While in India the lowest grade servants are frightfully underpaid, the highest grade

officers are paid on a lavish scale. In the other countries of the world this is not the case.

Educational Department. In the United States (we quote the figures of the New York City) the lowest school teachers get a salary of 720 dollars a year rising to 1500. In the upper grades the maximum salaries are 1820 to 2260. *Principals of Elementary Schools* receive 3500 and Assistants 2500. In High Schools salaries range from 900 to 3150 dollars. In Training Schools from 1000 to 3250 dollars. Principals of High Schools and Training Schools are paid 5000 dollars and the same salary is paid to the District Superintendents. The salary of the Commissioner of Education in New York is 7500 dollars. In Japan the Minister of Education, who is a Cabinet Minister, gets a salary of 8000 yen per year and the lowest salary of a teacher ranges from 16 yen to 18 yen per month. In the United States the highest salaries allowed to College Professors are from 5000 to 7000 dollars a year. In Japan they range from 600 to about 4000 yen per year. Coming to India we find that while the administrative officers and even the Professors get fairly high salaries, the teachers in the schools are miserably underpaid. We do not believe there is a single country in the world where the difference between the remunerations allowed to the highest and the lowest of the state servants is so disproportionate as in India, yet there is a tendency to still further increase the salaries of the high officials, European and Indian, while even very insignificant increases to the salaries of the lowest servants of the State are very grudgingly allowed. Then the high officials get so many kinds of allowances that sometimes the amount of those allowances equals their salaries, which is not the case in the case of the lower grade servants. The fact is that the Government in India does not attach sufficient importance to the ordinary man. His needs are often overlooked in the desire to please the higher services and to keep them contented. Considering that every man in India is supposed to have a family, the condition of the lowest official is extremely miserable and justifies corruption in their ranks. The Government of India must know it, yet they have not done anything to remedy this state of things. A rise in the prices is claimed to be a good ground for raising the salaries of the highly paid

civilians, but the same weight is not attached to it when the question of a rise in the salaries in the lower grades arises. In the latter case the unfeeling argument of the market rate is freely applied, and it is argued that it will be unbusinesslike for

Government to pay more for services which can be secured cheaper.

The figures relating to military services in India are not available but we know that the above remarks have as much force in the case of military services as in that of the civil.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT AND TACCARI

THE taccari and co-operative credit are two systems that are working side by side in the United Provinces, and possibly in other provinces as well. The two modes of helping a poor tenant are radically different in their scope, and differ again in essentials from private banking as between a tenant and the village money-lender. The taccari is the rural banking enterprise conducted by the Government, its collection has all the force, and not unoften the rigour, of a state creditor. The advance, though made in the presence of highly responsible officers, is inevitably linked with the petty *amla*—the Patwari, the Kanungo and a host of clerks, a class of public servants that unfortunately has not a very clean record to show. The collection is associated with more corruption, as it is the business of petty officials in outlying places. Taccari has the advantage of low interest, a little more than six per cent. per annum being the rate. The one predominating feature of this system, however, is that whatever the rate of interest, it enriches the state, it means a substantial addition to the resources of the state, the profit being the difference between the rate of interest the Government can borrow at and that charged from the tenant. The taccari presupposes that in fiscal matters the foreign government in its bureaucratic form is strictly national, that the profits of the state represent the increasing national stock from which the tenant will borrow with increased facility. Taccari is rigid, mechanical and inelastic.

The co-operative credit system is strictly the people's concern under the guiding care of the government. The profits are entirely separate from state revenues, they swell the common wealth, and are free from corrupting influences. It is a national enterprise

as apart from state activity, and its success is measured by the amount of enterprise put forth by the people. The rate of interest is comparatively high, being about 12 p.c., and therein lies the chief handicap as against the easier taccari. It cannot compete with the taccari on the score of interest, it covers only an insignificant ground for want of capital. It is a new plant involving co-operation in a land where combination in business was an unknown feature, and where individual action comprised the whole national activity. The loan is safe-guarded with good security, widening the operation of its liability on a group of persons, and as such is as rigid and unailing as the taccari. So far as human calculations go, and even beyond them, the "bad debt" is an unknown element in both the systems, taccari and co-operative credit. Not only the actual borrower pays but failing him the so many sureties are liable for the debt.

The village money-lender recalls many bitter memories. If the vast mass of official literature represents any truth, he was the author of a lot of agricultural misery in the land, the one functionary who did more to undermine the agricultural prosperity than did the annual settlements of the alien trading company and the unsettlement of many agricultural interests. Such an evil system could no longer hold its own against the taccari and co-operative credit; but the fact that it survives calls for an analysis of the system. The village loan is for the most part a mere wild speculation, a gamble depending on the moral sense of the debtor and the freaks of nature, the rains. The tenants have no ownership in land and they have no better security to offer than the prospects of a good harvest. The rate of interest is exorbitant, but the

forces of time are bringing it down. Every village usurer, however uncompromising, has to write off bad debts. He may play Shylock at times, but he is at the mercy of his debtors, he is amenable to the voice of the village elders, and his life and business depend on a fair spirit of tolerance and fair-play, as morality goes in the villages. How many exacting village money-lenders have had the bitter experience of having their houses broken into at night and the petty hoards of a life-time despoiled by angry debtors in a moment. But a creditor who does not transgress all bounds of fairplay, who is not guilty of flagrant dishonesty and who is not dead to all sense of compromise, need not fear such consequences whatever his usury. The village Panchayat, though bereft of its time-honoured functions and no longer a self-contained republic and a tribunal invested with great executive and judicial powers, has yet some voice left. It is a common experience in the villages to see a debt of several hundred rupees discharged for a couple of cows only at the instance of the Panchayat, if the debtor be really in narrow circumstances. If the Sahukar defies the common verdict of the village elders, he has no chance of better success in a court of law, he loses all moral support.

Money-lending in a village does not prosper for any length of time. If it did, an usury at 25 p. c. compound interest would soon result in big hoards, in palatial houses with marble floors. But the money-lender remains a man of ordinary means, himself in a less struggling condition than the debtor. His earnings are spent in the village, fructify agriculture and increase the common stock. The current practice of land taxation in the provinces does not leave a sufficient margin to increase the source of national wealth, and the tenant and his village banker have no chance of making a hoard.

There can be no question that co-operative credit is the best system suited to agricultural operations, if sufficient funds are forthcoming to meet the requirements of a big rural population as one finds in a district. The needs of tenants find a very imperfect recognition; and the rules prescribing hard limits to the maximum credit leave no room to carry out improvements on the co-operative credit system, which should be more prospective like private banking. The really needy tenant, having

no well or canal to irrigate his fields in a year of severe drought, has to beg, borrow of a village banker or go on starvation wages to a relief work. The taccavi and co-operative credit both leave him in the cold. For all that, the co-operative system is the best. Its great competitor is the taccavi, the State banking. A co-operative concern has little chance to prosper against the organised cheap finances of the State. Is it advisable to run two parallel systems, the one going counter to the other? If the co-operative system is a thing that need be fostered, if cheap capital to the tenant be a necessity, one would think that taccavi were better merged into co-operative credit. The normal credit of Government is $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c., and so long as private money is shy to come forth in sufficient quantity, Government may advance funds to the credit societies at reasonable interest.

State monopoly, of whatever description comes in conflict with the free business of a people. State landlordism is a verity in most of the provinces in India, it is no mere academical sentiment. Government claims all unearned increment in land. If prices of foodstuffs go up, if world forces improve the value of land, that is considered a very reasonable ground to claim more revenues and rents. Canals are very paying concerns and are a source of direct profit to the state. Water rates just enough to cover the initial costs and expenses of upkeep of a canal, are a real aid to agriculture, any profit over and above this is a tax on land. There are authentic records to show that the old Indian land policy held the State responsible to keep the reservoirs and canals in good repairs within reasonable limits, and this was a practice that continued down to a hundred years back. The modern big irrigation schemes could not be kept up without a special tax, but that would not justify commercial gains. Describing the decay of many sources of income, Mr. Romesh Dutt has observed :

"In going over this list of the principal trade and professions of India, a hundred years ago, one sees how greatly these sources of income have been narrowed within this period. Weaving and spinning are practically dead, as most of the thread and cloth used by the people are supplied by Lancashire. Paper manufacture has also declined; skins are now sent to Europe for all the better kinds of leather work. The dyes of the country have been replaced by aniline dyes. The Beparies and their pack-bullocks have become things of the past, and the profits of carrying trade are now earned, not by boatmen

but by railways owned by foreign capitalists. Agriculture has become virtually the sole means of subsistence for the people with the loss of their many trades and industries."

The fear is that taccavi, though now a sporadic palliative movement of no very great import, bids fair to develop into an

all-powerful rural State Credit before which the co-operative credit or private enterprise will have little chance. It may become a monopoly to further cripple the rural resources.

KRISHNADAS.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND THE WAR

ALWAYS conscious of great shortcomings in the matter of industries, and not a little resentful of the political conditions that contribute their share to those shortcomings, India would often make a spasmodic effort to clutch at the good things that other more happily placed countries enjoy. The European war, paralysing for the moment the gigantic manufacturing capacity of Europe, has given fresh impetus to the demand in India for the creation of new industries and manufactures. Speaking rationally, war is a passing distemper, in spite of what gigantic proportions it may have assumed for the time; and the world may not be surprised to hear one morning that the belligerent countries had readjusted their little differences. The machinery of trade and manufacture will resume its wonted grinding with all the force of a pent-up activity and with all the self-interest that the wasteful war could dictate. Preservation or regeneration of Indian industries forms no side issue of the war; rather with the settling of the European differences, the countries of Europe will at least aim all the more at grasping the world trade. German militarism is as aggressive as German commercialism; and British navalism rightly earned the title of "shopkeepers" to the British people, and secured for them the domination over the sea centuries ago. India, now the home of Free Trade, what chance has she to withstand the onrushing avalanche of European trade?

It would appear that India in her industrial dotage has lost the sense of true perspective in industrial matters. Button-making is said at one time to be able to retrieve the economic fortunes of this vast country. The manufacture of matches on

a commercial scale is often held out as a very potent economic remedy. Boot laces are said to be able to add materially to the national wealth. Every small article of foreign import, however insignificant its annual value, now forms a subject of dissertation in the columns of newspapers, as if the fate of the country hung on their successful manufacture. Good things in themselves, but what place do they occupy among the big articles of import—cloth, sugar, metals? The steady import of cloth has drowned the once shrill cry of Swadeshim—preference for home manufacture. The drain on this head alone amounts to over 40 crores a year. The foreign textile import has been veritably built on the ashes of the once flourishing industry in the country. Imported sugar has borne down the native sugar in spite of the religious qualms of a conservative people. This absorbs another 15 crores a year, and the trade has an expanding prospect before it. The younger generation living in large towns do not know what peculiarly appetising flavour the Indian sugar has, the marble white tasteless foreign stuff is so satisfying to the eye, if not to the palate. Iron, metals and machinery account for crores; and a host of minor things, none of which is too trifling to be sedulously produced in India, come to a very colossal amount indeed.

It may be assumed for all practical purposes that for decades to come the present trade and fiscal policy of Britain towards her great dependency may not undergo any material change; that the angle of vision so far as trade interests are concerned may remain constant, whatever administrative reforms may take place here and there. It therefore seems to be a waste of energy to

ask the authorities to set up our industries with their active co-operation. In regard to a few articles which are the exclusive exports of countries other than Great Britain, the Indian Government, with their limited authority in these matters, may take courage to satisfy the Indian sentiment. But is the proposal feasible as regards cotton piecegoods or any other article the manufacture of which is an important source of income to the British Isles or the colonies? The Indian politician knows this, and that is why he asks the Government to help his countrymen in the making of glass, paper, matches, buttons and the like, and why he silently ignores the more serious question of the cotton and the sugar industry. War often helps to shift over the centre of gravity of great industries, but the country that is really benefited the most is the one that can do something even in peace time. What is our peace record?

In a poor country like India, the victim of western aggressive commercialism, it is expected of statesmen and politicians that they would devote at least as much energy to the building up of her lost industries as to the reforms in administration. But if the truth were told, the Indian patriots seriously identified themselves with economic and trade matters only for the brief space of the Bengal Partition days. And leaving aside the question of the Partition, their achievement in the other sphere was solid and tangible indeed. By creating a love for home manufactures, they did as great a service as by unsettling "the settled fact." But where is that spirit now? It can not be supposed that the undoing of the Bengal Partition was a compromise, a bribe to give up the higher service of the country—a ceaseless propaganda to simplify the taste of the nation, to prefer a coarse homespun to the delicate foreign stuff. It is all very well to say that a sentimental war cannot be carried on against organised economic forces, and to some extent the contention is not groundless. But what can justify the reversion to the old apathy, the assumption of the role of a mere advocate as distinct from that of the pilot? Boycott may be bad, all violence applied to economics or politics is reprehensible; but where is any propaganda in the mildest form, a mere educative persuasion ceaselessly carried on in towns, villages and hamlets?

Much has been done of late years in the way of building up the weaving and spinning industries. Ahmedabad has become the Indian Lancashire on a smaller scale, and stray mills are found scattered all over the country. The home demand for the product of these mills, however, has not kept pace with the expansion of manufacture, and it is the Far Eastern countries, in the main, that are helping the mills to keep up a precarious existence. With the first touch of adverse circumstances, the mills close down, as some of the very big mills did at Bombay of late, or work at a reduced strength. Granting that the mills are labouring under the unjust excise duty and that fine fabrics to suit the altered fastidious taste of these people are hard to be made here, much can be done by informed sentiment persistently kept awake. Had it not been for the peasantry of Northern India who have the practical sense to give preference to coarse and long-wearing cloths, the weaving mill industry in India would have made no headway. The leaders of public opinion in India can do much if they do not leave the industrial development of the country to run its sluggish course on mere economic lines. Even the slight fiscal reforms, short of heavy protective duties as Great Britain adopted early in the nineteenth century to exclude Indian manufactures by imposition of duties as heavy as 75 p.c., will not do much, though they will be an undoubted help. The abolition of excise duty on cotton manufactures will lead to some expansion of the trade, but it will be nothing to what a systematic constitutional propaganda may do in a few years. The effects of the Swadeshi movement, though that movement was short-lived, will outlive long years. It may be difficult to take a full stock of practical work done by that economic movement, but life-long votaries to home manufactures, converts to peaceful boycott of foreign articles, will be counted by millions, not so many perhaps in Bengal as in other provinces where the "great wrong" was not actually committed. But the uninformed, ignorant mass of the people have drifted away to an utter indifference. To them home manufacture and foreign manufacture mean the same thing, they are victims to the taste of the moment. But good intelligent people as they are, they await a vigorous informing propaganda to create a taste for home-made stuffs. Pend-

ing the organisation of large capital and mills, the coarse and rude Indian manufacture can fairly meet their requirements.

Nobody would deprecate the systematic building up of industries on sound economic lines and to compete with foreign trade on a purely economic basis. Indian capital is already flowing in, steadily increasing measure to the rearing up of several industries, and if the measure is at all stinted, a regular propaganda can alone stimulate it. Until a complete financial and fiscal autonomy is obtained by the Indian Government, it may be difficult to give any definite assurance to the Indian capitalist. He has to fight against organised cheap capital and expert knowledge of the West, and there is nothing to protect his nascent industries. He will invest according to his opportunity and his personal whim. That he invests at all against such odds is an evidence of his enterprise. That enterprise is nothing in proportion to this vast country and the grave interests involved, but it is something to be thankful for. What is required under the limited circumstances is the pushing on of home manufacture irrespective of their quality, and in some cases of price. State bounty of the West must take the form of national bounty in India, and reasonable profits should be assured to the manufacturer and artisan at a slight cost to the general consumer.

One hoped that the exploded myth that India is the home of agriculture alone and that manufacture and industry are exotics that find no congenial soil here, was a thing of the past. But we find that respon-

sible administrators in high quarters still cling to the view. Sir James Meston is the latest exponent, if not advocate, of agriculture against industry in India. The least one would say is that if manufacture does not find a congenial home in India now, the uncongeniality began with the advent of European trade, and that for a long time the sturdy plant of Indian industry successfully withstood the withering winds of the foreign trading company. Was it not India that supplied to Britain and other countries for centuries the fine cotton and silk fabrics, sugar and many other articles? What India is specially suited for and what not we had better leave to time and opportunity alone to diagnose; the experts may rest assured that their opinion is not valuable in the now fast moving East. It is a wonder how the expert opinion which should have a scientific basis and liable to little change, has undergone a complete change during half a century. The following extract from a General Minute of 30th November, 1830, of Sir John Malcolm shows what the expert opinion on the capability of India as a possible field of industrial activity was;

"It is only by encouraging richer produce...and other articles besides grain, reviving commerce,..... that we can give heart to the country, and enable it to pay its revenue. There is no want either of talent or spirit among the native population subject to our rule and control to accomplish this object, but it requires to be drawn forth; and to effect this it is necessary to exert all the activity, energy and enlarged policy of a government which understands how to combine its own prosperity with that of the community subject to its authority."

NARAIN DAS.

SNAKE-WORSHIP IN EASTERN BENGAL, AND WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

ALTHOUGH there is no unimpeachable evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in the time of the composition of the *Rig-Veda*, scholars have detected traces of its existence in a prayer which is contained in the 8th Ashtaka of this most ancient collection of Indian hymns and

wherein the earth is addressed as the *Sarpa-rajini* or "the queen of the serpents or the queen of all that moves." The *Aitareya Brahmana* also refers to this *Sarpa-mantra*. But it is in the *Taittiriya* or the *Black Yajur-Veda* that we catch a distinct glimpse of the prevalence of snake-

worship in those far-off times. For it embodies a goodlier number of prayers to serpents and a more definite account of serpent-worship than the Rig-Veda. In the *Samhita* of this Veda are to be found prayers to the *Sarpas* who are addressed as denizens of the heavens, the skies, the rays of the sun, the waters, the vegetables, &c. In the *Brahmanas* of this part of the *Yajur-Veda*, invocations are addressed to the said serpents, and sweet sacrifices are offered for their acceptance. The same work describes a battle between the gods and the giants, in the course of which the former are represented as offering curds and barleyflour to the *Sarpas* and the *Sarpa-devatas* and praying for their assistance in the subjugation of their cousins—the giants. Then we come to the *Sutras* or Aphorisms. In the *Grihya-Sutra* of Asvalayana, we find definite instructions laid down for offering sacrifices and making offerings to the *Sarpa-devas* or serpent-gods. The holding of *Sarpa-halis* or serpent-sacrifices is distinctly prescribed, and the ritual is set forth fully. The *Nagas* are also mentioned by Asvalayana.

Then we come to the Christian Era, about the beginning of the second century of which, or somewhat earlier, the *Institutes of Manu* was, according to Dr. G. Buhler, composed. We find that Manu—the ancient law-giver of the Hindus—also makes mention of the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*.

The *Mahabharata* also mentions the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*, as is also done by the *Bhagavadgita* wherein Krishna tells Arjuna that Vasuki and Ananta represent him amongst the *Sarpas* and the *Nagas* respectively.

The *Puranas* also mention the *Nagas* and the *Sarpas*. In the *Bhagavata Purana*, Vasuki and eleven other *Nagas* are mentioned as forming the string of the sun's chariot, one serpent being held to be sacred to each month. The *Markandeya Purana* embodies the well-known story of the marriage of Madalasa, a *Naga* princess of superb beauty, with King Kulvalasva.*

Then proceeding onwards through the

earlier centuries of the Christian Era, we arrive in the fifth century A. D. wherein we come across more authentic evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in the post-Vedic ages of Ancient India. This evidence is afforded by the apologue of *The Gold-giving Serpent* which is the fifth fable of the *Panchatantra*.

The gist of this apologue is to the effect that, once upon a time, a Brahman farmer named Haridatta, getting despondent over the unproductiveness of his field, was taking his mid-day siesta, under the shadow of a tree. All of a sudden, seeing a great hooded snake creeping out of an anthill, he thought to himself: "Surely, this snake is the tutelary deity of my field, and yet I have never worshipped it. That's the reason why my field yields me a very poor return. I will go forthwith and worship it with libations of milk in a bowl." No sooner did he make up his mind to do this than he went to the anthill and offered the snake his propitiatory offering of milk. Next day he found a gold denar in the bowl of milk, and, every day, he received it after offering the libation. This shows that here we have the clearest evidence of the prevalence of snake-worship in Ancient India during the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. Although analogues of this fable exist in Phædrus and Babrius, Benfey has proved most ingeniously and conclusively (*Eindl.* 1.359) that this Indian apologue is the source of both the Greek and the Latin fables. This being so, we must now determine the probable date of the composition of the *Panchatantra* wherein this apologue occurs. It is now well-known to Indologists that this work existed in the first half of the sixth century A.D., inasmuch as it was translated, under the order of King Khosru Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.) into Pchlevi, the then literary language of Persia. Professor A. Macdonell, therefore, assumes that "it was known in the fifth century, for a considerable time must have elapsed before it became so famous that a foreign king desired its translation."* We are, therefore, in a position to come to the definite conclusion that the snake was worshipped in India prior to the sixth century A.D.

* For a fuller discussion of the evidence bearing on the prevalence of snake-worship in the Vedic and Puranika periods of Ancient India, vide Rao Sahib Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik's paper on "Serpent Worship in Western India" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, Pp. 188-193.

* *A History of Sanskrit Literature.* By R. A. Macdonell M. A., Ph. D. London: W. Heinemann, 1900. pp. 369 ff.

Since then, the worship of the snake, either in its living form or in the shape of an image like the brazen serpent which Moses set up in the wilderness, has continued in India till the present day. We occasionally catch glimpses of its prevalence in Mediæval India, for that celebrated French traveller and pioneer of French trade with India—Jean Baptiste Tavernier, in the course of his visit to this country in the seventeenth century, saw the serpent worshipped in the form of an idol. He says:—

"While the men (Manaris) load their animals in the morning and the women fold up their tents, the priests who follow them elevate, in the most beautiful parts of the plain where they are encamped, an idol in the form of a serpent, entwined about a staff of six or seven feet in height, and each one in file goes to make reverence to it, the girls turning round it three times. After all have passed, the priests take care to remove the idol and to load it on an ox allocated for that purpose." *

Then again :

"At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol which has the form of a serpent, of which I have spoken in the first Book of this account of India. This festival lasts nine days, and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermillion around the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and, when there is any special love for the animal, leaves of tinsel are added. Each morning the idol is worshipped, the girls dancing round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the evening, when they again worship the idol and dance round it a second time." †

It is a pity that Tavernier has neither mentioned the name of the aforementioned snake-worshipping festival, nor has he left on record, for our enlightenment, further details thereof so that we might be enabled, at this distance of time, to identify it with the corresponding festival of modern times. It would appear that it corresponds with the Nagpanchami festival as it is observed throughout India at the present day.

I shall now describe and compare the various forms in which the *Nagpanchami* festival (or "The Dragon's Fifth") is celebrated in Eastern Bengal, Western India and the Southern Presidency. In Eastern Bengal, it is observed on the fifth day in the dark fortnight of the Bengali

month of Sravana (July-August). At the advent of the rainy season, snakes leave their holes in the flooded fields and jungles and enter the habitations of men—thereby throwing them into great consternation. It is in the month of Sravana that the greatest number of deaths from snake-bite occur in Lower Bengal. The people of the country-side labor under the impression that the only way of obtaining immunity from snake-bite is by propitiating the snake-goddess Manasa. The villagers, at this time, live in such a great fear of the snake that their womenfolk do not rest content with worshipping her only in the dark fortnight of Sravana but they also pay devours to her on the last days (Sankranti) of the months of Asadh (June-July) and Sravana. The devout women, before turning in for the night, join the palms of their hands, repeatedly touch their foreheads with the outstretched thumbs thereof by way of doing obeisances to the snake-goddess Manasa—"the mother of sage Astika"—and then doze off into sleep. On awaking from sleep in the morning, they utter the name of the goddess Durga several times and then leave their beds. Among the illiterate folks, the story of Behula, as embodied in the *Padmapurana*, is recited to the accompaniment of the "rub-a-dub-dub-dub" of the tom-tom and the tinkling of the cymbal. On the last day of Sravana, hundreds of boats with claymade images of the "Eight Serpents" (अष्टनाग) placed on their decks, may be seen floating along the flooded water-ways of the villages and taking part in the rowing-matches.

On the day of the Nagpanchami festival, boiled rice may not be taken. Unboiled milk and five plantains form the main offerings to the goddess Manasa. No incense may be burnt at the time of worshipping her. She is worshipped with the mumbling of the following *mantra* :—

श्रीं देवीमन्त्राद्गौरीनां मन्त्रपरवदनां चाहकारान्तिं वदन्त्या,
इमां कदापुनरां सुखस्तिनयनां सेवितां विद्विषामहे ।
अरेखां मन्त्रिणां कनकमणिगणेः नागररत्नेनैकेः,
वन्देऽहं साधनां उदकुचमगलां भोगिनीं कामदेयां ॥

The legend which is recited in connection with the celebration of this festival is as follows:—Once upon a time, a Brahman woman had three sons and three

* *Travels in India*. By Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Translated from the original French edition of 1676. 2 Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879. Vol. 1, Page. 42.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 249.

daughters-in-law, On a rainy day in the month of Sravana, the three daughters-in-law went to bathe in a tank. Addressing the youngest daughter-in-law, the eldest one said: "Had I been in my father's house, I would have, on such a rainy day as this, partaken of a meal of *khichri*." The second daughter-in-law, addressing her eldest sister-in-law, said: "Had I been in my father's house, I would have, on such a rainy day as this, partaken of parched rice and chick-pea mixed with melted ghee, roasted seeds of the jack-fruit and hot fried pan-cakes." But hearing the tall talk of her sisters-in-law, the youngest daughter-in-law held her tongue. Whereupon the former said to her: "Youngest sister, why haven't you said anything?" On this the youngest daughter-in-law heaved a heavy sigh and said: "Have I got anybody living in my paternal house? I had two elder brothers. Mother Manasa has taken them away. I have heard that, in their childhood, they died of snakebite. If you have a hankering for partaking of such delicious food on this rainy day, is it not practicable to have these dishes prepared with the permission of our mother-in-law? Do take your baths and go home. Let me see if I can catch two fishes from this tank and treat you to the same." On this, the eldest daughter-in-law said: "What will you get in the shape of fish from this ditch of a tank? It is true that nothing except *rui* (*Labeo rohita*) and *catla* (*Catla bichanani*) can be found in the two tanks in the outer compound of my father's house. But you will scarcely believe me if I tell you that climbing perches (*Koi* fish—*Anabas scandens*), one cubit long, abound in the tank in our backyard. Oh! how delicious eating they are!" The second daughter-in-law also said something "duchessy" in the same strain.

After the eldest and second daughters-in-law had left the tank, the youngest one found two *sol* fishes swimming about in the tank. She caught them and, taking them inside the kitchen, kept them covered up with a bell-metal vessel. Thereafter, when she took off the cover, lo! and behold her surprise on finding them not to be fish but two snakes. Then these two snakes, transforming themselves into two handsome young men, addressed her as follows: "Sister! Our names are Eyoraj and Muniraj. We are your elder brothers and living very happily under the wing of

our mother-goddess Manasa. We feel very much pained in mind on seeing you look so very small at the tall talk of your sisters-in-law. Come and we will take you to her deityship. And we will again bring you back here after a week." Saying this, they went to her mother-in-law and broached to her the proposal of taking their sister home for a short visit. Hearing it, the Brahman woman expressed her surprise and said: "Good gracious! I did not know before that my youngest daughter-in-law's brothers were alive." On this, the two brothers replied: "True it is that, in our boyhood, we had gone to foreign parts and had been bitten by snakes there. But we recovered from the effects of the snake-bite through the blessing of the mother-goddess Manasa."

Accompanied by their sister, Eyoraj and Muniraj crossed the seven oceans and, entering an extensive forest, reached the residence of the snake-goddess Manasa. There the sister of the two brothers was received with open arms and entertained right royally—being treated everyday to the most delicious viands. One day the goddess, addressing her with the most loving caresses, said: "Daughter! To-day is the Nagpanchami. I am going to the earth in response to an invitation on the occasion of my worship. Please you, on my behalf, do the cooking and feed your brothers. Give some milk to the *nagas* (snakes) for their daily meal. These *nagas* have been spoilt by too much caressing and get angry at the slightest trifle. See that they do not want anything." Hearing her instructions, Eyoraj's sister said: "Mother! don't be anxious. I shall do everything as you desire." Thereafter the goddess Manasa went to the earth.

It was a rainy day in the month of Sravana. Eyoraj's sister, thinking that hot food would be very palatable on such a day, boiled the milk and poured it, boiling hot, into the snakes' holes. But horror of horrors! The hot milk burnt the face of some of the snakes, the mouths of some; and the bodies of some were wholly scorched. At this, the *nagas* foamed with rage, and exclaimed: "What! We are Kadru's progeny. Our anger knows no bound when we think that a human girl should come and insult us in this way." The two brothers, accompanied by Astika, went to their maternal uncle Vasuki and, with his assistance,

māntra, obeisance should be made to the snake-goddess :—

जरत्कारमुनेः पत्नी मनसादेवि नमोस्तुते ॥*

We should now go to Western India and see how the Nagpanchami festival is held there. It is observed there on the fifth day of the bright half of the lunar month Sravana "which" generally corresponds with August and September of the Christian year." The fifth day of this month is held sacred to the *Nagas* or serpents. Early in the morning of this day, each household gets a clay image of a snake made or has a brood of five, seven, or nine serpents painted on a wooden board or on a wall with sandalwood or turmeric paste. The vessels used in the worship of the snake-goddess on this occasion are all made of the horns of the wild buffalo and placed in front of the representations of the serpent. Flowers, sandalwood paste, turmeric, parched rice and beans, or parched gram, and jowari (*Holens sorghum*) are offered to these snake-images. Lamps are lighted and waved before them; incense is burnt; and eatables and fruits are offered to them. On this festival-day, the people take only boiled food. After the morning meals have been partaken of, a lamp is lighted and kept burning all the day long close to the representations of the snakes. Offerings of milk and eatables are also kept standing in close proximity to the images. In the afternoon, people go to some locality, generally to an ant-hill, which is popularly believed to be the habitat of these ophidian deities. To these places, also, come the snake-charmers with their reptilian pets and hold an exhibition of them. It is said that, even in the city of Bombay, these snake-charmers go their rounds from house to house in the Indian quarter, exhibiting their pets to whom the people offer different kinds of food. In the evening, offerings of flowers are again made; incense is burnt; lights waved; eatables placed before the representations of the snakes; and one or more lamps are kept lighted throughout the

**"He, who does not grudge another's
good fortune,**

He, who grudges another's good

Hearing these words, the eldest and second sisters-in-law abandoned their attitude of jealousy towards Eyoraj's sister and made friends with her. Thereafter a son was born to the latter. Eyoraj and Muniraj celebrated their nephew's rice-eating ceremony with great *eclat*.

* The foregoing details of the Nagpanchami Festival as observed in Eastern Bengal, have been taken from a little Bengali book entitled "*Meyeli Vratakatha*" by Parameshprasanna Roy, B.A., and published by the Ashutosh Library No. 50-1, College Street, Calcutta.

night. The worshippers sit out the whole night playing at some game or other. This vigil is designated as "keeping the serpents awake." Or, more appropriately, it is the worshippers keeping awake for fear of being bitten by the snakes. It is the female members of each household that worship these ophidian deities. On the conclusion of the ceremonies, the women and the children of each family assemble together; and the eldest or the most intelligent of the female members recites the following legend setting forth the origin of snake-worship in Western India:—

In a city called Manikpura (or Manikpura) there lived a Gavada Brahman. He was ignorant of the Nagpanchami and did not know that no ploughing, digging, picking, burning or roasting should be done on this day. He, therefore, went to plough his field on the Nagpanchami day. Now there was a hole in his field which was tenanted by a female snake and her brood of young ones. Being cut up by the plough share, the latter died. The Nagin or female snake, who was absent from her hole at that time, returned and found that all her young ones had been killed. Hissing with rage, she went to the Gavada Brahman's house and, seeing his ploughshare besmeared with blood, at once came to the conclusion that it was he who had killed her young ones. She, therefore, bit the Brahman and all his family-members, who were asleep at that time; and all of them died. In order that his whole family might become extinct, she went to bite his daughter who lived in another village. But the Brahman's daughter had painted the Nagas (snakes) and, having worshipped and given them offerings, had, during the night, placed before them burning frankincense, lighted lamps, and eatables. The female snake was mightily pleased at the sight of all this and partook of the good things that were spread there. She then told the girl: "O daughter! Your father killed all my youngsters to-day while he was ploughing the field. I have, therefore, bitten to death all the persons in your father's house, and have come here to bite you. But as you have remembered and worshipped me, I am highly pleased with you and will not, therefore, bite you." On hearing this, the Gavada Brahman's daughter replied: "You have killed all my kinsmen in my paternal house. Point out to me some remedy whereby they all may be re-

stored to life." Whereupon the Nagin said: "Take this ambrosia and sprinkle it on their corpses. Thereafter all of them will come to life again." The Gavada Brahman's daughter did as directed by the Nagin and, thereby, restored all her kinsmen to life. Thereafter she informed her father of the circumstances under which he and his family-members had come by their deaths and of the means by which they had been restored by her to life. She, therefore, advised her father as follows: "Now, henceforth, when the month of Sravana comes, you should worship the Nagas (snakes) on the fifth day in the bright fortnight thereof according to the prescribed methods and should offer them, at night, frankincense, lamps and eatables, and should not dig and should not also kill anything on this day." Thenceforth, the Gavada Brahman began to act up to his daughter's advice, and all men began to observe the Nagpanchami vrata (or ceremony).*

We will now proceed to Southern India to investigate into the way in which snake-worship is done there. We find that in the districts of Canara, the Nagpanchami festival is celebrated on the fifth day of the light half of the month of Sravana. But in the Telugu and Tami districts, this festival is observed on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika, Vaisakha or Magha and is, therefore, designated by the people of these parts as "Nagalu-chavati" or the Naga-chaturthi. The method in which the snakes are worshipped in the Southern Presidency is almost the same as that prevalent in Western India. In these parts also, the people go to the ant-hills popularly believed to be tenanted by the ophidian deities to make their offerings to them. In the districts of Canara, stone images of the Nagas are usually set up under the shadow of pipal trees (*Ficus religiosa*). Sometimes, images of snakes are made in metal and worshipped and then presented to the Brahmans. The ceremony of worshipping the snakes on the Nagachaturthi day is performed by women of the higher classes. In the same districts

* For a fuller account of the Nagpanchami Festival as observed in the Bombay Presidency, vide the late Rao Sahib Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik's paper on "Serpent-Worship in Western India" in *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, pages 169-200.

also, an incarnation of Seshha, one of the nine great Nagas, is worshipped, under the designation of Subrahmanya, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Margasirsha (November-December). This day is, therefore, called Subrahmanya-shashthi. On the occasion of its celebration, thousands of Brahmans are treated to a sumptuous feast. People, who have not been blessed with children, take vows to devote themselves to the service of Subrahmanya, which they give effect to on the day of the festival by observing a strict fast and rolling themselves over the remnants of the food left on the platters by the Brahmans at the afore mentioned feast. On the day that the festival is celebrated, one of the officiating priests gloves one of his hands with a leathern bag and, by inserting this gloved hand into one of the holes believed to be tenanted by snakes, scoops out from it three handfuls of earth, known as the *mulamrittika* (the original earth) and doles it out to the assembled worshippers as a token of the deity's favours. *

In Malabar, the snake-god is worshipped by the Nambutiris on the *Nagarapanchimi* day which falls on the 5th of Sravana "when the star Aslesha is in the ascendant." The act of worship consists in bathing the god (most likely a stone or metal image of the ophidian deity) in milk. Mr. F. Fawcett says that this festival is common in Southern India and that he has seen a cognate ceremonial in the Bellary district. †

It will be seen from what I have said above that, on account of the great mortality that annually occurs in India from snake-bite, the snake is much dreaded by the people throughout the length and breadth of this country, and that the goddess, who is popularly believed to preside over these deadly reptiles—"Fit warders in the gate of Death" as Heber has very aptly called them—is worshipped by all sections of the Hindu community, specially by the orthodox and illiterate members thereof. But the method and time of worshipping her varies in different parts of India. We will, therefore, now examine them and set forth the main

points wherein they differ from and agree with each other:—

(a) In Eastern Bengal, clay images of the "Eight Nagas" are made and worshipped; whereas in Western India either a clay image of the snake-goddess is made, or figures of five, seven, or nine snakes are painted on a wooden board or upon a wall. In Southern India, either metal images of snakes are made for purposes of worship, or stone images of snakes are permanently set up under pipal trees for the same purpose.

Similarly, on the occasion of the *Rikki* or *Biruri Panchami* which corresponds to the *Nagpanchami* of the other parts of India and is celebrated in the submontane regions of the Himalayas, figures of snakes and birds are painted by the celebrants on the walls of their houses and worshipped with money and sweetmeats. * In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the *paterfamilias* paints on the walls of his sleeping-room two rude figures of snakes and makes offerings to Brahmans; while the womenfolk draw, with flour, a serpentine line round about the residential house by way of a magic circle through which no serpents can enter. † In Garhwal, the celebrants of the festival draw, with sandalwood powder or turmeric, rude representations of five, seven, or nine snakes upon the ground which has been previously smeared with a mixture of cowdung and mud. ‡ While, in Kangra, after the Diwali is over, a festival is celebrated the chief function whereof is to say farewell to the serpents, and in which an image of the Nag made of cowdung is worshipped. §

(b) The ophidian goddess is worshipped, in Eastern Bengal, on the fifth day of the *dark fortnight* of the Bengali month of Sravana (July-August) and the last days (Samkranti) of the months of Asadh (June-July) and Sravana. Curiously enough, she is worshipped in Western India on the fifth day of the *bright* half of the lunar month of Sravana which is said to correspond with the months of August and September of the Christian year. (?) In the

* *Himalayan Gazetteer*, By E. T. Atkinson. 2 vols. Allahabad: 1882-1884. Vol. II., page 851.

† *Eastern India*. By F. H. Buchanan. 3 vols. London: 1833. Vol. II. page 481.

‡ Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II., page 836.

§ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., page 75.

* *Op. cit.*, pages 178-179.

† *See the Madras Government Museum Bulletin* (Vol. III., No. 1.) Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press 1900. pages 58; 84.

districts of Canara in the Madras Presidency, the worship takes place on the same day as in Western India. But in the Telugu and Tamil districts thereof, it is observed on the fourth day of the Bright fortnight of the months of Kartika, Vaisaka or Magha, or, occasionally, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Agrahayana (November-December).

(c) In the absence of details, we must presume that the utensils used in the worship of the snake-goddess in Eastern Bengal are the ordinary ones—either made of brass or copper—used on this side of India. But a very curious feature of snake-worship in Western India is the use of vessels made of the horns of the wild buffalo. We have no means of ascertaining what sorts of utensils are used in Southern India.

(d) The partaking of cooked rice is forbidden in Eastern Bengal on the day of the worship. But in Western India, the celebrants of the worship may take boiled food. Perhaps the same practice is followed in Southern India.

(e) The burning of incense on the occasion of the worship of the snake-goddess is strictly prohibited in Eastern Bengal. But in Western and Southern India, as also in Garhwal, incense is burnt before her image.

(f) In Eastern Bengal, the principal items in the offerings made to the goddess are unboiled milk and five plantains. But in Western India (and most likely in the Southern Presidency also), flowers, fruits, sandalwood paste, turmeric, parched rice and grains and milk are offered up to her. In Garhwal, offerings of parched rice, beans, or gram, other kinds of edibles and fruit are offered to, and lighted lamps are waved before the figures of the snakes.

(g) It does not appear whether the celebrants of snake-worship in Eastern

Bengal ever go to an ant-hill or other locality believed to be tenanted by snakes to make their offerings to the latter. But they do so in Western and Southern India. In the eastern districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, milk and dried rice are poured into a snake's hole.*

(h) In Eastern Bengal, the people amuse themselves on the day of this festival with rowing-matches; whereas in Western India the celebrants of the worship keep awake and sit out the whole night indulging in games. We have no means of ascertaining whether or not this is done in Southern India. In Garhwal, the celebrants spend the night in hearing stories in praise of the Nag.

(i) Another distinguishing feature of snake-worship throughout India is that it is performed generally by the female members of the family. We have seen that, in Eastern Bengal, the womenfolk perform it. The same is the case also in Western and Southern India.

(j) A second noteworthy characteristic of this worship is that, at the conclusion of the ceremonies, a legend is recited generally by the eldest female member of the family. The legend, which is recited in Eastern Bengal, inculcates the necessity of observing the Nagpanchami festival for safeguarding the family-members from all sorts of harm and for ensuring the happiness and prosperity of the family; whereas the legend recited in Western India accounts for the origin of snake-worship. It does not appear whether any legend is recited in Southern India.

(k) A third feature of snake-worship is that no ploughing or digging can be done on the day of the Nagpanchami festival. This is especially the case in Western India.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

* Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II., page 836.

* *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., page 38.

ZEB-UN-NISSA'S LOVE-AFFAIRS

A URANGZIB'S eldest child, Zeb-un-nissa, (b. 15 Feb. 1638), is the heroine of some love-tales current in Indian literary circles. She was a gifted poetess and is said to have claimed an artist's

independence of morality. Similar creditable legends about Kalidas's life have long circulated among our old school of Sanskritists, but are discredited by sober historians (*Ind. Antiq.*, 1878, 115.) We shall

to-day try to ascertain whether the traditions about the Princess Royal of Delhi had a stronger basis in fact than those about the laureate poet of the court of Ujjayini.

No mention of Zeb-un-nissa's love-intrigue with Aqil Khan, or indeed any person whatever, is made in any work of her father's reign or even for half a century after his death. We can easily explain the silence of the court historians and other official writers, who would naturally suppress every scandal about royalty. But perfect freedom of speech was enjoyed by the private historians of the reign (especially the two Hindu authors, Bhimsen and Ishwardas), by Khafi Khan who wrote a quarter of a century after Aurangzib's death, and by the author of the biographical dictionary of the Mughal Peers (*Masir-ul-umara*), who lived a generation later still. The European travellers, Bernier and Manucci, wrote for the eyes of foreigners, and had nothing to fear from the wrath of Aurangzib or his posterity. Manucci, in particular, revelled in court scandals, so much so that his history of the Mughal (*Storia do Mogor*) has been well called a *chronique scandaleuse*. Would he have passed over Zeb-un-nissa's failings, if he had heard of any, as such a topic would have made excellent "copy" for his book? The gossip and outspoken Khafi Khan does not assail Zeb-un-nissa's character, though he openly proclaims the shames of Jahangir and Nur Jahan. The story of our heroine's love-intrigues is modern,—a growth of the 19th century and the creation of Urdu romancists, probably of Lucknow. The pretended Urdu Life of Zeb-un-nissa that holds the field at present is the *Durr-i-Maklum* of Munshi Ahmaduddin, B.A., of Lahor, who quotes from an earlier work, *Haiyat-i-Zeb-un-nissa* by Munshi Muhammad-ud-din Khaliq.

This story, in its most developed form is conveniently summarised in English (evidently from Ahmaduddin's Urdu work) in Mrs. Westbrook's introduction to her *Life of Zeb-un-nissa* in the "Wisdom of the East Series" (1913). She writes:

"In the beginning of 1662 Aurangzib was taken ill, and his physicians prescribing change of air, he took his family and court with him to Lahor. At that time Aqil Khan, the son of his *wazir*, was governor of that city. He was famous for his beauty and bravery, and was also a poet. He had heard of Zeb-un-nissa, and knew her virtues, and was anxious to see her. On pretence of guarding the city, he used to ride round the walls of the palace, hoping to catch a

glimpse of her. One day he was fortunate, he caught sight of her on the housetop at dawn, dressed in a robe of *gul-anar*, the colour of the flower of the pomegranate. He said, *A vision of red appears on the roof of the palace*. She heard and answered, completing the couplet, *Supplications nor force nor gold can win her*.

She liked Lahor as a residence, and was laying out a garden there: one day Aqil Khan heard that she had gone with her companions to see a marble pavilion which was being built in it. He disguised himself as a mason, and, carrying a hod, managed to pass the guards and enter. She was playing *chhunar* with some of her girl friends, and he, passing near, said, *In my longing for thee I have become as the dust wandering round the earth*. She understood and answered immediately: *Even if thou hadst become as the wind, thou shouldst not touch a tress of my hair*. They met again and again, but some rumour reached the ears of Aurangzib, who was at Delhi, and he hastened back. He wished to hush up the matter by hurrying her into marriage at once. Zeb-un-nissa demanded freedom of choice, and asked that portraits of her suitors should be sent to her: and chose naturally that of Aqil Khan. Aurangzib sent for him; but a disappointed rival wrote to him: 'It is no child's play to be the lover of a daughter of a king. Aurangzib knows your doings; as soon as you come to Delhi, you will reap the fruit of your love.' Aqil Khan thought the Emperor planned revenge. So, alas for poor Zeb-un-nissa! at the critical moment her lover proved a coward; he declined the marriage, and wrote to the king resigning his service. Zeb-un-nissa was scornful and disappointed, and wrote: '*I hear that Aqil Khan has left off paying homage to me*—or the words might also mean, '*has resigned service*—'on account of some foolishness.' He answered also in verse, '*Why should a wise man do that which he knows he will regret?*' (Aqil also means, a wise man.)

But he came secretly to Delhi to see her again, perhaps regretting his fears. Again they met in her garden; the Emperor was told and came unexpectedly, and Zeb-un-nissa, taken unawares, could think of no hiding-place for her lover but a *deg* or large cooking-vessel. The Emperor asked, 'what is in the *deg*?' and was answered, 'only water to be heated.' 'Put it on the fire, then,' he ordered; and it was done. Zeb-un-nissa at that moment thought more of her reputation than of her lover, and came near the *deg* and whispered, 'keep silence if you are my true lover, for the sake of my honour.' One of her verses says, '*What is the fate of a lover? It is to be crucified for the world's pleasure*.' One wonders if she thought of Aqil Khan's sacrifice of his life.* After this she was imprisoned in the fortress of Salimgarh.' (Pp. 14-17.)

Now, examining the above account in the light of known history we at once find that the story of the smuggled lover being done to death in a *deg* in the harem has been transferred to Zeb from her aunt Jahanara, of whom it is told by Manucci (*Storia*, i. 218) and Bernier (p. 13). The recorded facts of the life of Aqil Khan also

* This conjecture is incorrect. According to the conventions of Persian poetry the type of the perfect lover is the moth which consumes itself in the flame of a lamp without uttering a groan. Cf. Carlyle's 'Consume your own smoke'.

contradict the story in all essential particulars.

Mir Askari, afterwards surnamed Aqil Khan, was a native of Khwaf (in Persia)—and not the son of a Delhi *wazir*. He entered the service of Aurangzib in Shah Jahan's reign and attended the Prince during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan (1652-1657) as his equerry (*jilaudar*). He had already made his mark as a poet and adopted the pen-name of *Razi* from the saint Burhanuddin Raz-ullah whom he venerated. When Aurangzib started from the Deccan to contest the throne, he left his family behind in the fort of Daulatabad (6 Feb.—Dec. 1658), and Aqil Khan acted as the governor of the city from 6th February and of the fort from August 1658 till near the end of 1659. Arriving at Delhi on 8th February 1660, he was, two months later, made *faujdar* of the land between the Ganges and the Jamuna (Mian Duab), but replaced by another officer in July 1661. In the following November he temporarily retired from service on the ground of ill-health and was permitted to reside at Lahor on a pension of Rs. 750 a month. When in November 1663 Aurangzib was passing through Lahor with his family, on his return from Kashmir, Aqil Khan waited on him (2nd November) and was taken into the Emperor's train and appointed Superintendent of the Hall of Private Audience, a position of very close contact with the Emperor, (January 1664). Evidently he continued to enjoy high favour, being promoted in October 1666 and given a royal present in May next. Later on he was made Postmaster General (Darogha of Dak Chauki), but resigned in April 1669 and seems to have lived under a cloud for the next seven years, as we find no mention of him till October 1676 when he was granted an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month. In January 1679 he was taken back into service as Second Paymaster. Being appointed *Subahdar* of Delhi in October 1680, he held that office till his death in 1696.

Thus we find that the story of young Aqil Khan having been roasted to death in a cauldron by order of Aurangzib, is utterly false. No man below thirty could have been put in charge of a fort containing Aurangzib's wives and children on the eve of the war of succession, and, therefore, Aqil Khan must have reached the full span of human life at the time of his death.

From the life sketch of Aqil Khan we find that he was at the same place with Zeb-un-nissa first at Daulatabad in 1658 (some ten months), then at Lahor in 1663 for a week only, thenceforth with the Imperial Court at Delhi and Agra, till his resignation in April 1669, again with the Court during the Rajput wars of 1679 and 1680, and finally at Delhi from January 1681 to 1696. It was only during the first and last of these periods that he could have been tempted to court the Princess by the absence of her august father.

The Khan's temporary retirement from service and residence at Lahor away from the court (Nov. 1661-Oct. 1663) could not have been due to Imperial displeasure as he was given a large pension all the time. But his long removal from the capital and Emperor's entourage for ten years (1669—1679) during the first seven of which he was denied any imperial bounty shows that he had for some reason, unknown to us, fallen under the Emperor's wrath.

Was it a punishment for making love to Zeb-un-nissa? A letter to her from her brother Prince Akbar, written in 1680, contains the statement, "As the Emperor has now ordered that no packet (*na/wo*) bearing the seal of Aqil should be admitted to the ladies' apartments of the palace, it is certain that papers will have to be now sent [by me?] after careful consideration."

Was this Aqil her alleged lover Aqil Khan Razi the poet? I think, not. There was at this time in Akbar's camp a Mulla named Muhammad Aqil, who afterwards signed a manifesto pronouncing canonical sentence of deposition on Aurangzib in favour of Akbar, for which the luckless theologian was imprisoned and severely bastinadoed when his patron's rebellion failed. Zeb being herself a Quranic scholar and a patron of new commentaries on the Muslim scripture, correspondence between her and a noted theologian like Mulla Muhammad Aqil would naturally pass unsuspected. The writer of the letter implies that his own confidential letters to his sister used to be sent under cover of Aqil's envelopes, which could reach her unchallenged, while packets bearing his own seal on the cover might have been intercepted by his enemies. This is quite clear from the concluding part of the letter: "The delay that has taken place in my

writing to you is solely due to the fear lest my letters should fall into the hands of other people [lit., strangers, i.e., enemies.]”

The theory that the Emperor stopped the poet and noble Aqil Khan's correspondence with his daughter on detecting an intrigue between them, is discredited by the fact that only a few months afterwards he was appointed to the highly responsible post of viceroy of Delhi, the very place where she was sent as a state-prisoner early next year.

Zeb-un-nissa was imprisoned by her father in January 1681, and the official history establishes beyond dispute the fact that it was in punishment of her complicity with Prince Akbar who had rebelled against the Emperor.

The letter from which we have quoted contains several passages showing how deeply engaged she was in her brother's interests. He says, “What belongs to you is as good as mine, and whatever I own is at your disposal,” and, again, “The dismissal or appointment of the sons-in-law of Daulat and Sagar Mal is at your discretion. I have dismissed them at your bidding. I consider your orders in all affairs as sacred like the *Quran* and *Traditions* of the Prophet, and obedience to them as proper.”

When Akbar's rebellion fizzled out and his abandoned camp near Ajmir was seized by the imperialists (16 January, 1681), “Zeb-un-nissa's correspondence with him was discovered, she was deprived of her pension of four lakhs of Rupees a year, her property was confiscated, and she was lodged in the fort Salimgarh at Delhi.” (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 204.) Here she lived till her death in 1702. It would be sweet to imagine that during this captivity our

High born maiden
In her palace-tower
Soothed her love-laden
Soul in secret hour
With music sweet as love, which overflowed her
power,

and that she wrote at this time the pathetic laments which Mrs. Westbrook has translated on page 17:—

So long these fetters cling to my feet!

My friends have become enemies, my relations are
strangers to me.

What more have I to do with being anxious to
keep my name undishonoured,

When friends seek to disgrace me?

Seek not relief from the prison of grief, O Makhfi;

thy release is not politic.

O Makhfi, no hope of release hast thou until the
Day of Judgment come,

But history is silent on the point. On the other hand our ardour to weave a romance out of her captive life is chilled by the reflection that she was now an old maid of 43 and Aqil Khan was at least twelve years older.

Another legend makes her fall in love with Shivaji the Maratha hero at first sight on the occasion of his being presented to the Emperor at Agra on 12th May 1666. Fifty years ago a novel was written by Bhudev Mukherji in Bengali describing how the lovers exchanged rings and parted. But it is a fiction and nothing more. Not to speak of the Persian histories of the time, no Marathi life of Shivaji mentions that a Mughal princess interested herself in the fate of the captive chieftain in her father's capital. I have searched through the *Bakhar* of Sabhasad (Shivaji's earliest life) the *Shiva-digvijay* (supposed to have been written in 1718 and forming the fullest and best account of the hero), the inaccurate and legend-loaded *Bakhar* of Malhar Rao Chitnis (composed in 1810), the confused hotch-potch cooked at Baroda in 1829 and published in 1895,—viz., the *Shivaji-pratap*,—and even the “Raigarh Life”;—but none of them gives the smallest hint of the champion of Hindu revival having coquetted with a Muslim sweetheart in the enemy's den. Zeb-un-nissa's aesthetic sense, too, would have saved her from throwing her heart away to a rugged and illiterate Deccani. The whole story is not only unhistoric, but also absurd.

Her captivity at Delhi does not seem to have been relaxed during her life. The official history records her death thus, “The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Delhi that the Princess Zeb-un-nissa had drawn on her face the veil of God's Mercy and taken up her abode in the palace of inexhaustible Forgiveness, [26 May, 1702.] At the parting of his child, dear as his life, his heart was filled with grief and his eyes with tears. He could not control the weakness that overpowered him. [At last] he recovered self-possession [somehow], and ordered Syed Amjad Khan, Shaikh Ataullah, and Hafiz Khan to give away alms [at her funeral] and build a place of repose for her, as had been decided beforehand, in the Garden of Thirty Thousand [outside Delhi] which was a bequest from Jahanara.” (*M-i-A.*, 462.)

JADUNATH SARKAR,

THE EVOLUTION OF JAPAN

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

III

THE third factor which has contributed to the free development of the industries of Japan is her merchant marine. Here again we find that it was the Government of Japan that took the initiative and gave material financial and other support to private enterprise in this line.

At the time of the Restoration in 1868 A.D., Japan had practically no merchant marine. In 1870 the Kaish Kaisha, the first Japanese Steamship Co., established the first regular service between Tokyo and Osaka, two coast-towns, *via* Yokohama and Kobe, also coast-towns, under instructions from Government, the lines leaving thrice a month. In 1875 another company opened the Yokohama Sanghai line and next year extended their service to other ports on the Chinese and Russian coasts. In 1876 Japanese licensed mariners numbered only 76 and of these *only 4 were Japanese subjects*. In that year there was only one Japanese pilot as against 15 of foreign nationality. In 1914 there were 26 Japanese pilots as against 6 foreign. In 1895 there were 4135 Japanese licensed mariners as against 835 foreigners. Ordinary seamen aggregated 38217 in 1900 and 202,710 in 1904.

In 1891 the volume of Japan's merchant vessels did not exceed 15000 tons gross, but by 1896 it had increased to 109,000 tons as a result of the purchase of foreign vessels by the Government. The total tonnage existing at the end of 1903 of 979000 tons jumped to 1,527,000 tons in 1905. The latest returns at the end of March 1914 represent the gross tonnage of steamers at 1,538,000 and that of sailing ships at 491,000.

In 1896 a legal provision was made for granting bounties to the builders or purchasers of vessels and for subsidising the shipping industry. It was in 1898 that the first large steamer was built in Japanese Dockyards. It was of 6000

tons. Since then the Japanese Dockyards have built steamers of 10000 tons displacement and two dreadnaughts of 27,500 tons. At the end of 1912 the private ship-yards numbered 228. The Government has been regularly giving a bounty on every ship since 1896. In 1912 the Japanese shipbuilding companies built 7 ships of 17,183 tons, in 1913, four of 34478 tons and in 1914 fourteen of 66,329 tons. In May, 1915, the Japanese shipbuilders had in hand orders for 51 vessels of total tonnage of 212,100 tons.

Besides bounties for shipbuilding the Government of Japan has been subsidising regular services. Under the law of 1896 the subsidies were of two kinds; a general subsidy granted on specified routes and another open to all steamers in conformity with the provisions of the law. In 1910 the law was modified abolishing the general subsidy and restricting it to over-sea navigation; for example, (1) The European route, (2) The North American route, (3) The South American route, (4) The Australian route. The latest addition is the Java route.

The vessels to be used in the subsidised navigation must be home-built vessels of over 3000 tons gross, not less than 15 years old and having a speed exceeding 12 nautical miles per hour. For foreign-built vessels under 5 years old and put on service with the sanction of the authorities one half of the subsidy is granted. For vessels built according to plans approved by competent authorities a specially high subsidy is allowed. 26 steamers of 5000 to 13500 gross tonnage with a speed of 13 to 20 knots were engaged in this over-sea subsidised service in June last. Since then the number has risen. Coasting trade in Japan is forbidden to steamers flying foreign flags. Besides, the Government subsidises the coasting and near sea services also liberally. The amount of the latter subsidy alone comes to about 2 million yens.

At the end of December, 1914, the num-

ber of Japanese registered steamers reached the total of 1577 with a gross tonnage of 1,577,025 tons.

The five years term of subsidy contracts expired in 1914 and the Government had to renew contracts for one year on its own responsibility, as the bills could not be passed in time owing to the dissolution of the Parliament.

Under the new arrangement sanctioned by Parliament the European service gets a subsidy of 8,657,989 yen in five years, beginning with 1,832,806 yen in 1915-16. The North American Service gets 13,855,010 yen, the South American 1,446,888 and the Australian 875,501 yen, which means that in the next five years the Japanese Government will pay a subsidy of about 40 million yen on these Four High Sea services alone, equal to 60 million in Indian Rupees.

How the Japanese have eliminated foreigners from their marine will be clear from the following table. We give the figures for 1913 :

	Japanese.	Foreigners.
1st class Captains	1111	179
„ Chief Mates	681	31
„ Second „	1253	11
2nd class Captains	702	0
„ Chief Mates	1489	3
„ Second „	3248	1
3rd class Captains	92	0
„ Mates	11424	1
Chief Engineers	1022	79
1st class „	1883	43
2nd „ „	1517	2
3rd „ „	3745	2

I do not think your readers require it to be explained how national marine helps national industries and national trade. The thing is obvious.

IV. CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Reading Count Okuma's preface to a volume published in 1910 under the name of "Japan Industries" one might think that Japan was a Free Trade country but the following extracts from Count Okuma's Fifty Years of Japan, Volume I, p. 371, show that Japan has never been a Free Trade country.

Marquis Matsugata, the writer of the Chapter on "Japan's Finance" says :—

"The customs duties at the time when Japan's door was opened to the world, were fixed on an average, at the rate of 20 per cent. on imports. But as a result of interference on the part of foreign coun-

tries during the old *regime*, the actual customs duties both on imports and exports, which the new regime inherited from the old, averaged only 5 per cent. This system of 5 per cent customs duties had been rendered incapable of expansion by the treaties then existing, and therefore could not vary with the varying demands of the Imperial Treasury or with the condition of commerce and industry. In short it had no elasticity."

As a result of new treaties beginning with 1894 and in force since January 1899, duties on imports were fixed at 10 per cent, *ad valorem*, and those on exports were soon afterwards altogether abolished. The statutory tariff rates have since then been revised from time to time. The income from customs dues in 1899 amounted to less than 7 million yen. In 1913 the income was 73,580,000 yen and the average percentage of custom duty was 19.98. The actual scales at which duty is charged on manufactured goods are pretty prohibitive. Even an American writer calls them excessive.

Then there are other kinds of protection which the Japanese Government affords to some branches of the national commerce; for example, no foreigner can acquire the ownership of Japanese ships or even any shares in steamship companies, nor in the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, or the Agricultural and Industrial Bank. No foreigner can acquire "the right to work mines" or can "become a member of the Stock Exchange" or can "engage in the emigration business." Until recently the ownership of land was prohibited to foreigners, but when the Americans raised the question of Japanese acquiring rights of ownership in lands in California the Japanese Government abolished this prohibition "on the principle of reciprocity." The first article of the law relating to foreigners' right of ownership of land provides that "a foreigner resident or having domicile in Japan or a foreign juridical person registered in Japan is entitled to have ownership of land, if the law of his own country allows the ownership of land to Japanese subjects or Japanese juridical persons, provided that the foreign juridical person must obtain the permission of the Minister for Home Affairs before acquiring the ownership of land."

Certain exceptions are made as to the lands in certain provinces on the ground

that the same are necessary for national defence. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the protection which the Japanese Government extends to the industries and trade of the country.

There are subsidised organisations whose business is to give facilities to Japanese to go to other countries and settle there. The fact is that there is hardly any branch of industrial or commercial activity in

Japan in which some kind of initiative has not been taken by the Government, or which was not subsidised by the Government at some stage of its evolution. That explains the wonderful progress made by Japanese industries in such a short time. Even at the present moment it is under consideration to start the manufacture of aniline dyes either as a wholly Government industry or as a subsidised one.

•LIFE'S FUNCTIONS

(2) PLAY.

•BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

I have already defined play as activity which has for its immediate end one's own good, which good among other things, includes pleasure. In this, play differs from work, which often has for its immediate end the welfare of others, and frequently brings pain, weariness and suffering to oneself. In play the individual is free to follow his inclinations, whereas in work he has to be guided by demands and considerations which lie outside himself. Play is work's antidote, that wherein the restraint involved in work is relaxed; naturally, therefore, pleasure will always be one of the objects of play. Moreover, play is the complement of work, repairing what work has destroyed, both in a physical and spiritual sense. Thus play is the soul's as well as the body's feeding time; that in and through which the mind regains its self-mastery, recovers its lost possessions, its strength, enthusiasm and ideals and thus prepares itself for fresh conquest.

And because play is self-chosen, and has for its object the individual's own good, it always yields pleasure. Indeed it is its pleasure-yielding power which usually distinguishes play from work. Not that play has no utility except pleasure, but that in addition to ulterior ends, which may be many and various, pleasure is always an object of play. If an activity

did not promise pleasure it could not in any sense be described as play.

Play, like work, is an integral and necessary part of life, and, like it again, is governed by a law, which can only be transgressed at the cost of well-being. Pleasure is a form of the Good, a mode of life. Moreover, that which yields true pleasure is always beneficial to the mind and spirit, a means of preparing one for finer experience and loftier attainment. And because the ulterior objects of play are numerous, one ought not to play indiscriminately. It is possible to play too long just as it is possible to work too long; one may also play in the wrong way—with a wrong idea, and at the wrong thing. Play only gives true pleasure when it is in response to real need, need that has been created by labour, purposive effort. People who do not work derive scant pleasure from play; which explains why idle people are always being carried away by "crazes." Nothing really satisfies them, yet they are always living in hopes that something new they have heard of will give them that which they are seeking. But of course it never does.

Play has several functions and is of many kinds. Necessarily so, seeing that man has many needs. For play is the time when man replenishes his mind with new ideas, new truth, receives the inspiration which is to help him carry out his

purposes. The higher a man rises in the scale of development and the deeper and more complex his spiritual nature becomes, the more numerous will be his interests and needs; from which it follows that he will require a more varied play life. Obviously, therefore, play ought to be thought about, regulated so as to satisfy all the soul's needs. Thus as it was our object in the two previous articles to reveal the meaning and function of work as well as the law of its regulation, so in the present article it will be our object to reveal the meaning and function of play, and also the law of its regulation.

Although the modes of play are innumerable they can all be subsumed under four functions. These are: (1) To give rest to body and mind; (2) To recuperate the animal spirits; (3) To refine; (4) To inspire. Perhaps a simple illustration will best serve to illustrate the nature of these functions.

A man has finished a hard day's work and goes home at even-tide. Too tired to speak he sits by the fire, with feet outstretched. His wife is aglow with smiles and cheery comments, his children relate their stories, the adventures of the day, while the fire maddens itself in the effort to give an uproarious welcome. The tired husband and father looks quietly on, a scarcely perceptible smile playing about his features: he is afraid to speak, lest he should break the spell, so sweet is the luxury of rest. And so he sits, revelling in the delicious sensation of perfect rest. His very tissues tingle, his heart swells, and the wine of life courses through his veins. He thinks of the day's work done, and then looks about him and feels what it all means; and he is satisfied. That is rest.

When the evening meal is over and the tea-things are put away, father and children romp together until the house rings with their laughter, while the mother looks on happy to see her husband and lover a boy again. Or if it be summer, they make for the fields, where they walk and frolic to their hearts' content. They breathe the cool evening air and feel revived as they do so, while Nature feeds them with the refreshing scents of earth, herb and flower. When they return home they feel strong, rejuvenated. What glorious exhilaration! Life is youth and energy!

Seated now before the fire, the man who

a couple of hours before had been working at some craft or art, gives himself up to quiet musing. His heart rejoices as his eye wanders over things dear and familiar, and he drinks in the beauty that surrounds him. The shining fire-irons, the inviting chairs, the embroidered covers, the flower-vase on the table, the exquisite pieces of handiwork here and there, are almost living things to him, beings which smile at him through their beauty. And from these things his eye turns to the sharer of his joys and sorrows, to that form whose every movement is a grace, whose touch is language, and whose glance is a shaft of light. Then he watches his children play, notices their delicate movements, the dancing eyes, admires the electric, soul-permeated forms. And thus in the simple but overflowing beauty of his home he rejoices. How sweet and beautiful it all is! Life is a delight.

The children are asleep; friends have come and gone; there is still an hour to spare. A favourite book is unshelved, and the pair, husband and wife, read and commune together, meditate on the great problems of life. Thus do they come to grips with the deeper life of thought, see and feel the momentous issues and possibilities of life, and think upon the heroic and glorious achievements of men. They thus strengthen their hold upon life, and rise from their meditation stronger in spirit, refreshed, invigorated, inspired, full of a holy enthusiasm for spiritual conquest and attainment.

We will consider these four functions of play a little more closely.

(1). Rest is a universal need of man, and a form of pleasure; it is thus an essential function of play. The first requisite after hard work is rest; sheer rest: rest from the weariness of toil; rest from anxious thought; rest from every call of duty. The man neither understands himself nor does himself justice who, after heavy labour, does not seek complete rest. Few people know the luxury or realise the value of absolute rest, of throwing off every restraint and abandoning themselves to momentary oblivion. Hard work drains both mind and body, and subdues the spirit. It brings the strong man low, and transforms the indomitable hero of the morning into the passive citizen of the evening. In the hours of rest which follow

toil, in the quiet of hearth and home, as well as in sleep, the strength and spirit that are spent in work are renewed. Thus the duty of taking rest is a very important one. It is in rest that one oftenest feels the sweetness and grandeur of toil, as it is only in rest that a man can come to himself; and it is all-important that every man should often do that. Unless a man rests, looks into his own soul, how can the deep truths of life come to him? Deep down in the abyss of the subconscious self there is a voice that would ever utter a clear and true judgment on the value of the life we are living; did we but give it the chance to do so. Thus rest has a spiritual as well as a physical significance, being an indispensable condition of moral and spiritual improvement. Man realises himself in work and in play; but it is only in rest that he becomes conscious of that realisation. If a man never stops to rest, but rushes on from one pursuit to another, how can he know if he is living truly? And what is sweeter or sublimer than to sit in one's home at eventide among the people and things one most loves, leisurely listening in the very tiredness of a hard day's work to the verdict of the heart, and to feel that life is good?

The beginning of good play is sweet and complete rest. But rest cannot be sweet unless work has been well and justly done. Satisfying rest is something of a sacrament, a testimony that our life is on right lines. The function of rest is to accomplish the first stages of physical and mental recuperation; to pervade the soul with satisfying peace; to carry home to the mind a sense of the infinite grandeur of life and so deepen the joy and love of living.

(2). In order completely to revive the animal spirits after the exhaustion caused by work, a more vigorous form of play is called for. What most people require after hard work, at any rate, periodically, is some sort of outdoor exercise, some form of sport, etc. And although sport requires a great amount of energy, because it is a form of play, is self-chosen and is thus entered into with gusto, it exhilarates even increases energy. The reason for this is apparent. Because sport is of short duration, and is undertaken for the pleasure it affords, the body is relaxed, whence, the veins and arteries being thrown open, the blood circulates freely through the

system and produces a sensation of exhilaration, both mental and physical. Indeed it very often happens that a man who believed himself tired out, will after devoting an hour or two to some sport, feel more refreshed and energetic than he did before. Another reason for this effect is that play causes to be put into operation parts of the physical machinery that work does not use, and that would otherwise grow stiff and useless. To quicken these parts gives one a new sense of power. In thus reviving the animal spirits, sport increases the sum of physical energy, stimulates the pulse, and thus quickens the mind, intensifies the consciousness of life, and makes one feel more alert and alive, mentally and physically vigorous. Moreover a quickened blood action tends to elevate the spirit and to produce an optimistic temperament. One generally finds that mental depression and reduced vitality go together. And it is a common experience to see thoughtless people continue in a state of lassitude for weeks together, when a little outdoor exercise would brace them up and turn them into new creatures.

A still further reason why sport stimulates is that one has generally to overcome obstacles and attain certain ends, such as to become victor in some game of force or skill, to lead, as in a race, to endure etc.

Then, too, sport has a direct social utility. Because most games are played by groups of individuals, they bring into operation many powerful social forces; while snobbery, class distinction and favouritism, etc., are the death of sport. Thus in play a spirit of comradeship is generally manifested which, unhappily, is too often suppressed in the more serious occupations of life. When fashion and precedence enter the play-field sport leaves it. In play a man is at his best, and endeavours to put into his pursuits a spirit that ought to dominate his entire life. For play is life's training ground.

But there are other kinds of play that ought to be considered under this heading, such as pageantry, and many hobbies, as, for instance, gardening, model-making, etc. These usually require a certain amount of skill and muscular activity, but not nearly so much vigour as sport. Their chief merit is that they give scope to the imagination, and are specially beneficial in cases where work

stereotyped nature. Of course there is a certain amount of imagination required in all sport, as in football, for instance, the best player is bound to be the man who can keep in his mind a picture of the rapidly shifting field, who can "see" at a glance what will happen if a kick be made in this or that direction. But play ought always to be in some measure the complement of work, a means of developing those powers and faculties which are neglected or stifled in work. Work is restrictive; but human nature rebels against restriction, and thus seeks redress in play.

In play nature endeavours to win back the possessions that have been lost in work. Play is thus man's salvation, the means whereby he is rescued from the limitations and degradation of convention and routine, and enabled to develop the power wherewith to rise to the full status of manhood.

Then there is always a danger of play being turned into work. As soon as remuneration enters into play the tendency is for the object of one's effort to change; and thus for play to be converted into work. Professionalism is the death of play, so far as the "players" are concerned; their play having become their work they will have to turn in other directions for their play.

(3). In considering the third function of play, which is to refine, a distinction ought to be drawn between two kinds of art,—physical or aesthetic art and spiritual art; the art of form and the art of ideas, of character and conduct. The purpose of aesthetic art is to reveal the beauty of form; that of spiritual art to reveal the beauty of truth—the truth of life,—and of the human spirit, of noble conduct, etc. It is with the former that we are specially concerned in the present section. Aesthetic art, having reference to form and arrangement, line and colour, appertains to things physical; whereas what I have called spiritual art has special reference to man, to human life and character, to conduct, virtue. In a sense all art is spiritual, and has for its object the culture of the spirit; but there is a wide difference between the art which describes the beauty of physical, static things and that which describes the doings and achievements of the human spirit. Physical art depicts external beauty and shows us what we ought to love and

admire; whereas spiritual art reveals truth and goodness and shows us what we ought to do and be. Thus the former delights and refines, while the latter inspires and ennobles.

Aesthetic art is represented to a greater or less extent by all the Arts. But architecture, sculpture and painting are almost wholly physical arts, being chiefly concerned with form, line and colour; that is, with the description of static objects, including Nature. Literature, music and the drama, on the other hand, admitting of a time series, are peculiarly fitted to deal with conduct, to reveal the moods, expressions, and experiences of man. At the same time literature is often used as a medium for describing inanimate objects, Nature, etc., while the stage depends to a very large extent, upon painting and statuary for its effects; and even music is frequently used to imitate physical sounds and to create sensuous pleasure.

But in distinguishing between physical and spiritual art it must not be thought that only the latter has moral value. Both forms of art carry with them a moral imperative, and tell us, the one what we ought to admire, the other what we ought to do and be. As is often said, the good is beautiful and the beautiful good, the one being implied in the other. Were we to look deep enough we should find that all our conceptions of beauty were based on a belief in utility. If beauty were not a sign of, and a guide to truth and goodness, it would be a positive snare, a false guide, a huge contradiction. Beauty is the promise of life, of pleasure and happiness, and in loving the beautiful we believe we shall reap a sure and certain good. Of course, false ideas of beauty exist just as false ideas of truth exist; but they are due to ignorance, to a mistaken idea of utility. If we believe that a thing is beneficial we shall come in time to think it beautiful, and if we believe that a thing is harmful we shall in time come to think it ugly. But I hope to deal more fully with this aspect of the subject in the next article.

Physical art delights and gladdens the soul because of beauty, for beauty is the sign and guarantee of the useful and the good. But not only does man love the beautiful, he craves for it, for the simple reason that he ever aspires after a more perfect life; and beauty is a fingerpost to such a life. Even the savage has an in-

instinct for beauty, and adopts some form of personal decoration. But as we ascend the ladder of civilisation we observe a remarkable growth of the art instinct, a tendency to bring beauty into every department of life. The poorest peasant pays great attention to the art of dress, and to the decoration of his home, which is often crowded with crude ornaments, beautiful specimens of his own handiwork or that of some member of his family. The more money people earn the more do they spend on beautiful things for the enjoyment of leisure hours. And in order to have beauty they will work infinitely harder than they would otherwise have need to. The love of beauty is instinctive, for art is the bread of life, the food of the spirit.

Art vitalises life and gives it new meaning, thus renewing the spirit, that buoyancy of mind which work tends to destroy. By means of beauty art delights and gladdens the mind, and thus creates new enthusiasm for fresh conflict. Necessarily so, for art, like faith, is the substance of things hoped for. When the true workman goes forth to his labour he does so with a sense of beauty permeating his soul, else how could he work well, put beauty into things? But by reason of long contact with the formless and ugly, labour tends to destroy the image and efficacy of beauty and thus to call for leisure in which the soul may again feast on beautiful works of art.

Beauty is an upward-moving force, the truth of things felt. Art is truth expressed in terms of feeling. Thus beauty is a fingerpost to life, the handmaiden of truth, man's fair guide to the good. Of its very nature beauty inspires man with a desire to reproduce it, and so help make the world a pleasanter place to live in.

To the man who lives truly, therefore, art is a daily necessity, as much a necessity as air and sleep. For to work is not simply to make things, but to make them well, to impart to them such beauty as they are capable of receiving. It is thus to add to the joy as well as to the beauty of life. All art gives pleasure; firstly because it is the transmission of beautiful feeling, and secondly because it is the promise of a more abundant life.

But to appreciate good art one must work as well as play, as without work one's ideas become unbalanced, divorced from reality. Purposive work is what keeps one in touch with reality; and the

man who does not work will have an abnormal appetite for art or so-called art, just as he will have an abnormal appetite for food. That is why in times of material prosperity, when there is a large idle class, art deteriorates. Nothing is so fatal to art as idleness; for to be idle is to divorce art from life, from every vital cause and every spiritual need. A man cannot appreciate beauty unless he is helping to it. Idleness gives rise to decadent, exaggerated art, which being unnatural, is devoid of all inspiring idealism.

On the whole we may say that what I have called physical or aesthetic art, corresponds to the Greek conception of art. To the Greeks beauty was an atmosphere to be breathed perpetually as one breathes air. But their art was chiefly the art of form, even in conduct it was the form rather than the purpose or essence of an act that they considered. The attraction of man was the attraction of physical and external rather than internal and spiritual characteristics. Indeed Greek art was for an aristocracy, a well-born and leisured class; consequently it was always more a means of aesthetic delight than of inspiration. The Greek conception of man and of virtue was far removed from the Christian conception. To the Greeks order and form were the primary things; goodness, gentleness, loving kindness, etc., being quite secondary things; to act rightly or virtuously was to act decorously. As it was with their temples, so it was with Government and with man: form, order, symmetry, beauty were the essential things. The true democratic spirit was never born in Greece, and in almost every state, slavery continued to the very end. Beautiful form was not simply a virtue, it was the virtue. To act undecorously was to act wickedly, a graceful act standing in far greater esteem than a kind one. To lose one's temper was to sin against art rather than against society. The ideal Greek was the man of noble bearing, in whose step was majesty and on whose brow was dignity; the man of proud spirit whose every resource was under perfect control.

With the Greeks we can go so far as to say that beauty ought to be the native atmosphere of man—in the home, in places of amusement, in the street and public thoroughfares, etc. It is almost impossible

to be surrounded by too much beauty, as the more beauty we have the more perfectly will the spirit of it enter the soul and manifest itself in all we do. Beauty is the sign of virtue, and to love beauty and to be surrounded by it so that the very rhythm of it gets into the blood, so to speak is to be helped on the way to virtue. Drunkenness and bad temper are both horrible from the æsthetic point of view, and it is possible to make them hateful and impossible through the right culture of the æsthetic sense. To learn to do things rhythmically, because rhythm is beautiful, will ultimately lead us to do them because they are good, beneficial. Art is thus a beautiful teacher, luring the soul to virtue by means of beauty.

Physical art yields delight, and by its promise of pleasure draws man to the contemplation of the beautiful, and thus to virtue. We cannot live in any atmosphere for long without being affected by it, and even the simple pictures on our walls, which have perhaps been placed there unthinkingly, exercise a wonderful influence upon our own and our children's minds. Art is for life, to ennoble and increase it. It is a spiritual and refining force, a condition of noble work, beautiful expression. Right feelings, as well as right conceptions, are necessary to the best conduct, and to the production of useful and beautiful things. For what is skill but inspiration, the touch that is born of a strong, harmonious feeling? The burden of all good work is harmonious feeling; and physical art is the expression and transmission of such feeling.

4. Spiritual art is the highest form of art, and also of play. Obviously, for it is specially concerned with the human spirit, its manifestations and aspirations. Man as an aspiring, spiritual being is different from every other form of being; thus the art which treats of man must be a separate art. It is the function of spiritual art to portray all that is beautiful and heroic in human nature; to reveal and teach the ideal life for man, the relationships which he ought to cultivate.

Literature is the paramount spiritual art, because literature, unlike sculpture and painting, admits of a time series, and unlike music, deals definitely with ideas. Sculpture and painting, except by implication and suggestion, are confined to a single moment of time, and are thus not fitted to

deal with action, conduct. Although, by seizing the right moment, painters have often been able to reveal a life-history in a single painting, to give a true judgment of the value of a given mode of life. But generally speaking the history of the person portrayed requires to be known. Because of its great vivifying power painting is admirably suited to illustrate and supplement literary description. Of all the arts music is the most direct revealer of subjective moods, feelings and passions, and, as such, is essentially a spiritual art. But while music expresses feelings more intensely and realistically than any other art, it is powerless to express an idea with any degree of definiteness, as the conceptional effect of a composer determined by the imagery his hearers are able to draw upon or create. Music may drive a man out of himself, cause him to step the unknown world of unrealised experience, and even to modify his conduct; but it cannot give him any definite ideas, teach him new truth. To do that he must have resort to letters.

But if painting and sculpture are the most vivid of the arts, music is the most intense, and literature the most complete. Music, with its medium of sound is the universal art; for sound appeals to all, being a means of expression even in the animal kingdom. Passion, anger, hatred, sorrow, etc., can all be expressed by simple ejaculatory sounds. But with literature the case is different. Literature makes its appeal through highly complex symbols, or letters, which are rendered more complex still by being formed into words and phrases. And the more complex the medium through which the artist reveals himself the greater the difficulty of adequate self-expression. That is why there are so few prodigies in literature as compared with music. But whereas music is dependent upon the recipient subject for the scaffolding of imagery which holds the emotional experience together, literature builds up its own and reaches the emotions through these. And if the emotional effect is not so intense in the latter case, definite ideas, truths which can be uttered and demonstrated, can be expressed and transmitted.

Thus because literature is the only art which works through ideas, it is the most fitted to deal with the facts of human life, to portray experience and character, to

treat of conduct and depict the ideal life for man. Life is a conquest, a process of spiritual expansion, a gradual broadening of experience and of outlook. In order that life may thus deepen, thought and imagination must be kept active so that new ideas and ideals may be received and assimilated. It is the function of spiritual art to inspire the mind with lofty ideals, to make the highest life attractive, and to impart a sense of the boundlessness of life. Thus for us to-day it is to extol brotherhood and spiritual life, to reveal the great heights of spiritual attainment man is capable of.

Physical art delights; but spiritual art inspires; and in order to live well one must needs be constantly inspired by the highest art. Physical objects are beautiful, but beautiful only; whereas man is virtuous, heroic. And spiritual art is heroic art. Thus spiritual art is life's interpreter, and teaches man how to live heroically, vitally. Spiritual art is the revealer of life at its highest level. As we have said, work tends to imprison man in a world of matter and sense. Spiritual art is man's surest deliverer from such prison-house, the light which can guide him to the larger and grander world of thought and spirit. In work a man is necessarily confined to a small portion of being, but in art he touches, sees, feels and grasps,—the entire universe of being. And unless a man's mind is refreshed with the larger vision of art he will become a pigmy or a castaway, while his work will deteriorate into a mere means of getting bread. To work without the inspiration of great art is to live in a dungeon; it is to be like the zoologist of whom it is said that after spending the greater part of his life putting things into bottles, ended by putting himself into one. Unless a man frequently steps into the loftier world of art he can never know truth, or realise the highest life. Art keeps the spirit fresh and young with visions of the beautiful and the good, and so keeps alive the passion for life, for deeper and richer experience. And in his work-life man tries to establish the truth, the relationships, which thought has created and art has revealed to him. Art, therefore, need offer no apology for its existence.

Thus the life-process goes on in a never-ending cycle, while the life-stream deepens all the while: first there is work, then play:

play leading to work, production, expression, and work leading to play, participation, appreciation. Accordingly it is not true, as some writers say, that play is mere effervescence; the using up of superfluous energy—as if art were a luxury that could be dispensed with. It is quite true that a man improves his status, and increases his chance of making livelihood, in play; but play has a spiritual and life value as well, being, indeed, a vital mode of life, a form as well as condition of well-being. Play is the freeing of superfluous energy: but it is something more; it is physical recuperation and spiritual inspiration, that without which we cannot live as we ought to live. Thus to say that play or art is the mere means of guaranteeing existence, or the continuity of existence, is absurd.

And because play is a mode of life, and is of many kinds, it follows that it ought to be thought about, brought within the domain of conscious life. Too many people allow their play-life to be governed by others, by custom, whereas play above all things ought to be self-chosen suited to individual need. The needs of the soul are many, and in every case they require individual treatment. A book that helps one may not help another. To play football every day, or every week, simply because it has become a custom, may be an oppression, and do more harm than good. The sportsman who is nothing but a sportsman will soon cease to be even a sportsman. And the man who participates in only one kind of play can never be a complete man; he is sure to be dwarfed somewhere. If a student is nothing but a student he will be almost sure to possess a philosophy as deformed and unhealthy as his body.

Thus the four function of play described in the present article are not meant to apply to four levels of experience, but to the varied needs of every individual. There are times in the life of every man when he needs absolute rest; when he needs the bracing energy and physical exhilaration of sport; when the spirit calls for the delights the softening influence of beauty, and for the inspiration of heroic air. And unless thought govern play how can we expect that leisure will be well spent?

Life is a process of growth for the attainment of life; but it cannot grow without thought. In that process work and play have essential functions, and presuppose

one another. The ideals which work is the effort to realise have their origin in play, in art. Play takes man back to the ideal, to the point of view of the whole, and inspires him with a desire to realise the highest. Thus in play the self is realised in finer and larger unities. So that through work and play man comes nearer and nearer to the ideal of the perfect man. In

art the soul is born anew to the highest life; and by means of the inspiration of that ideal an attempt is made to objectify it in the world of fact. And so man moves upward from unity to unity, from harmony to deeper harmony, from truth to wider truth, all the while broadening and enriching his experience, deepening the well of his being.

THE PINCUSHION

BY WILLIAM LE QUEUX, AUTHOR OF "FATAL FINGERS,"
'THE RIDDLE OF THE RING,' &C.

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IT happened in Belgrade, the Servian capital, just prior to the outbreak of the Balkan war.

The fortress-town was full of spies, mostly Austrian or foreigners in Turkish pay, while the Servian Secret Service was busily engaged watching their movements.

I had been sent poste-haste from London to watch the trend of affairs, and furnish confidential reports to Downing Street. Fortunately, I was well known, and had many friends in Servia; hence no surveillance was placed upon my movements, a very real boon, for the secret police system in Servia is even more rigorous than in Russia.

At the Grand Hotel, a comfortable place with a large, noisy cafe beneath, where politics are discussed day and night, nearly all the visitors were either representatives of the great European newspapers, adventurers eager to obtain orders for war material, or foreign spies. Each evening, when at the big *salle-a-manger* we sat down to our "pilaf with paprika," we were a strange cosmopolitan crowd waiting hourly for the outbreak of war. The excitement was intense; the war fever burned fiercely.

A strict censorship having been placed upon all telegrams, secret messengers crossed the Danube each evening and de-

spatched information from Semlin, the frontier town of Hungary. The man I employed was a pig dealer, whose habit it was to cross into Hungary frequently. Therefore he passed without suspicion with my cipher messages, addressed to a certain code word—which must be nameless—and simply "London."

Among the crowd was a lean, long-faced, grey-eyed Frenchman named Raoul Lemoine, a man I had often met up and down Europe, generally at the gayer resorts, for he was an idler, and as he always put up at the best hotels was apparently a man of means.

I was somewhat surprised to find him among that jostling, excited crowd of concession-hunters and adventurers in Belgrade, for the scum of financial Europe seemed to have congregated there, and among them I noticed was more than one man with whom he had acquaintance.

He was elegant, rather dandified, and essentially a ladies' man.

Therefore it was not surprising that when, after about a week, a pretty young Italian lady, very smartly turned-out, and travelling with her maid, arrived at the hotel, that my friend Raoul should quickly strike up acquaintance with her. Her name was the Contessa di Montelupo, he told me, and she was in Belgrade because her

husband, who was secretary of the Italian Legation at Stockholm, had been appointed to Belgrade, and she expected him daily.

"She is very charming, *mon cher ami*," he said enthusiastically, as we sat together one evening smoking the exquisite "specialitet" cigarettes so dear to the Servian palate. "She has been living in Stockholm for three years, and before that her husband was in London as third secretary of Embassy. They have a villa on the sea at Santa Margherita, near Genoa, and she spends the summer there. Suddenly she had a telegram to come here and await her husband. Ah! my *cher M'sieur Trewin*," he added, "she is so cosmopolitan, so pretty, so dainty, so charming. But, alas! for me, she is married."

"Well, you seem to take her about a good deal," I laughed.

"I speak Italian. I know Italy well, so we are friends. *Voila tout!*"

Next day he introduced me, and invited me to the table where he was sitting with her.

He had certainly not overrated her. She was very charming, and spoke English quite fluently.

"Oh, yes," she laughed, "we were in London for quite a long time. We had a flat in Queen Anne's Mansions, Westminster. You know it—eh? But here in Belgrade," she went on, with a little shrug of her shoulders, "I shall never like it—never. The Balkan people are too savage, after London, Brussels, and Stockholm."

"Outwardly they appear so, countess," I replied, looking into her wonderful dark eyes. "But I assure you that in all the Near East you will not find so many friends as in Servia."

"Yes, half-a-dozen times, and I have always regretted leaving. Their exterior may be rough, but many a warm heart beats beneath a sheepskin," I said.

"Well," she asked, suddenly changing the topic, "will there be war?"

"Who knows," I said.

"The outlook seems more peaceful to-day," Lemoine remarked. "I met Marcovitch, of the Foreign Office, an hour ago, and he says that the Porte is climbing down. Montenegro is defiant, and threatens to declare war."

"If she does, then the match will be applied to the magazine," I said. "But I hope that King Nicholas will be judicious and act diplomatically."

"My dear friend," laughed Raoul Lemoine, "King Nicholas is well aware of what has been arranged. All is ready. Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro, the Balkan Allies, mean war. The secret treaty was signed two years ago, and Turkey, with all her spies and her clever diplomacy, remained in ignorance; the diplomacy of Turkey has been asleep."

"Ah! *m'sieur*," exclaimed the pretty countess, "you are, I fear, very anti-Turk."

"I admit it, my dear lady," he replied. "All my sympathies are with my friends the Servians."

"And Bulgarians," I added.

"Of course—they are allies," he said. "And if war comes, Turkey will most certainly be beaten. The opposing armies are massed on either side of the frontier. At any moment they may come to grips."

"And then Heaven help Turkey," I remarked.

He smiled, and nodded a mysterious affirmative.

That evening, and during the next day, and the next, I constantly ran up against the countess, either in the hotel or in the streets, and she was always very sweet and charming.

One afternoon, Semoine having gone somewhere into the country, after luncheon I accompanied the countess for a walk in the Kalemegdan Garden, the pretty public park which, high up, overlooks the Danube.

We were strolling together beneath the half-bare trees—for the leaves had not yet all fallen—chatting upon various subjects. She was all curiosity to know what had brought me to Belgrade at such a crisis, declaring openly that I could not be travelling for pleasure.

My business was my own affair; therefore, as I strolled at her side, I replied:

"I am always fond of excitement, countess. I am not a busy bee—only alas! one of the drones."

"An idler—eh? Well, idling is usually pleasant."

"If one idles in pleasant places and with pleasant companions. Belgrade to-day is the reverse of pleasant. Don't you think so?"

"Yes. I sincerely hate the place already—I, who may have to live here three years or so! That is the worst of diplomacy—one can never pick and choose. My hus-

band's next step will be a Legation—in South America, I expect."

And so she gossiped on, sometimes speaking in French, sometimes in English.

"Your friend, M'sieur Lemoine, is a very charming man," she said presently.

"What is he?"

"An idler, like myself. We meet at all sorts of places. Usually we are together in Nice in winter, and in Deauville in summer."

"How delightful to be one's own master. I wish Leopoldo were his own master, and could travel hither and thither."

"You would then have a much better time—eh?" I laughed.

"I think so," she admitted.

Suddenly, as we turned a corner in the leafy avenue a strong wind caught her cravat of cerise crepe de Chine—a colour which suited her admirably—and carried it away.

I dashed after it and succeeded in regaining it, whereupon she asked:

"Have you a pin?"

"I am awfully sorry," I replied with regret.

"Ah, you men never have," she said. "You never carry pins until you are married."

"We seldom require them," was my answer, and we laughed together.

She possessed an inexpressible charm, and no wonder Raoul Lemoine had become fascinated by her. But at any day the count might arrive, and then my friend's society would no longer be required.

The city was in great turmoil that day. Soldiers were marching in every street, and heavy field guns and ammunition waggons rumbled over the cobbles on their way to the Turkish frontier, while the excited crowds looked on and cheered.

For a full hour we walked along the bank of the Danube in the warm autumn sunshine, and then returned to the hotel where I left her, as I had to meet in secret an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who sometimes furnished me with confidential information which, in due course, I sent across the river to be telegraphed in cipher from Hungarian territory.

It was not till near midnight that I returned. I had dined with Muller, the second secretary of the German Legation, and we had played bridge afterwards. The political situation was as strained as ever, indeed there was a rumour in the

cafes that Montenegro had discarded the counsels of Servia and Bulgaria and had attacked the Turks outside Sentari. But this report was, yet, unconfirmed.

The excitement rose to fever-heat. No one slept in Belgrade that night.

When I entered my room at the hotel and switched on the light I saw attached by a ribbon to the side of the toilet-mirror a pretty pincushion of pale blue silk about three inches square.

I took it down and examined it, finding it well stocked with pins.

It did not need very much guessing to know who had placed it there, and next morning, meeting the countess in the first floor corridor—my room being on the second floor—I thanked her for her kind thought.

"Pins are always useful, even to a bachelor," she laughed, as she descended the stairs dressed to go out, for Lemoine was, I saw, awaiting her below.

That day passed in hot, feverish anxiety, and the next day, at noon, an official despatch was received from Cetinje.

War was declared!

On the day of the declaration of war by Montenegro, the Servian Army, together with their Bulgarian brothers, moved south towards Macedonia, the ill-fated country which formed the bone of contention.

A week went by. The Balkan Armies were already in touch with the enemy, and war was being waged all over the Peninsula with heavy losses on both sides. The Greeks were attacking the Turks on the one hand, while the Servians and Bulgars were on the other. The smiling, peaceful rose-fields of Kazanlik, where the true otto-of-rose is distilled, were bathed with blood.

I sent information home to Downing Street daily with the sanction of the Servian Foreign Office, entirely independent from the despatch of our Legation, but as the days went by the outlook in Belgrade seemed to grow more gloomy.

As the Count di Montelupo was still detained in Stockholm the contessa remained at the hotel, and frequently entertained Lemoine and myself in her cosy little salon on the first floor.

Her little pincushion I often used, for I had somehow lost the box of paper-fasteners from my despatch-box, and was compelled to use pins instead. I told her this, and she replied:

"Did I not prophecy that it might be useful?"

It was no business of mine, of course, but I could not fail to see how friendly she and my friend Lemoine were becoming.

They were always chatting together confidentially.

One evening while I sat with them, smoking and gossiping as usual, a waiter entered saying that he had shown a gentleman up to my room.

"He is the gentleman you told me of, m'sieur," the man said. "He gave the name of Shaw, and I have taken him up, as you ordered this morning."

"Quite right," I said. Then turning to my hostess, I begged to be excused, and ran quickly upstairs, two steps at a time.

In my room stood my friend and colleague, Dick Shaw, of the Secret Service, still in his heavy travelling-ulster and wearing a soft felt hat.

"Hulloa, Dick, what's up?" I asked anxiously. "I got your phone message from Sofia."

"Lock that door, old chap," he said. Then he glanced around at the walls suspiciously, and asked:

"Can we be heard in the next room?"

"No. I'm always careful to choose my rooms in hotels, as you know. But what's up. Something is wrong. I can see by your face." And I crossed to the dressing-table near which he was standing.

"Wrong!" he echoed. "Why, Serbia is let into a fatal trap over this war. In Sofia I found out the whole truth last night, but I dare not wire it to London. It had better go through you into Germany. We must not put it on the Austrian wires."

"What do you mean?" I asked, staring at him in surprise.

"Simply this. Serbia and Greece believe in Bulgaria, but she has already betrayed them into the hands of Austria. A year ago a secret treaty was signed in Vienna and Sofia which provides that, after the present war, when Serbia has been weakened, Bulgaria will turn against her on the one side and Austria on the other, and crush her out of existence. Austria is to annex Serbia, and, assisted by Bulgaria, will attack Greece, which, when conquered, is to be merged into Bulgaria."

I stood aghast.

"Are you quite certain of this?"

"Absolutely. I have a copy of the

clause in question," and from his pocket he took a sealed envelope, which he broke open, and then proceeded slowly to read. Clause XV. of the Secret Treaty.

The situation in the Balkans was now hopeless. War had already been declared. Had we discovered this startling diplomatic secret—this plot against Serbia—a fortnight ago we should have told the Servian Prime Minister the truth, and Serbia would have refused to enter the alliance, or fight for the honour of her betrayer.

I confess the news was so astounding that I stood before him speechless. It was a secret which, if divulged, would in all probability result in a European war.

"Not a breath of this must get out, Shaw," I said at last. "You return to Sofia, and I will go direct to London tomorrow and lay it before the chief. We must not trust it, even in code, to the wires."

"I quite agree," he said, handing me the copy of the all-important clause in the Treaty.

I then sat down at the little writing-table, and, taking a piece of despatch-paper from my steel box, wrote a memorandum of our conversation. Then, taking a pin from the countess's cushion, I attached it to the sheet of paper, whereon was written the wording of the secret agreement.

Afterwards I sealed it and placed it in my breast pocket, ready for conveyance to Downing Street on the morrow.

"How did you manage to get hold of it?" I asked as I re-locked my despatch-box.

"Money—my dear old chap. A particular friend of mine—a secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia—is a gambler. You know the rest. A few bank-notes and the trick was done—as in so many cases."

We went below to the cafe, and half-an-hour later Lemoine joined us, and remained for some minutes. Then he rose and went out.

"Who is that fellow?" Shaw asked when he had gone.

"Oh! a wealthy man. I often meet him about," I said carelessly.

"I've seen him somewhere. His face is familiar to me, but for the life of me I can't recall him." Shaw said. "I met him somewhere in circumstances that were suspicious and of that I feel certain."

"Where?" I asked.

"Ah, that I unfortunately can't recollect. I travel so much, and meet so many strangers, that it's quite impossible to remember everybody."

"He's quite a good fellow," I remarked.

"He may be," sniffed my friend, "only don't trust him, Trewin. If my memory serves me aright I once regarded him with some distinct suspicion."

His words caused me to reflect. Yet I had known Raoul Lemoine a long time, and beyond the fact that he was such a squire of dames, I really knew nothing to his detriment.

The Orient express would not leave Belgrade for Ostend, I found, till ten o'clock next evening. So not until two o'clock did we part, and Shaw, who had engaged a room, retired to bed, an example which I followed.

Shaw left at eight, and returned by a military train to the Bulgarian capital, having received an official permit to do so.

Just before eleven o'clock next morning, while packing my bag ready for my journey, there came a tap on my door, and next second I was face to face with my friend Damilovitch, chief of the Servian secret police, who wore a smart dark blue uniform, with the cross of St. Sava at his throat.

"Ah, my dear M'sieur Trewin, how are you this morning?" he asked, greeting me warmly in French and gripping my hand.

I welcomed him, and when he had shut the door he said:

"I have called to ask you a question or two. You are always such a very good friend of Servia that I know you will answer them."

"Of course—anything in the interests of your country and your king."

"Then tell me what you have discovered regarding this conspiracy of Austria and Bulgaria against us?" he asked, looking me straight in the face with his dark, deep-set eyes.

"Conspiracy!" I echoed. "How do you know? First tell me that, Colonel Danilo-vitch."

He smiled and, watching me, said slowly:

"Your friends Raoul Lemoine and the Countess di Montelupo seem a rather interesting pair."

"I don't follow you."

"Well, early this morning—at half-past

four to be precise—they both endeavoured to leave Belgrade in secret. For some weeks past observation has been kept upon them, with the result that when on the landing-stage and about to embark on the early boat for Semlin they were arrested and brought to the bureau of police for interrogation."

"But was it judicious?" I gasped. "The countess is wife of a diplomat—the second secretary of the Italian Legation."

He smiled again.

"So she says, my dear friend. So she says," he answered. "Well, I had them both searched, and, just as I suspected, both were spies in the pay of Turkey. In the pocket of the man was found a report giving the record of a conversation which you had last night with a friend of yours, M'sieur Shaw, and details of an extraordinary Secret Treaty, signed between Bulgaria and Austria, to annihilate us. Is that a fact?" he asked with great concern.

"Strictly between ourselves, I can assure you, colonel, that the Secret Treaty actually exists."

"Are you positive?"

"I am, though as you can see it is most unfortunate. Not a word must leak out concerning it. I will see Monsieur Rackitch as soon as he will see me, and show him the copy of the all-important clause which is designed to wipe Servia off the map of Europe."

"Did you tell this to Lemoine?"

"Certainly not. How he could know is an absolute mystery. Beyond the four walls of the room no sound could penetrate. I was very careful to ascertain that. The walls of Belgrade have ears."

"The door?"

"There was a heavy portiere curtain over it. No. I am confident that no sound could have been heard outside the room, and certainly nobody was present at the interview except Shaw and myself."

"Well, here is the report," he said, as he drew from his tunic the closely-written sheet of paper, upon which every word of our conversation had been carefully recorded.

How it could have been obtained was a complete mystery.

"It is indeed fortunate that this did not get outside Servia and into the enemy's hands," I remarked.

"Yes. They were arrested just in the

nick of time," Danilovitch replied. "You will note that the report is addressed to Saba Pasha in Trieste."

"I see it is. Saba is a well-known Turkish spy."

"Of course. So there is no question as to the character of your interesting friends," remarked Danilovitch. "It is fortunate that you have discovered the truth regarding the conspiracy against us, which. I hope, you will expose to the Prime Minister at noon, and equally fortunate that the two spies are under arrest. Remember, M'sieur Trewin, we are now at war, and the pretty countess and her companion are spies of our enemy."

I held my breath. That fact had not occurred to me.

"The court-martial upon them will be held with closed doors in the fortress this afternoon. Death sentences only can be pronounced upon spies in time of war!"

At five o'clock that same afternoon I was called to the telephone, and Danilovitch told me the sentence in each case—death!

An hour later, however, I received word that King Peter had exercised his clemency and reduced the penalty to imprisonment for fifteen years—a sentence which the pair are still undergoing in the fortress at this moment, while by the result of Shaw's discovery Serbia, being forewarned, was able to thwart the disgraceful plans of Bulgaria and Austria, and by exposing the plot to the Powers demand measures for her own security.

The public, when it read in the newspapers of all the Balkan complications, never dreamed that Serbia owes her present security, nay, her very existence, to the pretty little pin-cushion presented to me by the "countess."

The discovery I made was certainly an astonishing one, for when on that night, when sentence was pronounced, I packed all my traps before leaving post haste for England, I took down my pincushion and, to my surprise, I found that another had evidently been substituted since I had first examined my present.

The one I held in my hand seemed unusually hard, and on inspecting the back closely I found that, concealed beneath the thin blue silk, was a cunningly contrived telephone receiver, of what is known as a "watch" type.

To it was attached an insulated wire so fine as to be practically invisible, which passed out of my window with its loose end hanging down to the window below—the room which had been occupied by the "countess!"

So, while Shaw had been explaining the secret to me and reading the clause of the Treaty, the ingenious spies of Turkey had been taking it down.

Yet, after all, Serbia was saved from utter destruction by the innocent-looking little blue pincushion which, as I write, lies upon my table, a mute relic of a turbulent day, and a reminder that two charming persons are immured in the Fortress of Belgrade, and are, I fear, likely to remain there for some years to come.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY AND SIR HENRY COTTON

BY W. F. WESTBROOK.

[A commemoration service for the late Sir Henry Cotton was held on Sunday, 14 November, at the Church of Humanity in London (19 Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, W. C.), and after the usual prayers, and readings from the Imitation of Christ and the Bhagavadgita, the following discourse was delivered by Mr. Walter Francis Westbrook.]

WE offer this morning our collective tribute of respect to Sir Henry Cotton, our fellow-Positivist and

member of this Church of Humanity. He passed away at his home in London on Friday, 22 October, at the age of 70 years: his body was cremated at Golder's Green on Monday, 25 October; and on this, the third Sunday after that ceremony, as is our wont, we hold here, in our regular place of worship, this Service of Commemoration. I shall speak to

first of the scope and intention of this Memorial Service, next of the life we are commemorating, and then of some Positivist views on life and immortality.

I.

This religious service of to-day is one of simple friendly commemoration of him. That is to say, it is not to be regarded as the considered religious judgment of the Church upon him: that is for the future, and it should come, with due authority, seven years hence, in the Sacrament of Incorporation, as I will explain. It is part to our Faith that all Positivist life should be lived on religious principles, under religious sanction, and with definite ordering by the Church. With this in view, our Master, Auguste Comte, instituted for us a series of nine Sacraments, arranged to cover our life from birth to death and after: these Sacraments are:—three of early life, Presentation, Initiation, Admission, into the Church: then Destination, to social function: Marriage: Maturity: and three of later life, Retirement, Transformation, Incorporation. These Sacraments are all voluntary, of free acceptance. In this way each successive phase throughout our individual and private life is connected with our public life, through consecration by the Church, each phase is well-defined, each is preparatory for the next one, each naturally implies definite duties and obligations, each receives a due religious sanction. The religious experience of all Churches concurs as to the importance and helpfulness of such ordinances. For our purpose today, I refer to the three of later life. By the Sacrament of *Retirement*, which is usually at the age of 65, the Church marks the normal ending of complete and direct active work: the citizen of his own will withdraws from activity, in order, among other things, to have free scope for his rightful influence as an adviser, which is a social and spiritual function. The sacrament of *Transformation*, at the time just before death, will naturally vary according to circumstances. It is at the wish of the dying person, and it is usually a family consecration. Dr. Richard Congreve says of it: "Those who have profited by the preceding Sacraments will wish for this one to complete the series with their own consciousness. As human life gets more orderly and settled and less subject to premature shortening, this act of

acceptance of the fatality of death, its deliberate acceptance, recognition of its usefulness socially—an act of resignation—will dignify and consecrate the close of our objective life and the entrance upon the existence which has been the object of that life's exertions." And then, in the Sacrament of *Incorporation*, seven years after death, when all disturbing passions are sufficiently quieted, the Church pronounces a solemn appreciation and judgment upon the life, and proclaims its incorporation into the great life of Humanity, and inaugurates an appropriate memorial.

You will see, therefore, that today's Service is not Sacramental, nor authoritative: it implies no judgment, and it is purely provisional. It is but the natural continuation of the simple funeral ceremony of three weeks ago, offering us this congregational way of expressing our human feelings—our tribute of honour and respect to one of our brethren, on behalf not merely of our own group here, but also of that larger number of his fellow-believers and friends, in more or less close connection, who would wish to be associated with us in this tribute.

II.

Let me bring to your minds, briefly, the salient facts of his life. Henry John Stedman Cotton was born on the 13th of September 1845 in India, where his family for three generations had been connected with the Civil Service. He was brought to England in 1848: went to school in Oxford and Brighton, and came to King's College, London, in 1861. His Education was in classics, with history and literature, and he especially followed theological studies. He has himself told us of the brilliant professors under whom he was trained, and he has described the capable and interesting set of fellow-students among whom he moved. With one he was especially intimate, Professor Evan Baxter. In 1865 he passed for the Indian Civil Service. Then came two years of preparatory studies and social life—two full and glorious years in a fine circle of friends—two golden years, he called them—which he enjoyed to the full. It was in the spring of 1867 that he attended with Dr. Baxter some lectures on Positivism given in London by Dr. Richard Congreve: the Religion of Humanity was a revelation to him. He was married

on the 1st of August 1867—he was young, not yet 22: and on 23 September 1867 he and his wife left for India overland arriving at Calcutta on 29 October 1867, Mrs. Cotton's birthday. Then ensued 35 years of distinguished official duty. He served in the Bengal Revenue and Judicial Departments, became Assistant Secretary to Government in 1875, Assistant to the Board of Revenue 1882. While holding that office he published, in 1885, his book "New India" of which I shall speak presently. He became Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1892, and was made C. S. I. In November 1896, he was appointed Chief Commissioner of Assam—an office which he held until his retirement from the Service in 1902: his Government in Assam was especially marked by the great earthquake of 12 June 1897, which destroyed his headquarters at Shillong, and in 1901 by serious difficulties over the indentured labour question, wherein he strongly took up the cause of the labourers, and was most violently attacked for his policy. In April 1902 he came to England on leave prior to retirement: he left India amid great popular demonstrations of respect and affection. In June 1902 he was knighted by the King and invested as K.C.S.I.: in October 1902 he retired from the Service on pension. Then he was at last free—his own word is "unmuzzled"—free for that consultative and advisory function of which I was speaking just now.

His work for India, however, did not cease: it continued to be the main purpose of his life. He joined the Indian National Congress Committee in England: this Congress of Indian representative men had first met, in India, in 1885. He was honoured by being nominated President over the Congress (the 20th) which met in Bombay in Dec. 1904: and he then revisited India, receiving a most enthusiastic welcome from the Indian peoples: he delivered to the Congress a memorable Presidential address.

His life-work was continued also in the British Parliament. In the spring of 1903 he had been chosen candidate in the Liberal interest for East Nottingham: he was in due course triumphantly elected, and he sat as M. P. for four years, from Jan. 1906 to Jan. 1910. He held advanced views in politics; and he brought to bear on this new political life here the same high principles which had guided his

Indian period. He was assiduous and conscientious in his duties, greatly, we must regret, at the expense of his health. He spoke very warmly of the happiness of those years, and of the many friends he made in and out of Parliament, and of the grateful testimony of his Nottingham constituents. India also was his constituency: he was the leader in Parliament of the small party actively interested in Indian questions, so often treated with neglect. He brought forward important matters for discussion and freely and boldly criticized the Liberal Government policy, inevitably arousing some enmity and obloquy, but rendering notable service.

For other interests and occupations he also found time and opportunity. He was a supporter of various good causes. The Humanitarian movement, to mention but one example: he had himself never taken part in what are called field sports, nor shikar and big-game shooting: after his earliest phase in India, he says, he shrank from severe and cruel punishments: flogging, for instance, he protested against. But India was his main interest, and in her cause he was untiring.

His parliamentary life was followed by five years or more of comparative repose: years not free from ill health and incidents of older age, and troubles attendant on changing circumstances: darkened also by gloomy war, with its vast scenes of tragic death and devastation: saddened also last year by one special sorrow. That sorrow was the illness and death of Lady Cotton. Her, his life-companion, we would justly associate with him in our commemoration to-day. She passed away on the 26th of September, last year, a year and a month before him, after a conjoined life of 47 years: a life marked by those long separations which are, as he sadly says, "among the most painful accompaniments of an Indian life." They had gone out to India in 1867: two sons were born to them there, and a third in September 1874, after her first return to England: thereafter the central family home was for 40 years at St. John's Wood, in London. She suffered with him in the great Earthquake at Shillong in 1897. Those of us who have read his "Indian and Home Memories"—published four years ago when she was still with him—will not easily forget his tributes to her whom he calls 'my devoted companion and helpmate.'

through many years of vicissitudes and successes, sorrows and aspirations, clouds and sunshine."

His work and policy are matters of public knowledge and history: their high character is well known: many have been the public and private testimonies, both in the years that have gone and especially during these past days. He was by common consent an efficient, a conscientious, a sympathetic administrator: an administrator, too, who was always accessible. He was a chivalrous champion of the Indian peoples. Loyal also to the Government and to the Service: in one farewell speech on leaving India he said, "I have never ignored and shall never be unmindful of the responsibilities I owe to the Government. I have never failed in my sense of discipline. I am true to my salt." His life was lived largely in the public eye: his principles of conduct were manifest to all the world. He adhered to the teachings of his Master, Auguste Comte, that the great problem of modern political life is the subordination of politics to morals, and that devotion of the strong to the weak is a primary duty of those in authority.

I would refer to some of his own writings as expressive of these principles. In 1885 he published with great courage—for great courage it was, then—his striking book "New India, or India in transition." He there outlines a progressive policy for Indian administration. Holding that even the best bureaucracy in the world tends to become too conservative, and even retrograde, he warns the Indian Government and the public of the increasing difficulties of administration, and urges measures of adaptation to the changing circumstances. This warning, we may remember, was given 30 years ago. He presses for the encouragement of the aspirations and spontaneous tendencies of the Indian peoples, and counsels to his fellow administrators a more sympathetic and understanding attitude. He looks forward to autonomy, with a system of federated Indian States: the chief duty of Government meantime, is to keep the peace. The whole is animated by his Positivist convictions. It is pleasant to think that he lived to see, begun at least, some realization of these administrative reforms: his protests were vindicated. His continuous advocacy of these ideas, as I have already said, about his parliamentary life, often brought him conflict

and controversy, and even enmity, especially in the later years; but on these, and like matters, we need not dwell—he would not wish it: certainly he was little concerned by attacks upon himself: "I am not," he said, "a good hater."

His spirit and purposes are also plainly and openly set forth in the volume of "Indian Speeches and Addresses." This was published in Calcutta in 1903; there are fourteen of them, selected from the period between 1885 and 1902 when he left India.

His book of "Indian and Home Memories," published in 1911, is in his own words his *Apologia* for his Indian policy. It is also much more: it is a frank autobiography, written with great charm and joy of life and fine feeling: it is a precious gift of himself to us, for which we are more than grateful.

His early connection with Positivism and the Religion of Humanity I have already mentioned. He came into contact with our religion about the year 1866. He says he passed through Mill's *Essays* in the "Westminster Review" to Auguste Comte's "General Creed of Positivism" and his "Catechism of Positive Religion." "In this course of reading," he says, "I collaborated with Baxter, together we attended the lectures given by Dr. Richard Congreve at Bouverie Street, Strand, in the spring of 1867. Assembled there together was a very small but noteworthy audience, including George Eliot, George Henry Lewes, Cotter Morison, Godfrey and Vernon Lushington, Frederic Harrison, Edward Spencer Beesly, and John Henry Bridges. In later years I came to know most of these very well, and Dr. Congreve was destined to exercise a lasting influence over me through a constant and regular correspondence extending over nearly thirty years.... I can only say that Comte's writings produced on our receptive minds something of the effect that Chapman's Homer wrought on Keats": and then he quotes the famous sonnet. After he reached India, he became associated with other Positivists, and with the Indian group that, largely through his influence, grew up in Calcutta. To some of them these tablets on our walls bear witness—Dwarkanath Mitter, who died in 1874 at 42: James Cruickshank Geddes (brother-in-law of Dr. Congreve) who died in 1880, of whom he speaks with great respect and affection: Samuel Lobb: Dr.

Arthur Burnell : Guru Das Chatterji. And for many years he was associated with our dear co-religionist, Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, whose memorial tablet is here—he died in 1902. It was by special delegation from Dr. Congreve that on 20 Jan. 1884 he conferred upon Jogendra the Sacrament of Maturity. There was a small Positivist community already then established: for several years the Festival of Humanity (1 January) had been celebrated at Mr. Cotton's house, and some of Mr. Cotton's Annual Addresses on those occasions were published, that for 1888 was the seventh. In 1891 the direction of the Calcutta group passed more into the hands of Jogendra, partly owing to changes in Mr. Cotton's official position. On the Day of Humanity, 1 January 1901, Mr. Cotton gave at their meeting a memorial address on our dear friend Mr. Thomas Sulman, then lately dead.

I need hardly say that he was well known to many Positivists here in London: he came to us frequently during his furlough and he addressed us at intervals, and addressed also the other London group. But before his final return to England Dr. Congreve and other old friends had passed away, and others have gone since, and he deeply felt these changes.

I have indicated thus generally the active life of him whom we are commemorating to-day. A life, it is, complete in years—past the three score ten of the ancient Jewish singer—yet not old as men go: we Positivists look forward to a longer span as the normal. A life, it is, rich in effort and experience of all kinds. All the normal functions of our human order he has fulfilled, functions of individual being, duties of marriage and family life, of friendship and social contacts: he is for ever knit, as it were, into the great series of the generations of our race. Duties, also, religious, civic, public. "Some work of noble note" we may confidently say that he has done: he has given to us and to mankind, a notable contribution of service. This also to us and to mankind, we may surely feel that he gives—an example of high purpose, of rectitude and sincerity, of sound conviction and consistency—in short, of true service of Humanity. He lives on in the hearts and minds, not merely of all who have known him, but of a far wider and widening circle whom he has influenced—a worldwide circle.

He lives especially, we are assured, in the hearts and minds of the Indian people. "A true friend to India and her people"—such is the inscription already during his lifetime placed beneath the bust of him in the Town Hall in Calcutta.

III.

And now by Death he passes into the Great Peace. Death, we know, the death of the body, is the common fate of us all. The fundamental mystery of life itself we do not fully comprehend, for each one of us birth and death are the incidents that outwardly mark its beginning and its closing: between them is this human existence which alone we ourselves really know and within this all-important span lie our opportunities for love and thought and service. For this period of time we are manifestations of that high Being, Humanity, who guides our destinies. She, the great world-soul, bodies us forth, in an individual life, for a varying length of years: and then, early or late, with purpose fulfilled or unfulfilled, we are each drawn back to Her from whom we came. Such is the normal course of the life of man and woman on this planet of ours—it is thus and only thus—by the death of the individuals—that the continuous generations of Humanity may replace one another—each generation necessarily passing on, and preparing and making ready the way for its successor in the great collective life of man. Yes, death is one of the very laws that condition our bodily human life as children of Humanity—perhaps a law of all life.

It is, again, the last sign of our activities—the last social act possible for each and all of us.

And yet again, it is for each of us the one great inescapable thing in life.

We frankly acknowledge, for ourselves, and for our loved ones, and for all men and women, this necessity, this law of bodily death. We accept it with awe and reverence, we accept it with resignation and with calm: we would accept it also with voluntary and willing submission. We accept it to-day for him of whom we are all now thinking.

And yet, this cessation of the physical being—mournful, inevitable, just—is, let us believe, the minor matter. Not that we underrate the value of the loved bodily presence—not that we do not respect and love the dear body, but that

beautiful, highly-organized mechanism, highest in the vital series, the casket and framework of the personality, of that wondrous complex entity that we call a man or a woman. But its function, noble as it is, is yet temporary and not permanent: its service ended, it rightly ceases to be: it remains in memory, an invaluable aid to finest memory. Its outward passing renders too this other service—in that the enshrined personality thereby goes through a process of exfoliation, of emergence. The passing and trivial elements, the temporary and even negative characteristics, drop away; the spiritual and abiding and real things are left, pure and unalloyed. It is as in the Purgatorio of Dante's poem—there are the waters of Lethe first, and these are followed by the waters of Eunoe. Siva the Destroyer is also Siva the Transformer, he who presides over the transformation.

So that we may say that in the spiritual meaning there is *no death*. Decease is a point of dramatic *fixation*: only in a partial sense can it be said to be an *end*. "Non omnis moriar" should be our hope: "I shall not wholly die." In this view there is no death; what seems so is but transition—Transformation our sacrament calls it—transition to the finer form of life, the spiritual and subjective life. Indeed, if we take a long perspective, the whole course of our human living is but the continuous passage from the objective to the subjective, from the material to the spiritual—the physical factor ever diminishing, the spiritual crescendo. The real efficient part of living, even during life, consists in *spiritual* effort and attainment and influence. This, true of men and women, is true also of Humanity Herself.

While then, in the immediate present, in the newness of our public and private loss, we cannot but mourn—callous indeed and less than human did we not—let us have confidence that the other and finer feeling will gradually gain power over us, and that rather our mourning shall be turned into joy. We shall think of life rather than of death. We shall rejoice that he lived and wrought, rejoice that, though he passes on, his life abides with us and in us, continuous, spiritualized, an active living force still; and that we and India and the world are the richer by his high example.

Henry Cotton, then, joins the vast

immortal company of those who have entered upon that other and further stage of living: he is become one of those our Master, Auguste Comte, calls "*La grande Priorite*" of Humanity—Her ever increasing majority. In Humanity alone, as part of that vast company, is his immortality, and in Her alone can be our immortality. She alone is: he and we through Her. She is the relatively permanent and enduring life on the planet, not we Her separate children. We, the individuals of our generation, to-day are here, and to-morrow are gone: we are but the temporary manifestations of Her, and She alone abides in perpetuity. "The One remains, the many change and pass." All we have of immortality is not in ourselves, but in and through Her.

And he joins also—we especially feel, we Positivists of the nascent church of Humanity—he joins also the company of those who died in the Faith. To some of that sacred company our walls bear witness in these tablets that look upon us in our worship: his name will be added to theirs in this shrine of memories and seven years hence will be the due season for the final sacrament of Incorporation. He is our elder brother in the Faith of Humanity. In Her faith and by Her impulse his life was guided. "Live for others"—"Live openly" were his religious principles of conduct. Let us follow in spirit his high example. Like the old Greek runners with the lighted torch, he hands it on to us to carry forward in our turn. He felt and acknowledged the inspiration of Humanity: to us as to him Her voice comes "*I am always with thee*"; let us, too, hearken to it and be moved by it to noble service. Inspiration, stimulus, these we do sorely need. This has been the constant demand of the human heart, that there be vouchsafed a fuller spiritual insight, a deeper feeling of the immanence, the indwelling of the Supreme Power and Supreme Love that guides our lives. And we—not less but more than those of the older faiths do we Positivists need to feel this power—the power and love of Humanity—working in and through us. As says the Imitation of Christ "love feels no burden, thinks nothing of trouble, pleads no excuse even of impossibility: it is therefore able to undertake all things: yea, and it completes many things and warrants them to take effect. Where he who

does not love would faint and lie down." The inspiration of Humanity would enable us to dare and to do things apparently beyond our individual powers. Only under this high influence can noble life be lived. We cannot attain our finest

life unless we feel ourselves consciously to be the agents and instruments of that higher power—unless we feel glowing within us the love and inspiration of Humanity.

In Her Will, be our peace.

THE INDIAN THEISTIC MOVEMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS

BY THE HON'BLE DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR, M.A., M.D.

THEISM IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

IN one sense, and that perhaps the truest and best, Theism is the most ancient religion of the race. In fact, it is co-extensive with religion. For it is coming to be perceived more and more that the most primitive tribes had an instinctive feeling of an indefinite and nameless presence in the more unusual manifestations of nature, as well as a feeling of inviolable sanctity in the bonds of tribal custom, before they conceived separate gods or ancestral manes; and that among these, again, the greater gods, usually with one greatest among the great, claimed the worship of man, before the multitude of lower deities, whether believed to be benevolent or malevolent. Thus through the ages, in the corridor of primeval history, were heard the footsteps of the coming Deity. What we have hitherto despised as Fetishism, Animism, Spiritism, even the jungly undergrowth of animistic, mimetic, sympathetic magic, are now seen to have been vital, not noxious, growths in the evolution of the social life: indeed, they were something more; they stood for man's perception of a Something beyond the veil of sense, some supernal manifestation of life and power, however dimly and grossly the symbols of that power might have been conceived.

THEISM AND IDOLATRY.

This is, not an idle scientific belief, a theoretic result of our comparative or historic studies in Religion, but a potent practical principle in our dealings with other faiths and cults. Polytheism and idolatry, nay, even the grossest forms of animistic belief, are seen to be normal

products of undeveloped minds, and, in the beginning, healthy and constructive when they were not anti-social. They have been outgrown in the march of the human mind and spirit, but there is no room for the intolerant and ignorant attitude which conceives them as inherently false, sinful and perverse. In fact, the religions of Nature or of Natural instinct may contribute certain pluralistic and symbolic elements to the theistic religion of the future.

THE CATHOLICITY OF INDIAN THEISM.

Indeed any such intolerance in a body of Indian Theists would be an aberration specially alien to the Indian mind. That handbook of Hindu Theism, the *Kusumanjali*, for example, acknowledges that the heretics in their worship of Reason, of an impersonal Intelligence, or of the Perfect Man, and even the rude mechanics in their worship of Vishwakarma, are seekers after the one Great God and, as such, included in the fold of Theism. Let us lay that great saying to heart.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANCIENT RELIGIONS TO THE THEISTIC RELIGION.

We, Theists in India, then, with our tradition of religious toleration and catholicity dating from beyond Asoka, must make a world-religion of our faith, seeking to fulfil and not destroy all the faiths by which man has lived and died in any age or clime. Vedic and Hellenic polytheism will restore to us the lost sense of Nature, our natural piety, our kinship with the flowers, the rivers, and the mountains, our hope in the illumination of the dawn and our strength in the splendour of the charioted Sun. The Avesta will renew in us the sense

of wonder and awe and mystery with which Humanity in the freshness of youth watched the rising and the setting sun, and the daily renewed struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness in the Heavens, and teach us the cosmic significance of the struggle between good and evil desire in the heart of man, calling us to enlist ourselves as votaries of Ahuramazda the good, in the march of the world. The pagan Roman with his house-hold gods, and the Japanese with his Shinto, will yield to us the sense of oneness in the generations of man; the sense of an ancestral and social solidarity.

THE HISTORIC THEISMS: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUTURE RELIGION.

The great historic Theisms of the world, whether Christian, or Islamite, Vaishnavic or Shaibaite, will each bring to us new stores of reverence. One will teach us the sanctity of sorrow and suffering and the central need of sacrifice for the uplift of the poor, the oppressed and the fallen. Another will teach us a burning sincerity as of the sandy deserts of Arabia, the simplicity and single-mindedness of putting the Divine Will above everything else, and the secret of putting aside the trappings and garnishings of life and burning them up in an overmastering, perhaps even a fanatic, enthusiasm. A third will help us to accept life as the *Lila* or Play of Love, and to find in wife and mother, in friend and servant, the one Divine Lover, the infinitely great stooping to be infinitely little, to love and be loved. The fourth will teach us the secret of Yoga, of communion, meditation, contemplation, in one word Peace, amidst the storm and stress of an apathetic and even a hostile world. Our closest spiritual affinity however is with the religion of the Upanishads, those prophetic utterances of the ancient seers of India, for whom the dawn of thought illumined the abysmal depths of the spirit and to whose vision the world was first revealed under the form and superscription of Eternity. In these Upanishads meet the transcendent and the immanent in an original intuition, which is creative of Reality, an intuition which is at once the mother of religion and of philosophy. But, indeed these great historic religions cannot be thus exhausted of their contents; for they are not partial phases of the consciousness of man,—expressing

as they do the whole of man's life on the natural and instinctive as well as on the ethical and the spiritual levels. They have a many-sidedness, an adaptation, and a flexibility, which are apt to be wanting in the creations of personal idealism. Thus it is that the historic religions are rich in symbols which appeal to the imagination and the artistic sense; they clothe the eternal verities with authority in the form of religious dogmas, and in their ceremonials and festive aspects they satisfy the social sense, the instinct of companionship and play, binding together their votaries in communal bonds. But, above all, they wield power over the masses, the simple unlettered multitude, ministering to their needs of consolation here and hope hereafter.

THE PROBLEM FOR OUR UNIVERSAL THEISM: HOW TO BECOME HISTORIC AND CONCRETE.

The historic Theisms, then, whether Hindu or later Buddhistic, Christian, Jewish or Islamic, have their advantages over the universal Theism we profess, and unless the latter consents to enrich itself with the blood of Humanity by becoming historic and concrete in its turn, it will always be in the air, as it were, an idea, no doubt a governing idea, in personal conduct and practice, but hardly a religion swaying the lives and destinies of masses of men.

THE PAN-HISTORIC CHARACTER OF INDIAN THEISM.

But Indian Theism in its effort to become concrete, historical, in one word, national, has the whole world of religion to draw from. The history of the religions of India is in a special sense world-history.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM HINDU THEISM.

Confining ourselves to Hindu Theism, it will be found that this Theism has assimilated elements of life from the most diverse cults and beliefs. Indian *Bhakti* (Devotion) is certainly indigenous, going back, as it does, to the Upanishads, with their recognition of *Varana* (Election), *Anupranana* (Inspiration), *Prerana* (Adesha) and *Prasada* (Grace); but whether in the earlier *Bhagavata Pancharatra* forms, or in the later Ramanujist revival, it has been in profitable (and stimulating) contact with Christian elements, specially the great ideal of a Redeeming God. Again, the Theistic

Bhakti movements of Northern India, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, incorporated much of the simple monotheism and ethical severity and seriousness of Islam together with the democratic force which makes Islam essentially the religion of the masses. Indian Islam and Indian Christianity have in the same way been vitally influenced by the great ruling ideas and ideals of Hindu Theism.

INDIA, THE RELIGIOUS CUSTODIAN OF FUTURE HUMANITY.

Indian Theism, in the past, has therefore been pan-historic in its sources and inspirations, and will be increasingly so with our modern cultural environment. This makes India in a special sense the religious custodian of future humanity. For it is becoming increasingly clear to the best minds of our age that the religion of the future will have the same pan-historic character, and that Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, as four phases or embodiments of Religion, will each have a place in the collective Religion of the Race.

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS RECONSTRUCTION— THE TASK BEFORE INDIAN THEISTS.

That is the task before us—a work of religious reconstruction of the first magnitude. We have been content in the past to divest the Theistic faith of its supernatural, irrational, and non-moral wrappings in its various historical forms. We have also breathed a new life, progressive social ideals, democratic vistas, and a universal religion, into the old bodies of faith and tradition; but now that, with all these gains in modernity, we are entering on a more constructive Theism to-day, we must, following in the footsteps of our father and founder the Raja Rammohun Roy, again seek after God in history, God in the scriptures and the histories of the Nations—in other words, we must seek inspiration afresh from the historic Theisms of the world, that we may give a concrete historical Theism to our age and country.

THE NEW AGE IN RELIGION : THE SPHERES OF RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE AND ART.

Our own age : for our age has brought us a new religious idea, almost a new religious sense. It is not merely that religion is no longer divorced from Science, Philosophy or Art. Each of these, it is now

seen, deals with experience as a whole, each seeks to reflect the universe-idea, or the idea of the absolute, though in different facets or from different angles. Science seeks to reduce all phenomenal experience to the unity of a system, proceeding from multiplicity to unity. Philosophy studies every concrete bit and fragment of experience in its relation to every other bit in the light of the whole system of experience, seeing in the phenomenal world the image and reflection of Eternity. Religion and Art also deal with experience as a whole, but not in a theoretical sense; they are both constructive and practical. But of the two, Art individualises the Universal, Religion universalises the individual. Art expresses the Universal in concrete modes and symbols, and projects all experience, even subjective experience, in an objective form. Art, in other words, creates outer symbols for the inner life. Religion is also creative, as creative as Art, but it creates the Universal out of the Individual. And it is primarily subjective, for the individual whom religion seeks to universalise is the universal subject. Religion is therefore in the first instance self-creative, and even where it seeks to create a Kingdom of God in the social community or the State, that kingdom is the kingdom of the Spirit, not of the Flesh.

MID-VICTORIAN SUBSTITUTES FOR RELIGION —MIXED RELIGIOUS TYPES.

It follows at once from the above that Science, Philosophy, Art and Religion are co-extensive in their spheres. Religion must not comprise any matter of fact or law relating to Nature or History which is repugnant to scientific evidence; any norm of conduct repugnant to the moral ideal, any concepts, dogmas or beliefs repugnant to philosophic Reason; any symbolical representation or ceremonial repugnant to the artistic sense. What is even more important for our purpose is the recognition that neither Science nor Philosophy nor Art can take the place of Religion. All the mid-Victorian dreams of a scientific religion mis-called natural religion, or a philosophical religion, the so-called religion of pure reason, or an aesthetic religion, the worship of the beautiful or of Art as Art, are at once seen to be irrelevant, wholly beside the mark. There is no doubt a religion of Science, in other words, a religious interpretation of

phenomenal experience generalised and unified. But the religion of Science is Religion, not Science. There is also a religion of Art, the appreciation of the art-ideal and of the various aesthetic *Rasas* as moments in the one ultimate *Rasa* (रसब्रह्म). But this is Religion, not Art. Similarly, the religion of philosophy, the vision, the realisation, of the Absolute as the self, is religion, not Philosophy. It is true there are certain mixed types, a philosophical religion, as the religion of the Upanishads or a religious philosophy as of Shankaracharya and Spinoza; an aesthetic religion, as in certain forms of Radha-Krishna worship, or a religious Art as that of Dante in the Divine Comedy, or of Rabindranath Tagore in the Gitanjali. There is also a scientific and positive religion, as the positive religion of Comte; and there are indications that we may have shortly a religious science on the basis of a synthesis between physics and physiology, or, what is the same, between living and non-living matter. In the same way there may be a religion of work, of social service, of the social and household code of duties; but it is not duty as duty, or work as work, which is religion in this case, but work transformed into life and experience, work transmuted into the inner spiritual grace and freedom, work in the spirit of the *Mukta* (the Emancipated) or the *Bhakta* (the Saint). Each Science, each Art, each code, then, has an autonomy, is subject to its own laws or ends which religion must not seek to over-ride or dominate in their own particular sphere of thought or practice. But in the final organisation of life and experience these subordinate laws and ends must obey the regulative ideal of religion, in other words, the ideal of the complete or perfected life.

THE *Yugadharma*—CATEGORIES OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Let us now see how this new sense of religion, freshly recovered in our days after the eclipse it suffered in the utilitarian conventionalism of the mid-Victorian Era, approaches the eternal verities of the religious life, or what use it has for the great symbols which the mind and imagination of the race has constructed to give body and shape and universal currency to the innermost truths of religious experience. God as Father and Mother, God as Lover and Friend, God as King and Judge, those

symbols of the relation between ourselves and our source; God as Revealer, Inspirer, Redeemer, those modes of the Divine manifestation in the life of the individual or the race,—or conversely, Man as worshipping, communing, sacrificing, praying, giving thanks and praise, singing psalms and hymns, those modes of the finite surrendering itself to the Infinite, whether individually in the closet, or congregationally in the House of God,—these and other constructions of the religious life are indeed of even deeper and fuller import from the standpoint of our universal Theism than they have been to the Churches and congregations of old. And this is because our life, our being and activity, have been deepened and widened with the process of the suns. For, the more we are enriched with the life-blood of humanity, the more we receive the influx of the spirit, the incoming flow of the life Divine, as fitter vessels of Grace and Communion.

GOD AS FATHER, MOTHER, FRIEND AND LOVER.

In the Father we realize the Divine Transcendence, the infinitude of the expanse above and beyond us; in the Mother we realize the Divine immanence, the all-embracing plenitude of the expanse within us. In the Father we apprehend the Divine Idea or form, which gives the law to our activity, and prescribes our orbit and our goal; in the Mother we apprehend the Divine Matter, which upholds and sustains our being, and envelopes us in the end in the bosom of Rest and Peace. In the Father, we have a far-seeing love, the overseeing eye upon us; in the Mother, the ever-near love, the soft caressing hand that stills our throbbing. In the Divine Friend, we realize that the big universe around us is not an iron machine ready to crush us ruthlessly, or a blind Octopus ready to embrace us in its tentacles, but that the world-order bears good-will and trust, that, in truth, despite all contrary seeming, there is no strife between Nature's purpose and ours, but harmony and peace; and that the nature of things, the scheme of the world, calls for our loyal acceptance and trustful co-operation. In God our Lover we realize the Divine more intimately still in the privacy of solitary communion, an all-engulfing ecstasy. We realize that, soiled and sinful as we are, we are necessary to the life of the Universal Being,

more necessary than all the gods and saints in their beatitude; that I, even as I am, am unique and of infinite and transcendent worth to this Being, my Lover and Seeker, whose Perfection is nought unless it wins my imperfection's hand and pledge.

GOD AS REVEALER, INSPIRER AND REDEEMER.

He comes to us, the Revealer, the Inspirer, the Redeemer. Not to us to-day clad in the thunders and lightning of Sinai, but in the dust and the weed as in the star and the flower, in the wail and the street gamin as in the prophet and the saint, *Rishi* or *Nabi*. For Creation is our Scripture. Not in nature merely nor in the Soul merely, but in history also we find Him. The history of all creation is to us the self-revelation of the Deity in ever and ever fuller measure, in ascending grades of being. No central or final revelation, but a continual unfolding in new and varied forms of life and experience, that is for us to-day the Revelation of God to Man. He reveals and He inspires. This inspiration, this in-breathing of life, this inworking of the creative principle, is attested in the individual by an unfailing sign,—the individual stamp of an original creativeness in any form of living activity. He inspires, He redeems. But the redemption of the individual soul is for us to-day no passive but an active experience. The sense of conversion, election, grace, the experience of the twice-born, the new birth in the soul, as the inner subjective phase of redemption, will no doubt always remain as an accompanying mark; but of one thing the modern religious man stands assured, we are individually redeemed only so far as we share in God's redemptive activity—so far as we are redeemers ourselves by our life-giving service, our sacrifice in loving humility.

MAN'S ASCENT TO GOD—OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS.

But with us to-day the descent of the Infinite is no longer the miracle it used to be in ages past; it is the upward ascent of Man to God, of the Finite to the Infinite, that is the outstanding problem of the religious life, its tragedy and its paradox.

THE PROBLEM OF PRAYER.

Our prayers are apt to be construed as only subjective devotional exercises, good for the health of the soul from the medicinal

point of view, useful as auto-suggestions or as exercises in self-hypnotism; but useless for everything else, for any practical needs of creatures of flesh and blood. For the creature needs a Father in Heaven, not a moral ineptitude; not an empty form of goodwill, not a scientific law, who cannot lift his paralysed arm to prevent even the fall of a sparrow, or by dint of goodwill save an erring weak will from ruin,—but a Father whose responses to the appeal of the sufferer in the hour of agony,—are more remedial and selective, in one word, more personal not less, than those of an earthly parent. The pompous distinctions between physical and spiritual benefit, between miraculous and natural intervention, between the realm of law and the realm of Grace, are irrelevant to the suffering soul in the hour of agony. A pale bloodless dehumanised creed may suit a scientific automaton but not the man of flesh and blood.

THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM.

Again, the problem of human freedom versus Divine Will is more than ever insistent in an atmosphere surcharged with pragmatic and humanistic currents, and can no longer be shelved as a metaphysical riddle of no practical interest or significance. We see with bewilderment, if not with dismay, that this human freedom which we have learnt to prize as the breath of life, cannot be saved unless we provide somehow for the really contingent in the universe, which by being contingent to man's reason, must also be contingent to God. These then are for us the three outstanding problems of the religious consciousness;—the problem of *freedom* in an age more than ever convinced of the value of freedom in every field of life and effort,—the problem of *evil* in an age more than ever conversant with the reality and the terribleness of pain and wasteful destruction in the scheme of biological evolution, and more than ever abhorrent and intolerant of pain and privation in all their forms,—and, lastly, the problem of *prayer*, the reality of free selective personal response from a personal God, in an age more than ever convinced of the worth of personality and the need of personal relationship in the unfolding life of the Spirit. And it is as well to recognize frankly that unless we boldly faced these problems, man's practical attitude towards God, which is the essence of

religion, could not be placed on a sincere and rational basis; we should be left to a religion which is only half-sincere, a religion of compromise, a religion of make-believe, which is indeed worse than no religion at all.

GOD IN THE WORLD. RECENT SUGGESTIONS.

In this sea of doubts and bewilderments, some religious souls find rest and peace in the idea of a world-spirit, who in His infinite wisdom and mercy imposes fetters on his own omnipotence that his beloved children may have scope for their free self-realisation, who in the history of creation manifests Himself as a suffering God. In the battle of the standard that is raging round us, He calls us as new recruits to a never-ending ever-beginning fight.

God, who is our Friend and Guide, our Master and Guru, turns a willing ear to the call of our entreaty, and is thus capable of sustaining our prayers and our thanksgiving, our love and our goodwill, our sympathy and our trust.

GOD AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

The upholders of this creed maintain that such a World-God not only beckons us to higher heights and deeper depths but draws us closer to the homes and haunts of humanity, in field and country, in street and bazaar and workshop—yea in the slums and cesspools of our cities. Each of us, strong and weak, saint and sinner, wronged and wrongdoer, the man of faith as well as the man of unfaith, is a tabernacle of the World-spirit, unlit or dimly lit as the case may be, waiting for the lighting of the Lamp of lamps, waiting in the dark for the manifestation of His Real Presence. The service of man becomes the service of God—yea of the God in man. In view of these recent theological developments it is important to note that our Hindu forefathers, as well as the Christians in their prayers to God, have enjoyed much of that intimacy of personal communion which this concept of God may secure for the theistic worshipper of our day. To the monotheist the World-God is but the manifestation of Parabrahma in the world.

THE INNER DISCIPLINE.

But every *Yugadharma*, every Revelation vouchsafed to a new age, enables us not only to see God anew, but also to find Him in a new path of discipline as the goal of a new *Sadhana*. What then is the method

of spiritual culture in the Universal Theism of to-day?

Our quest is the consummate experience, 'The Perfect Life on Earth as the guarantee of the transcendent life, the Perfection beyond.'

The starting point in this quest is our limited fragmentary experience facing three ways. The three gateways of Reality are willing, knowing and feeling, and the three ways are the Way of Work, the Way of Knowledge and the Way of Love.

In the way of work the individual begins with the pursuit of personal ends, and passes on to the middle station of duty for duty's sake, when all friction, struggle, effort ceases in "the rigour of dispassion," and this in its turn "gives way to love and spontaneity, to the sense of blessedness in the work." Egoism is now overcome, and the agent becomes conscious that he is merely the instrument of the Supreme Will.

In the way of knowledge the individual begins with reflection on the self. He discriminates and detaches the Self from the not-self;—the eternal from the transitory, the noumenal from the phenomenal. He passes on to the middle station on this road, "The knowledge of the self of self as the *Antaryami*, the witness, the Alpha and the Omega beyond the bounds of Space and Time." In the end, he sees the world as comprehended in himself, and the world and himself as comprehended in the Universal Self.

In the way of love the devotee begins with prayer and thanksgiving and praise. Worship expresses itself in acts of homage and completes itself in self-surrender. The Lord, the Master, the Guru becomes all in all. From adoration he passes on to the Love which cancels all difference. The Infinite puts off its veil of infinitude, the finite puts off its veil of illusion. The gulf is no more. As friend, as lover, as the world-child, He sports with His own. All experience of life, in fine, in the world, is the pursuit of this love.

PROBLEMS OF PRACTICAL ORGANISATION IN THE THEISTIC CHURCHES.

But in whatever form the *Yugadharma* may win our individual allegiance, there is no doubt that for us Indian Theists the reconstruction of a pan-Indian, pan-historic, universalistic type, of Theism is a prime spiritual need. And not only in the spiritual construction of the religious life but

also in the practical organisation of our Samajas and Congregations, we are entering on an era of expansion and broadening outlook. This will appear clearly from an examination of some of the practical problems that face the Theistic Churches in India.

MEMBERSHIP AND CREED.

I will first take up the question of membership of our Theistic churches, namely, the question of the formulation of creed and dogma as a condition of such membership.

The father and founder of the Brahma Samaj, Raja Rammohun Roy, laid down a very catholic and comprehensive platform. In the *Anusthana Patra* and other writings he favours the inclusion of all who practise contemplation of the origin of the universe and a code of ethical duties emanating from that source, and he fraternises with the *Nanak-Panthis*, *Dadu-Panthis*, the *Santas*, and such of the *Ramayats* as did not worship by means of shrines and images, not to mention the unitarian Christians and the followers of Islam. As to the ultimate source and origin of the universe, he did not lay down for the Samaja any hard and fast concepts or beliefs. He allowed full liberty to all manner of philosophical conceptions of the Godhead, of the absolute and infinite, with a comprehensiveness quite worthy of the *Kusumanjali* itself. Subsequently in the Brahma Samaja this wide interpretation of the Theistic position was narrowed down to a formulated creed of which there have been different enunciations, but this has not served to exclude from the membership of any Brahma Samaja individuals of widely divergent types of theistic (or even agnostic) belief. To-day the various Theistic bodies in the country, and even members of the same body, differ very widely from one another regarding their personal confession of faith, and no formulæ can be devised which are not elastic enough to admit into their folds the most heterogenous and non-descript assortment of speculative beliefs and postulates. This has been the history of non-conformity in the West, and the Free Christians have at last abandoned all definitions of creed, all subscriptions and confessions of faith. Practically whoever elects to become a member gets in, and

whoever wants to stay in does so, in all such free bodies, whether in the West or in the East. Even if any section of the Brahma Samaj or other Theistic body were to start today with a hard and fast creed, the widest divergence in speculative matters would follow in the course of one or two generations, as no uniformity of philosophical or theological belief can be expected in the free and open atmosphere of modern thought and culture, and any zealous attempt to preserve purity and uniformity of faith would lead to ever-multiplying schisms and secessions. Even the established churches with their subscriptions and articles of faith supported by ecclesiastical preforments and ecclesiastical courts are uniform only in name, and conceal a miscellany of faiths under the appearance of unity.

A COMMON CEREMONIAL AND A COMMON PERSONAL LAW.

Hinduism avoids this difficulty by having no theological creeds or dogmas, and by laying down only social observances and socio-legal customs as tests of conformity; and as a matter of fact this is the sort of test to which we must all ultimately come. Only in the Hindu community these practices are ceremonial or sacramental in their nature, but more and more the ceremonial bonds will disappear, and the connective tissue would come to be a common customary, a common personal law, which, in the end, will be replaced by a common territorial law. A common creed, a common ceremonial, a common personal law, and in the end a common territorial law,—these are the ascending stages in the march to a personal life within the life of the community.

The Theists of India welded together by faith in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, are more or less free from the fetters of a fixed creed and obligatory ceremonial, and any attempt to rivet the chain of creed or ceremony, whether in a theological interest, or as a preliminary to the evolution of a common personal law for the Brahma community, would have to be considered with grave circumspection lest it should impede the free and progressive growth of Theism itself and prove to be reactionary and in the end as full as reactionary.

THE MARRIAGE ACT OF 1870 & SUCCESSION.

Again, the Theistic communities have no personal law of their own, for the Marriage Act (Act III of 1870) only legalises the marriage but does not necessarily change the personal law of the parties to the contract except in the matter of marriage itself. The fact that the Theists have no separate personal law would scarcely be a disadvantage in the present fluid and fluent state of these bodies, if only the parties to a marriage under the Act were allowed to choose their own personal law of succession and inheritance, i. e., either to retain the personal law in which they were born and bred, or to adopt the law under the Indian Succession Act, according to a declaration to be made at the time of the marriage or at some subsequent date. But in any case in the end personal law is bound to disappear in the territorial law, and if we want to have the disabilities of the various systems of personal law removed and at the same time are not satisfied with the Indian Succession Act, we may demand an improvement in its provisions.

But if this appears hopeless we may at any rate demand a personal law of our own without fettering ourselves with a ceremonial code, even if it were to be no more than a model or exemplar.

BOND OF UNION AMONG INDIAN THEISTS.

What is it, then, that serves as the bond of union among the Indian Theists? No doubt, in some of our churches there have been internal bonds in the shape of creeds, liturgies and Sambitas (ceremonial codes), though as we have seen even these creeds are coming to be more and more elastic, if not nominal or obsolete. But in the absence of a common subscription or confession or a common ceremonial or personal law, is there a Theistic community or communal life? The answer is clear. The *de facto* bond is membership of some Theistic congregation based on similarity of convictions, aspirations and ideals, partly religious and partly social; and as new Samajas are formed, or the existing ones multiply or subdivide, the common hopes and ideals will become more and more indefinable in terms of positive formulation, until, in the end, with the widening of religious ideals, there will be only one congregation left, that of

the worshippers of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful God, held together in the Church Universal, the Church of all time. That is the only congregation that lasts, that runs like a golden thread through the web of time. All other churches are aisles of this one church, choirs within this one congregation.

THEISTS AS REFORMERS, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL.

But in the meanwhile we have also some negative bonds and marks. We are bodies of practical reformers, and like all such bodies, whether in the social or in the religious field, we are held together by our practical programme of reform, at any rate until our reforms are accomplished. We, who are mainly of Hindu extraction, have rejected certain practices of the orthodox community;—we have had no need to reject any tenets or dogmas, as Hindu orthodoxy insists on none. We have rejected idolatry, idolatrous ceremonies and Sanskaras (sacraments), caste, non-adult marriage, the Zenana system, and the compulsory celibacy of widows. These negative marks, by dividing us from the orthodox Hindu folds, have drawn us together. But as reform associations our Theistic bodies have a peculiar character. Some reforms, as in matters of food, drink, dress, can be practised by individuals independently of social acceptance. Some require co-operation of other individuals, or of the general body of the people, or of the State itself. Reforms may also be divided according as they do or do not lead to excommunication from general social intercourse, according as they are or are not usually inherited from father to son, or according as they do or do not require or obtain any State recognition. Social and religious reforms generally require co-operation, are often under a social ban, and are likely to be inherited.

The Theists in rejecting idolatry, caste, and non-adult marriage, became pronounced reformers of this type, and naturally formed a community with a social cohesion based on marriage and commensality among themselves. They also required and obtained legislative sanction. In the absence of a general civil marriage Act, a special marriage facility was granted by the State in their case, viz., the removal of the disability under which they laboured in contracting mar-

riages in accordance with their own programme of reform. But Indian Society is rapidly passing to the stage in which a legal provision for a Civil Marriage Act without reference to religious persuasion or creed is one of the decencies, if not the necessities, of civilized life ; and when this is secured, the cumbrous Act III of 1870, with its curious negative declaration will become a dead letter. Not a special Brahmo Marriage Act, but a general Civil Marriage Act without any declaration, positive or negative, as to the religious persuasion of the parties concerned, should be the objective of our efforts. A special Brahmo Marriage Act is likely to present grave difficulties, whether we define a Brahmo by creed or ceremonial ; or maintain registers for the purpose of the Act, or leave the matter to the declaration of the parties themselves. A general Civil Marriage Act, on the other hand, will give a general relief in the simplest and most effective way. Indeed large numbers of our orthodox brothers will also profit by such an Act to provide a safeguard against polygamy and other risks to which the orthodox marriage bond is now liable, as well as to celebrate intercaste and adult marriages and the remarriage of widows. Further, a Brahmo Marriage Act will be a barrier against the rapprochement of the orthodox community and the Theistic reformers, while a Civil Marriage Act will hasten their union.

SOCIAL REFORM : MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY.

In fact, the Theistic reformers are being more or less overtaken by the most cultured and advanced sections of the orthodox society, at any rate in Bengal. Non-idolatrous monotheistic worship, or the non-performance of an idolatrous Shraddha or other Sanskara, is no longer under an effective ban. The Zenana system has mitigated its extreme rigour, thanks to the exigencies of railway travel and health resorts, if not also to female education in part. Child marriage is doomed. Widow re-marriage is being celebrated under orthodox Hindu auspices, though an infinitesimal fraction has reaped any relief therefrom. But what remains to be done is a matter of social education. Lastly, caste in the educated classes now turns on the pivot of marriage, only, at least in Bengal, where restrictions on food and commensality are now matters of the past.

Among the masses, caste no doubt performs some useful functions still, viz., those of industrial guilds including apprenticeship, as well as of the preservation of social morals. But among the educated classes all the useful functions of caste organisation are non-existent, and the arrestive and disuniting effect alone remains, as well as the now useless and very often positively hurtful function of endogamy. But there is reason to believe that, with the growth of individualism, the spread of culture and of female education, and the weakening of the joint family and other ties of dependence on the family group, intercaste marriages will take deeper root in the great Hindu society, once the trammels of an artificial English-made Hindu law are removed ; and such marriages will again be recognised as legal, as they were for long generations recognised in the ranks of the Bengal Vaishnavas under the rulings of the Hari-Bhakti-Vilas, and of the Shaivaite community under the rulings of the Shivanushasana,—and as they still are in the *anuloma* form in the independent Kingdom of Nepal,—before the English ignorance of Hindu usages stereotyped the canonical Smritis and arrested the natural development of Hindu personal law.

SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

If, therefore, we theists are to remain in the van-guard of social reform, we must now form a programme of advanced social and socio-economic work on sound scientific lines. We have hitherto taken our social reform measures piecemeal. We have been actuated by motives of social justice and compassion in the fight against social evil and tyranny. Such motives must always remain the mainspring of social reform, but in a new and complex situation, where the reform amounts to re-constitution of the basis of social life, we must be guided by an intelligent insight into the biological and economic principles which govern the evolution of that life.

Take, for example, the institution of the family.

The Hindu family has a certain patristic structure and is based on a certain conception of the marital relation and of parenthood. In the orthodox society, the age of marriage, the selection of bride and bridegroom, the dowry arrangements, the social as well as the legal status of the widows,

the rights of women regarding maintenance and succession, have all been regulated with reference to that family structure. A radical change in any one of the arrangements must affect the others, and the reformer must therefore keep the whole *ensemble* in view. For example, many of us Theists have departed from the spirit of the joint family, even where we have kept up the form. Again, we desire to give our womankind full liberty of choice in the selection of partners in life, that great psycho-social stimulus to the development of a genuine personal life. But we fail to appreciate all that is involved in such a change, and accordingly our minds are confused, our efforts straggling and ill-concerted, and our achievement slow, uncertain and dissipated in friction and discord. To come to concrete illustrations, we have done away with the dowry but we have introduced no marriage settlements, such as are customary among Christians and Mohamedans. Our married daughters have usually no *Stridhana*, no part and parcel, direct or indirect, in the parental property. This is in the first place a one-sided conception of the responsibilities of parenthood, involving an injustice to the daughters in favour of the sons, and this militates fundamentally against our desire to give a genuine personal life to our womenfolk: for personality and personality, ownership of soul and ownership of property, go hand in hand in progressive social evolution. What is more, so far as the joint family is breaking down, and our married couples are beginning to start new homes, the want of such settlements operates as a check against marriage, and helps the increasing unwillingness on the part of young men and women to take up the burdens of family life, or at least of an increasing family.

Again, the new social arrangements in our Theistic Communities necessary for making marriages by free choice possible in fact, instead of merely in name, are in a very rudimentary stage and what we have so far achieved in this direction is to put new wine in old, very old bottles. But these are only preliminaries.

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

More fundamental questions will soon be pressing for solution. Adult marriages

contracted by mutual choice, with whatever degree of parental control, must bring with them new problems of the marital relation, bearing on the legal status of husband and wife, problems which cannot be indefinitely shelved.

As for the legal status of the widow in intestate succession, it is uncertain under Act III of 1870, whether and under what conditions the Indian Succession Act or the Hindu Law would apply.

POINTS OF INQUIRY FOR A BRAHMO CENSUS.

It is incumbent upon our theistic churches to take a census giving us the facts as to the maintenance or otherwise of the normal equilibrium in the proportion of marriageable young people of both sexes of certain specified periods of age. We ought also to have the facts regarding the normal dimensions of our families and the fecundity of adult marriages in our communities with the proportions of male and female birth. The rate of marriage and number of bachelors and spinsters above the usual marriageable age are also proper matters for inquiry. And in the light of these statistics we must proceed to inquire into the economic factors that influence marriage and whether in these incipient communities such factors are operating healthily or unhealthily.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION FOR OUR WOMEN.

Another important and closely connected question is the high education of our girls, how far and in what direction the University and high school courses may require to be modified to suit the needs of women and how the physiological drain of public examinations on the adolescent female constitution may be avoided or minimised in the interests of the race. A programme of University Extension for women with systematic courses of lectures in various subjects in the vernacular followed by examinations and diplomas is one of the practical needs of the hour. The claims of Art and Music to a fuller recognition in the University and high school courses must come up in this connection, as also the provision of adequate facilities for the training of women for vocations like Teaching and Medicine for which women's work is in imperative demand and more so in this country than in any other.

The next point to which I would draw attention is the growth among our community of the habit of residing in towns, in many cases in crowded tenements. This may have been the outcome of many existing circumstances—but it must be admitted that this state of things is far from being desirable, considered either from the social, sanitary, or economical point of view. Our friends must cultivate and realise a strong attraction for and be associated with land and rural life before we can expect a healthy and sturdy development in ourselves.

Social culture must begin with the growth of codes of etiquette; and in a free community like ours the absence of such a code is a regrettable fact. Let us trust that amongst our countrymen generally and our members particularly, a proper code of etiquette based upon culture and sincerity will soon grow to help our social intercourse.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES—MISSION TO THE PEOPLE.

In Bengal, the question of caste, for the educated classes, reduces itself to that of intermarriages. I have already dealt with this aspect of the question. But whether in Bengal, in Bombay, in Southern India, or elsewhere, the most vital and urgent social problem of the day is the uplifting of the depressed classes, the "untouchables," who form the masses of the people in India. The old Hindu agencies, whether Vaishnavic or Shaivaitic, which brought so many aboriginal tribes, many of them with head-hunting tendencies, into the Hindu fold, by silently adding a Brahmanical Sacramental leaven to the aboriginal cult and which also often gave them a status in the hierarchy of caste by inventing a Kshatriya, a Vratya-Kshatriya or a Brahma-Kshatriya pedigree for the more powerful chiefs, have almost ceased their missionary activities. Islam, more successful than Christianity in the jungles and fastnesses of Central and Northern Africa, has not made much headway among the Indian aboriginal tribes. But Christianity has recently had a great missionary revival, comparable to what we are told of its power with the masses under Xavier himself, and the great mass movement of our day in Southern India towards Christianity must bring home to us, Indian theists,

the responsibility that sits on us to save for them the indigenous Indian culture and tradition by opening up to them the portals of hope and comfort, both here and hereafter. For no form of religion has any life-value to-day which fails to yield a living inspiration and social service, more specially the service of the lowly and the overburdened, the afflicted and the downcast, the oppressed and the fallen; and devotional religion in our Samajes, if it be not a mere luxurious sensation, must go out among the depressed classes in loving humility and patient live-giving service.

A PRACTICAL RELIGION FOR THE MASSES.

In organising the religious life of the masses we may receive guidance from an intelligent study of the methods by which the great historic religions have been brought home to the people in all ages and climes. The outstanding features of such attempts, in the past have been: (1) The laying down of certain simple practical rules of conduct for implicit religious observance, with the authority of a canonical code or sacred table such as the *Panchasilas* (the five religious duties) of the ancient Hindus, the Buddhists, and the Jainas, the Commandments of the Mosaic law and similar Islamic and Confucian tables, enjoining honesty, chastity, temperance, truthfulness, neighbourly charity, kindness to men and animals and the worship of God or prayers at stated hours or seasons; and (2) The institution of certain festivals and popular gatherings, with singing, reciting, play-acting, dancing, eating and drinking, &c., to enlist the instinct for social play for the service of social religion. We Indian theists must adopt these methods to modern social wants in the Indian village environment. A popular religion for the Indian masses of to-day must be based on *Bhakti* or devotion to God (Hari, Shiva, Vishvakarma, Allah, the use of the name depending on the folk concerned) without definition of creed or dogma, and with a simple code of religious duties, expressing the Divine will and bearing on conduct.

Among the religious duties the chief will be temperance (or total abstinence principles), chastity, truthfulness, neighbourly charity, kindness, cleanliness, sacredness of infant life, respect for women as mothers of the race, avoidance of extravagance on festive occasions, and, above all, the sacredness of one's handiwork, so that faithful

work may be synonymous with the faithful service of God (Vishwakarma or Allah). The popular countryside festivals and religious gatherings must be kept up, to keep alive the spirit of cheerfulness and play in the people. But the festivals should be simplified, purified, and beautified, adapted to the changes of the seasons in Nature. The *Sanskaras*, the sacraments of birth and death, of initiation and marriage, should be simple, touching and sublime, with the simplicity, the pathos, the sublimity of man's life. Methods of popular education with all modern appliances, eked out wherever possible by indigenous institutions, like *Kirtan*, *Kathakata* and *Yatra*, should be pressed into the service of popular religion.

If this is the Yuga-dharma and these the practical problems of organisation for the Indian Theists of the present generation, the question must be raised how all this is related to the history of the movement of Universal Theism in the country since the advent of its father and founder the Raja Rammohun Roy. That movement has run through three phases, and is now entering on a fourth.

The first phase—that embodied in the Raja himself, gives us the foundations and the ground-plan of Universal religion. Dominated by the concept of Brahma as the Absolute Reality, the Raja viewed the panorama of the world in Nature as well as in History, as the manifestation of Brahma, a manifestation in higher and higher grades of being, in the inorganic world, in the varied forms of life, in moral force such as *Brahmacharyya* and *Tapasya* in the Scriptures—above all in the *Atman*, the Self. The way to find Him is not by withdrawing the Self from the world and remaining serenely poised in the cessation of all activities and all relations, but by realising our being in His being, our consciousness in His consciousness, our bliss in His blessedness. To grow into the cosmic consciousness, that is *Mukti*, liberation from bondage,—to be attained by the constant practice of *Upasana*, meditation on the Brahma, and the pursuit of *Lokashreya*, the well-being of all creation. In the Raja's philosophy of life, each science, each art, each social institution has natural ends of its own, which are legitimate objects of pursuit, in their own sphere and which religion must not seek to override or frustrate: but they all find in religion their ultimate bond

of unity, their ideal fulfilment in an ultimate harmony and reconciliation. And the Raja was himself the grand living synthesis which was the quest of his philosophy. In his own person the Raja was a complex of half a dozen personalities: an Upanishadic Hindu, an agnostic Buddhist, a rationalistic Mahomedan, a Unitarian Christian, a utilitarian Confucite—not by turns—changing with the phases of the moon as so many eccentrics before him and after,—but all fused together, harmonised in the Humanitarian Cosmopolite—a realised Universal Man, prophet and precursor of the Coming Race in his Universal Religion.

The second phase, that of the religious life dominated by the concept of *Paramatman*, the Self of Self, was centred in the Raja's spiritual heir and successor, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the life of the modern as opposed to the medieval saint. No religion has any life-value which cannot present before us its own *Jivanmukta*—its great exemplar, its Man-in-God: and the Maharshi rendered a unique service to the cause of universal religion by showing to the world the type of the modern mystic and seer. But the Maharshi gives us not only the personal life which is the supreme test of a religion, the life of communion with the Divine which transfigures work and service into freedom and the blessedness of the spirit, he gave something more to his countrymen. He gave the theological moulds, the religious concepts and constructions in which to cast the widening religious experiences of the new age; he tested the ultimate philosophy of life of the West by that of the East; and he tested both the Eastern and Western religious traditions by his own living experience, his own inner life-history. He opened up for the nascent or renascent India of his times a middle path, a *via media*, between the two paths of life, the Eastern and the Western which crossed each other, and he incorporated much of the Western belief regarding man's life and destiny into the religious dogmas which he constructed—though for one who was spiritually as well as lineally a descendant of the Holy Rishis of India, the Perfect Life was framed with Upanishadic setting. The Maharshi will remain the spiritual Guru of universal theism for a long time to come.

Next followed the third phase of the Theistic history, a phase dominated by the concept of God as *Bhagavan*, the

Lord of Dispensations. This phase we find embodied in Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, the Man of the New Dispensation. He was the type of the supreme creative artist in the sphere of religious life, a genius equally prolific in creating creeds and dogmas, types and symbols, rites and sanhitas (codes). He would coin into flesh and blood, as it were, the religious ideas that have been held in solution in all religious and ecclesiastical history. To mention a few of these—the great-man doctrine in religion, the doctrine of the Logos and the son of God, the Christo-centric community of Prophets, the pilgrimage to the saints, the communion of all souls, the church invisible, the church as the organ of the corporate religious life, the apostolic durbar, the doctrine of special inspiration (Adesh), the sacraments of the new baptism and the new homa, a New Samhita a, sacramental code, a new flag and emblem, an All-India Theistic mission, the revival of Sankirtan, God-vision and madness in religion, the synthesis of Yoga and Bhakti as disciplines, the scripture of life (Jivan Veda), the social reform propaganda, and the Marriage Act. These were among his amazingly prolific constructions: but the most luminous of all was his vision of harmony of all religions and all dispensations, which will remain one of the beacon lights of future religious history.

The fourth phase of this religious renaissance in modern India opens on the present generation. We are confronted with the great task of organisation, the task of consolidation and of expansion alike. We theists feel to-day the imperative need of drawing closer

to our kith and kin, our flesh and blood, in the bosom of the mother—the mother society in which we were born and bred, whose blood runs in our veins, whose bounty feeds us as a mighty river feeds its many branches. Our greeting of love goes forth to our brethren, in the name of Bharatavarsha, the land of the Himalayas, the Vindhya, and the Nilgiris, girdled by the Indian ocean, and watered by the seven streams. But we call them not to the battle for rights, the din of controversy, the dusty and clamorous contests for the prizes of this world. We call them to the altar of sacrifice, to lay down each his pride of birth, of riches, of talents; to lay aside every cherished privilege and power, every exclusive boon and bounty, on the altar of sacrifice, for a common participation in the common life of the Mother. The call of renunciation has ever been the call of Mother India—renunciation for the sake of Brahmavapti, the absolute fulfilment and fruition; and it is only by patient humble toil in this spirit of self-renunciation among the poor and blind and hungry masses of our brethren, in field and bazar and workshop, that we can be true to our Mother, the common mother of us all. Such has been Mother India's age-long sadhana of fulfilment in renunciation, of *Anandam* (bliss) risen out of the depths of tribulation; and in Her name we shall go forth to the world preaching deliverance from the spirit of unrest and strife, preaching *Maitri* to all, preaching Peace, the Peace of Brahma to a world distraught, and Emancipation to a world in chains.

Presidential address delivered at the All-India Theistic Conference held in Bombay, December 25, 1915.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore.
Translated from the original Bengali by Satyendra Nath Tagore and Indira Devi. Macmillan & Co., 1917. 17s. 6d. and 29s. Price 7-6 net.

The inner history of a noble soul is bound to be of absorbing interest to those who have a soul-history of their own, for it is not every man who can boast

of such a thing always, not every man who can boast of a soul *dynamic*, and not *static*. Such a history we have in the Autobiography of Devendranath, a remarkable production, but which is sure to prove "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable" to those who have not tasted of the joys and sorrows of the inner life. But those who have entered into the spirit of these writings cannot but be surprised at the richness and wealth of the book, and it is but a poor eulogy

to say that it has enriched Bengali literature to an extent which the general reader is hardly aware of.

This translation, therefore, which we have before us, though it is only a pious tribute to the memory of a saintly parent, is really a contribution towards world-literature. It has placed before a wide circle of readers the inner workings of one of those souls which were in tune with the Infinite, and which therefore could not but give out the divinest of music.

The Autobiography has an Introduction by Evelyn Underhill, an Introductory Chapter by the translator, two Appendices containing some select Sermons and Prayers by the Maharshi, and several other extracts. The translation has, as in the original Bengali, thirty-nine chapters in all.

The plan of the book is admirably suited to make the life of this great man intelligible to those who are not in touch with the modern currents of Indian thought. The introductory chapter by the Translator serves, so to say, the purpose of a context to the life of the Maharshi by placing it in a true perspective with relation to the movement known as the Brahmo Somaj, while the Introduction by Evelyn Underhill is really a translation of the spiritual life of Devendranath "into that language of spiritual experience which is most familiar to Western students." Without some such interpretation the Eastern mystic would have remained a puzzle, a curiosity, or rather a curio, to the Western mind. But, as it is, it will enable the appreciative reader to enter into the meaning of the various stages of development of the Maharshi's life. The writer has traced its growth step by step with remarkable insight into the movements of an Oriental's mind, and has touched upon all the important points which mark the "salutary ascents." In this fine analysis have been recorded with an unflinching hand the ups and downs of a growing soul,—and there are ups and downs in the life of even the most exalted ratures,—and the writer has noted faithfully the constant swing of the spiritual pendulum from light to darkness, and from darkness to light, which checker the ground-plan of every elevated mind. But that which is most helpful to the Western student is the constant and illuminating parallelism drawn between the Maharshi and the Western Saints at every critical turn of the former's onward move, and these parallel experiences taken from the lives of the Mystics of the West, with which the occidental mind is familiar, are calculated to help much the proper understanding of the history of this noble devotee. We strongly recommend this Introduction to those also who have had the privilege of reading the original in Bengali, because we have no doubt that it will throw a new light on their study of the man.

We have incidentally noticed above the Introductory Chapter by Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, and have pointed out its real utility. Here we have a brief sketch of the Maharshi's life and also of the Brahmo Somaj. The account given of the latter is singularly lucid, illuminating and impartial, and Mr. Tagore has assigned his father his legitimate place in the history of this revivalist movement. Naturally the latter half of this history resolves itself into the life of Keshub Chunder Sen, on whom the mantle worthily fell. The account of the part played by the Brahmananda has been on the whole very appreciative, but we must say that in one or two points the writer has done us injustice to Keshub. Says he, "He [Keshub] surrounded himself with a band of devoted followers,

some of whom worshipped him as an Avatar with a blind unreasoning faith." We know that this charge was brought against Keshub at that time, and also we know that it has often been repeated by a certain class of writers, but we hardly expected to see a repetition of this accusation come once more from the pen of Mr. Tagore, who has given us an otherwise faultless *resumé* of this important movement. We should be glad to know the authorities on the strength of which he makes such a damaging statement.

Now we turn to the main book itself—the Autobiography proper, and here one cannot but be struck by the simple, straightforward and unostentatious outpourings of the soul,—a narrative which at once convinces and satisfies. In it we are brought face to face with the doubts and solutions, hopes and despairs, longings and fulfilments, and raptures and disappointments of a soul thirsting after God, and it is good for us to be here.

This Autobiography, however, has a twofold significance,—not merely is it the soul-history of Devendranath, but a key to the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, too. Considered as the first, we find here how the thoughtful and despondent young-man grew into an enthusiastic devotee. We see distinctly the steps he took on his passage from darkness to light, and how the Divine revealed Himself into the human. The characteristics which stand prominently out are an uncompromising monotheism, a fearlessly critical attitude of the mind, an unreserved surrender to the will of God, a devotional spirit which maddened him, a union with the supreme soul which threw him into raptures, and a deep love of nature which made him travel from place to place in search of the Beautiful Face of Him who is revealed in His own handiwork. We discover here also that the religious life is not an even, onward flow, but a life full of surprises,—surprises of the spirit, which carry the soul by sudden thrusts forward so to say.

Viewed as a key to Brahmoism, we find in the experiences of the Maharshi the true source and fountain-head of all that is life giving and spiritual in this new movement. The basic principles of the latter, the philosophy with which it began, and that attitude of the mind which makes the acceptance of this new Truth not only possible but inevitable, are all to be met with in the spiritual adventures of the Pradhan Acharya. The faith of the Somaj grew with his faith, the spiritual fervour which has set its seal upon this religious revival took its colouring from that of his own, and the peculiar system of worship which characterises Brahmoism got its shape defined by the deeper experiences of the Seer. Indeed, the Brahmo Somaj did not stop where the Maharshi did, but though it fast outgrew the garments into which it was first put, it, however, retained the shape into which it was originally moulded by him, and the stamp of his genius is evident everywhere. Thus this first-hand recital of things of vital importance to the Brahmo Somaj is of more than ordinary interest to Brahmos, and we can only wish that the biographer had not closed his narrative at the forty-first year of his life. It would have been of the highest value to us to have from his pen an account of the differences which led ultimately to the first schism in the Somaj, and it would certainly have thrown a flood of light upon his relations with the Brahmananda. But strangely enough he stops in his narrative, and rather abruptly, just where Keshub comes in, though no mention whatever is made of

him, and we are left to solve the mystery as best we can. Could Mr. Tagore, or anyone else, enlighten us on this point?

It now remains for us only to point out that this book is a reprint of a first edition published by Messrs. S. K. Lahiri and Co., in 1909, with the Introduction by Evelyn Underhill added to the original matter. Otherwise there have been but few significant changes, excepting some in the Introductory Chapter. The footnotes indispensable in translations like this, are a little more copious in the English Edition for evident reasons. We should, however, have liked to see all the matter included in the appendix of the first edition retained in the present one, and very much regret this unfortunate and inexplicable curtailment of valuable and interesting reading. The translation is on the whole very successful, but perhaps a bit too literal. The frontispiece of the volume is a portrait of the Maharshi at eighty years of age, drawn by Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.

NIRANJAN NATHGI.

The Arya Samaj: *An account of its origin, doctrines, and activities, with a biographical sketch of the founder, by Lajpat Rai, with a preface by Professor Sidney Webb, LL.B., of the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London). With ten illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London. Pp. 205.*

We owe an apology to the author and publishers of this book for not having been able to notice it earlier. It is a well-written and well got-up book, and we have read it with great pleasure and profit. It is as full an account as the ordinary reader would wish to read of Swami Dayananda's life and teachings and the movement inaugurated by him. And one could not wish for a more or better informed exponent of the system—if it could be so called, than the author. The illustrations, including portraits of the founder, the author of the book and two other prominent workers, are all good. The biography at the end of the book gives a list of English books on the Samaj written by both Indians and non-Indians. The life of the founder as given in the book, is an inspiring study. We extract a passage from the end of the first chapter, where the author speaks of Dayananda's leave-taking from Swami Virajananda, with whom he had studied the Vedas:—"The day of leave-taking was a memorable occasion for both pupil and teacher. It was on that day that Swami Virajananda demanded the customary fee which in old times every *Brahmachari* had to pay to his *Guru* on the day of leave-taking. Virajananda knew that Dayananda had nothing of worldly value to offer him, nor did he himself care for any such gift. What he asked of his pupil was a pledge to devote his life to the dissemination of truth, to the waging of incessant warfare against the falsehoods of the prevailing Puranic faith (faith based on the Puranas), and to establish the right method of education, as was in vogue in pre-Buddhist times. This pledge Dayananda gave willingly, and with a solemn joy; and never was any human pledge kept more loyally and faithfully."

Dayananda's meeting with the Brahmo leaders in Calcutta is thus narrated:—"The Brahmo Samaj accorded him a hearty welcome, and some of its leading members conferred with him with a view to win his co-operation for their movement; but the Swami could not give up his faith in the infallibility of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration of souls, the two cardinal principles which distinguish the Arya Samaj from the Brahmo Samaj. His visit to Calcutta, how-

ever, brought him into immediate contact and intimate touch with the leaders of the English educated community. Here he learned their points of view and benefited thereby. For instance, Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, the respected leader of the Brahmo Samaj, suggested to him the supreme importance of carrying on his propaganda in the language of the people, a practical suggestion that was readily and gratefully accepted by the Swami. It was put into operation at once. This single step made a mighty difference in favour of his mission, since it brought him into direct touch with the bulk of his countrymen, both educated and uneducated, who did not know Sanskrit and could not understand him except through translators and interpreters. In Calcutta he made the acquaintance of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the father of the now famous Rabindranath Tagore, whose Brahmoism had more in common with the faith of Dayananda than the religious beliefs of the other leaders of the Brahmo Samaj."

The account of the educational work of the Arya Samaj and of that connected with the elevation of the depressed classes, given in the book will be found very interesting. One may not agree with the ideal or methods of education which commend themselves to the leaders of the Samaj, and the way in which they 'purify' the depressed. But their energy and self-sacrifice deserve all praise.

What one misses in the book is a reasoned exposition of the doctrines of the Samaj, specially an exposition, if any were possible, of the astounding doctrine which chiefly distinguishes the movement from the Brahmo Samaj, namely that the Vedas are infallible. That reasoned expositions of religious doctrines are not in demand in the Samaj seems to show a rather low stage of spiritual consciousness in the members. This seems to be confirmed by the utter absence in the book under notice of any account of devotional life or movements in the Samaj. If all this indicates a state of spiritual barrenness in the Samaj, as is alleged by some of its critics, then the claim put forward by our author, in behalf of the Samaj, that the future of Hindu Theism is identified with it, might be a groundless claim. However, as to the dogma of Vedic infallibility, does not the absence of an earnest defence of the doctrine indicate that the leaders of the Samaj look upon it more as a policy to attract the ignorant and the uneducated than as a serious article of faith? Some of Dayananda's critics allege that with the Swami it was nothing but a policy and that he admitted it to be so. We should have been glad if our author had taken up the point and made it clear. No movement, least of all a religious movement, can stand upon a lie—a conscious falsehood. If the Arya Samaj, its leaders at any rate, are conscious that the dogma of Vedic infallibility is untenable, in the light of science and free-thought, the sooner this is distinctly avowed the better for the moral integrity and the spiritual future of the Samaj.

S. TATTYABHUSHAN.

1. The Research Magnificent. By H. G. Wells. Pp. 406. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan's Empire Library.

The hero of this new Wells Novel, Mr. Benham, was "led into adventure by an idea." This idea first took possession of him in his early boyhood and dominated his life to the end. That idea cannot justly be stated in a formula or an epigram but it was essentially simple. He had "an incurable, an almost intrinsic persuasion that he had to live life nobly and thoroughly." He blundered, he fell short of himself,

but he went for this preposterous idea of nobility as a linnet hatched in a cage will try to fly. He spent the greater part of his life studying and experimenting in the noble possibilities of man. This research practically absorbed all his time and interest. He conducted it in a thoroughly earnest manner and kept regular and methodical notes. When he died, his friend, White, the journalist and novelist, discovered in his rooms a whole crammed bureau, half a score of patent files, and a writing-table-drawer all full of his notes about this research.

We venture to state that this remarkable "passion for research in the noble possibilities of man" and habit of bulky and systematic note-making, Mr. Wells has borrowed for his hero from himself. We remember having seen a caricature of this talented author which simply represented him thus—? That caricature revealed the chief characteristic of Mr. Wells' mind—inquisitiveness. A biography of Mr. Wells could appropriately be published under the title which his own book bears—*The Research Magnificent*. The innumerable novels, romances, pamphlets, short stories and newspaper articles which he has written are really the notes which he has made in the course of his absorbing search for the Modern Utopia!

II. The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman. By H. G. Wells. Pp. 465. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan Empire Library.

This Mr. Wells' latest book, represents his notes on what is now generally referred to as the Woman Question. Prominent as was this question before the outbreak of the European War, it is bound to become still more pressing after peace is resumed. During the course of the War a very large number of women have taken up positions temporarily vacated by men who are serving as soldiers or sailors. When these men come back to take up their old positions, the consequent disemployment of a large number of women who have enjoyed a taste of economic independence is bound to impart a fresh impetus to the Movement for feminine emancipation. How this Woman question would be settled, if settled at all, in the world of practical politics, we do not know. Mr. Wells, however, suggests in this book that the only thing that can solve this question for each individual woman, is—Love.

III. The Extra Day. By Algernon Blackwood. Pp. 358. Price 2s. 6d. Macmillan's Empire Library.

Mr. Blackwood, the author of this charming children's story, is indeed the possessor of a unique talent among present day writers. *The Extra Day* is the record of the adventures of a delightful trio consisting of Judy, Tim and Maria. "It is impossible to say exactly what their ages were, except that they were just the usual age, that Judy was the eldest, Maria the youngest, and that Tim, accordingly came in between the two." The children were as happy as any children can be. The only two things that bothered them were Aunt Emily who was a living embodiment of No, and Time. "Time for bed!" "Time's up!" "Time to get up!"—it was always time to do this or that, or stop doing something or other. Time was their chief enemy and they hated it with all the hatred that they were capable of. They would now and then deliberately forget to wound up their alarm clock and feel delighted to think that this would bother Time and muddle it. Their persistent efforts to get behind Time were however at last rewarded by the capture of one entire day that clocks and calendars have

failed to record. The story of this *Extra Day* makes a really delightful reading.

IV. Rambling Thoughts. By Manindra Prasad Sarvadhikari. Pp. 19. The Lila Printing Works, 14, Madan Bazar Lane, Calcutta.

A collection of poems on diverse subjects written in the poet's "younger days."

V. The Necessity for Charity Registration and Charity Organization. Pp. 23. Published by the Joint Honorary Secretaries, Zoroastrian Association, Princess Street, Bombay.

This pamphlet has been published by the Zoroastrian Association to explain a resolution passed by its Managing Committee to the effect that "there is a need in this country for an Act for the Registration of the Instruments and Properties of Public Charitable Trusts, and the regular filing of accounts relating thereto." A very useful publication.

VI. The Indian Heroes. By C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., Indign Civil Service. Pp. 147 (Illustrated). Oxford University Press.

Mr. Kincaid has striven in these pages to re-tell the epic tales of India after the manner of Charles Kingsley. The author has achieved a creditable success in imitating the style of the master. The book gives a good outline of our national epics.

With regard to the illustrations, the author tells us, that the armour and arms and dresses have been copied from the ancient Gandhara sculptures and the bas-reliefs in the ancient Vihara at Bhaja. "These sculptures date from 200 B.C to A.D. 100, and were therefore more or less contemporaneous with the last recession of the Indian epics." We are glad that in these illustrations the heroes and heroines have been represented as "fair men and women of an Aryan type", but must confess our inability to recognize in the clean shaven figures of these illustrations some of the heroes, like King Dasharatha, with whom our imagination has made us familiar from our childhood.

G. S. MONGIA.

MARATHI.

"Reminiscences of our life," by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade.

Fifteen years have rolled by since a mighty wave of grief swept over this great continent from one end to the other at the news of the death of Mr. Justice Ranade—the man of the age—in the widest and highest signification of that expression. "Such a man is born once in an age" was truly said by the late Mr. Chatfield of the great Maratha leader of the latter half of the 19th century.

As there are certain epochs in the world's history that stand out distinct and prominent, signifying great changes, forming mile-stones, indicating the distance run by the race, so do we mark at long intervals, the appearance of great men upon the stage of the world with whom great movements are identified, and who stand out as turning posts, guiding the humble pilgrims on their way through life. Their appearance does not seem to be the result of mere accident or a casual phenomenon but the sequence of an inscrutable moral law. Such men appear like migratory planets in the firmament; they illumine the skies for a short while and then pass away.

Since the down-fall of the Peshwa's government in 1818, up to the year 1857, the history of Maharashtra presents a perfect blank. It was a period of national prostration such as always supervenes

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the final extinction of one nation by another. The old order had disappeared while the new order had not yet assumed any definite shape and form. The work of setting the country had only just commenced when the avalanche of the mutiny convulsed the country, North and South, East and West.

The Western Presidency entered upon an epoch of peace and uninterrupted progress immediately after the storm of the mutiny had subsided and the government of the whole of the Peninsula passed into the direct hands of the British Crown. With the establishment of the Universities, and the foundation of schools and colleges, the flood-gates of Western knowledge and learning were thrown open, and men were wanted who could with discretion direct and guide the floods into the proper channels. Amongst the batch of young men who were the first fruits of Western education and enlightenment brought out by the University of Bombay was top most the men who subsequently came to be known as the "Prince of Indian graduates," and whose death has left a void which it may take another century to fill up. It is our national misfortune that a full and complete biography of such a great man should yet remain unwritten. The late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who was the disciple and pupil of Mr. Justice Ranade, intended to write out the life of his great master, but unfortunately, that brilliant and versatile man was cut off in the flower of his manhood and in the midst of his multirarious activities, and what he wished to be his magnum opus remained an unfulfilled pious desire, to the irreparable loss of India and Indian literature.

We have however now one valuable book, the first of its character, written by an Indian lady Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, in Marathi, styled "Reminiscences of our life" which throws valuable light on her husband's domestic and daily life. This book written in Marathi is accessible only to a very limited circle of the great man's admirers and followers who are legion, scattered over the length and breadth of this country, and it is to be devoutly hoped that this precious book will before long be translated into other vernaculars, or published in English garb, so that all India may have the benefit of the priceless information it contains.

Mrs. Ramabai Ranade has published a charming picture of the blissful domestic life of her husband, and the book is not only a work of art in Marathi literature, but it is a work which deserves a place on the shelf of every Indian patriot as it throws valuable side light on many public movements of the latter half of the 19th century which owed their inception and inspiration to Mr. Justice Ranade. As the late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale in his foreword to the book observes "Rao Sahib Ranade is considered as a great man, not only of this country but of the world, not merely because of his towering genius, his learning, his scholarship or his patriotism, - all uncommon qualities, any one of which would have made the name of any other man famous in the world - but beyond all this, his uncommon extraordinary saintly life seemed to indicate that there was a part of the God-head in the man who if he had been born a few centuries before would have been considered an incarnation of God-head itself."

The peculiar charm of this book consists in the sweet frankness with which Mrs. Ranade has drawn aside the curtain and revealed to us the domestic and work-a-day life of her revered husband. We turn page after page enthralled in reading the story of the young handsome wife as she tells it in her own graceful style, how she started her lessons from the A.B.C.

in the face of bitter persecution and obloquy, what trials she had to pass through for organising and attending public meetings in those days which inaugurated the period of succeeding emancipation and reform, how the young wife strove to carry out her husband's behests under the baptism of fire, how she devoutly followed his noble precept of 'Bear and forbear,' and how in the procession of the years she gathered from her inspired husband the harvest of wisdom and the rich lessons of life.

Many of us know Mr. Justice Ranade as a man of tall majestic stature and broad forehead, massive intellect and towering genius and deep scholarship, but here we see him pictured as a serene *pater familias* with a temper always calm and unruffled even in the midst of storms and strife, a husband whose silent and deep love and devotion for his wife never wavered or faded, a patron of poor and deserving students for whom his charity and purse never stinted, a friend who never knew misunderstanding, envy or jealousy, a master who was kind and affectionate to the meanest of his servants once and for all time, a leader of men and a saint among men.

It is not possible in a cursory review of this book to convey any adequate idea of its beautiful style, its rich store of information, the lights and shades of pathos, and sublime human dignity it presents to those who have unfortunately missed the privilege of coming into contact with and under the magnetic checking influence of the great saint of the 19th century, but to those like myself who have had the rare good fortune and privilege of passing their tutelage at the master's feet, this book reads like a living romance of the wedded life of a great sage and his saintly spouse.

Mr. Justice Ranade believed in our redeeming power, our remoulding energy and in our approaching triumph through love, knowledge and labour. This book gives us some idea of the incessant thought for his country and his countrymen, that agitated Mr. Ranade's mind even in his most private moments. We are now in the midst of one of those epochs during which the race passes from one stage of evolution to another and in this transition period, we cannot do better than study and follow the pure and high ideals held up and sanctified in life by men like Mr. Justice Ranade. Happy indeed are those who in the swirl of conflicting tendencies, can by following his light, help to make the world they are born in, better and happier, and to all sincere Indians who wish to live up to the true dignity of their manhood and translate their love for the country which gave them birth, into their conduct and action, I can commend no better book than Mrs. Ranade's 'Reminiscences of our life.'

D. V. KIRTANE.

HINDI.

Practical Photography by Mr. Harigulam Thakur. Printed and published at the Bharat Prakash Press, Goruckpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—not mentioned.

The characteristic feature of this book is that it has paid much more attention to an attempt towards imparting a practical knowledge of the art of photography. It has not, like some English books on the subject, confined itself to an elaborate discussion of theories. We must say that the publication will be of immense usefulness to both amateur and professional photographers. The author is himself a successful

photographer and is the Manager of the Fine Art Photographic Studio, Goruckpore. We commend the language of the book, as being free from mistakes and aptly suited to the subject discussed.

London kai Patra by *R. Brahmohondal Varma* of *Chhindwara* and published by *Mr. Nathuram Pannikar*, at the *Jain Granthi Ratnakar Karpalaya, Mirabai, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 52. Price—As. 30.*

These are translations of certain letters of Lala Sagar Chaud. B.A. at Law, sent from London to certain English and Urdu periodicals. The letters are very useful and informing and the subjects treated most appropriate. The writer was well-advised to give in the course of letters, addresses of some of the best publications (books and journals) of England. In other ways too the utility of the book cannot be questioned: and it is both instructive and interesting. The translation has been good and the language is not defective. Only on the first page we find an incorrect word अशुद्ध where the *dirgha* is incorrect.

• **Ramayani Katha** by *Mr. Bhagwan Das Hallia* and *Pandit Vairamath Sharma Vaidya*. Printed and published at the *Abhyudaya Press, Crown 8vo. pp. 241. Price—Paper Cover Re. 1; Cardboard Cover—Re. 1 4-0.*

This is a translation of the well-known book of the same name by the famous author of the History of Bengali Literature, Shree Dinesh Chandra Sen. A review of the book by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore increases its value. The book itself is certainly very useful, and the way in which the story of the Ramayan is depicted is really charming. The chief characteristic of the book is its simplicity of narration and rationalisation of the topics dealt with. The translation too has been fair, but we must say the translators betray an incompetent knowledge of the Bengali, though this has not much marred the tone of the translation. The language is satisfactory. There are stray mistakes here and there; but these may be due to typographical negligence.

Tap by *Mr. Praim Ballabh Joshi, B. Sc.* Printed at the *Leader Press, Allahabad* and published by the *Vigyan Parishad, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 61. Price—as. 4.*

• This series under the august editorship of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ganganath Jha, M. A., D. Litt, promises to prove of eminent benefit to the Hindi reader. The language is not very learned. But this is rather creditable to the publication, which has the merit of being written by one who understands his subject well. In Hindi most of the books on Science are translations. This mars their utility considerably, in that the sense is never so clear in these translations. When an original writer, however, writes a book of the nature under review, we must welcome it. The get-up and printing of the book are very nice.

Dadabhai Naoroji by *Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma*. Printed at the *Commercial Press, Juhu-Kalan, Cawnpore* and to be had of the author at the *Charitmal Office, Juhu, Cawnpore Foolscap 8vo. pp. 38. Price—as. 2.*

Such short booklets will form novel features in the

Hindi Literature and will remove a long-felt want. We doubt not they will become deservedly popular. Books like these deserve wide propagation and some patriotic gentleman should take up the work of purchasing a number of copies of these and distributing them among students and others. The life of the great Indian patriot has been concisely dealt with in the book and there is nothing that is uninteresting. The language and get-up are also good, and there is a portrait in green of the Grand Old Man on the title-page.

Bharatiya Shasan Paddhati, Part I., by *Pandit Ambika Prasad Vajpai*. Published by *Pandit Pratapnarayan Vajpai*, 30, *Shreenath Ray Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price—as. 8.*

We always hail with delight such books which make a departure from the trodden path of the Hindi Literature. In this publication the existing constitution of the Indian Government with all its branches, has been described, no remarks being passed on its actual working nor on the reforms needed. In his short sketch the author has carefully managed to put a great deal of information and in fact the book goes to even minute details of district administration. The language is pure and grand; and the get-up of the book is all that could be desired.

Samrata-shubhagamana, by *Shree Rajendranath Pandit* and to be had of (a) the author at *Sam Savai Mandir, P. O. Dabhoi, Baroda*, or (b) *H. M. Mehta, P. O. Bhadarwa, Dist. Kaira (Gujarat), Demy 8vo. pp. 175. Price Re. 1.*

Loyal poems composed on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, have been incorporated in this book. Besides the poems which are in Sanskrit and Hindi (three being in English as well), a historical account of Delhi from the earliest times has been given, which comprises a succinct and at the same time full information, extending over twenty-eight pages. Next follows a description of the actual coronation and some account of the royal family. A brief reference is also made to what was done in the remote parts of the country on the occasion. Several magazines and newspapers have been laid under contribution for the collection of the poems, and the get-up of the book, with its nice binding, is satisfactory. The prose part of the book is defective in its language.

Pagal Manushya Ke Katha, by *Shree Kaishava Lal Sen of Gogri (Monghyr). Crown 8vo. pp. 12.*

This is a religious book on Vaishnavism and deals with its sentimental aspect. It is unpriced, any suitable contribution being left to the discretion of the public. To the religiously-inclined the book will be pretty interesting. Its language is, however, very defective: and the strange thing is that a few pages of it swarms with mistakes, while the rest of it does not contain so many.

Venisanhar ki alochana, by *Pandit Badrinath Bhattacharya, B.A.* Printed and published at the *Rambhooshan Press, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 80. Price—as. 4.*

A book of original criticism is a novelty in the field of Hindi Literature, and we value Pandit Badrinath's book especially on this score. The only noticeable defect in the book is that the author has often gone to minor details which do not read well in a book of

this nature. In other respects, we can but commend the author and he has brought into play much originality for which he must be given credit. The language and style are dignified and the criticism shows a clear grasp of the "Venisanhar." The author thinks that a criticism of the characters in the drama does not fall within his scope and though he has, according to his own view, committed the error of criticising the characters, we do not concur with him and think that he has been within his legitimate sphere.

Apna Sudhar, by Pandit Narvada Prasad Misra. Published by Lakshmidhar Vajpai, Bag Muzaffarkhan, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 101. Price—rs 5.

We have long had a number of such translations of standard and popular English books into Urdu, but the Hindi writers have begun to direct their attention to this prolific field only lately. The book under review is an adaptation of Blackie's *Self-Culture*: the author has not been very wrong in not giving a wholesale rendering. The adaptation has been satisfactory and has been on the lines of Mr. John Stuart Blackie, the original author, whose short life has also been subjoined. It goes without saying that the book will be of immense good to any student and should be popular in Middle and Training Schools. We have no comments to offer against the language or style of the book.

Santabanisangraha, Parts I. to II. Published by the Manager, Belvedere Press, Allahabad. Royal 8vo. pp. 248+256. Price of each part—Rs 1-2.

These publications will be very much prized by a certain class of people, especially in villages. Who have often a store of these semi-religious sayings which they reproduce from memory. Nanak, Kabir, Mira Bai, Daria Sahab, and similar other saints have been laid under contribution; and the compiler has taken care to give in the footnote the meanings of difficult words in the body of the book, as also short lives of the different saints. The compilation has no doubt been made on up-to-date lines and the Belvedere Press has to be congratulated on taking the publication in hand. The two volumes have a historical significance as well and they are not devoid of considerable literary worth.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

(1) **Theodore Parker**, by the late Narayan Hem Chandra, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 208, 2nd Edition. Price Rs 0-8-0 (1915).

(2) **Mahan Sikh Gurus**, by Kallianji Vitthalbhai Mehta and Chumlat Ramchandra Shelat, published by Do., Printed at Do.: Clothbound, pp. 212. Price Rs. 0-14-0 (1915).

(3) **Tunki Vartao**, Part III, by Kallianji Vitthalbhai Mehta, Do Do. Clothbound, pp. 203. Price 0-6-0 (1915).

The first book is a biography of the well-known American, Theodore Parker. It was originally written by the late Narayan Hemchandra, whose quaint language has in this edition been touched up here and there.

The second book comprises the lives of two famous Sikh Gurus, Nanak and Govind Singh. They are based on various Hindi works.

The third book contains a number of short stories culled from the same source.

All the three books are highly readable and sure to prove popular.

Is it possible to teach in India according to the Montessori system? By Shambhuprasad Shrivastava Mehta, B.A., printed at the Bombay Samachar Printing Press, Bombay. Thick cardboard, pp. 50. With illustrations. Price Rs. 0-8-0 (1915).

Mr. Mehta having propounded the above question, answers it in the affirmative and has shown several methods which can be adapted to the needs of India. This, we think, is the first attempt in Gujarati in this direction. As to how far this system can be successful in practice, one can not say at present.

Sahitya Seva of Kavi Narmadashanker, by Chhotalal Kalandis Patel of Surat, printed at the Jaina Vijaya Printing Press, Surat. Paper C. pp. 82. Price Rs. 0-4-0 (1915).

This is a Prize Essay passed by the late Sahitya Parishad held at Surat. The writer is a school master, and he has according to his ability reviewed the services of the late well-known Kavi Narmadashanker to the literature of Gujarat. We have read this little essay with great pleasure, and have found in it efforts made by the writer to deal fairly with and view both sides of the Kavi's work.

Adarsha Bhuta Jivan, by Prabhashanker Jayashanker Pathok, of Bombay, Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover, pp. 55. Price Rs. 0-4-0 (1915).

This is another Prize Essay, passed at the same Parishad. As its name implies it tries to depict what an ideal life is and should be.

Hari Yasha Gita, edited by Jayendralal Bhagvanlal, M.A., and printed at the Satyanarayan Press, Ahmedabad. Clothbound, pp. 160. Price Rs 1-4-0 (1915).

This is a collection of poems written by a lady, Gangaswarup Jasha, on such subjects as Jnan, Bhakti, Varagya, &c. They are published by her son, who has written an introduction, in which he defends the diversion of the energy of Indians towards such subjects as have furnished materials for his mother's work. The poems themselves are couched in the old orthodox style and bear testimony to the study and thoughtfulness of the lady writer. The price is out of all proportion to the work.

K. M. J.

We have received an annual called the *Jnati Patra Varshik*. We do not review Magazines.

TWO PANJABI PLAYS

“THE Irish plays.....make one feel that there is a real future for the stage, and that one day we too may have a National drama which will show us the lives of the people with their sorrows and joys, their heroisms and cowardices, instead of the mere tinselly abominations which just now make theatres the despair of moralist and philosopher alike.”

The above lines are quoted from a dramatic criticism which appeared in “The Herald,” an Australian newspaper, about four or five years ago.

Here in India, the theatre is tinged with the same “tinselly abominations” as in Australia, as indeed in every other country where so-called civilization raises its head.

Here in India, if one criticises current dramatic methods, one is told that the Indian theatre has become westernised. What a pity. Or if the theatre is bent on westernising, let it discriminate. There is much that is worthless in western methods, but there is also much that is good. We might, for example, with advantage take a leaf out of the book of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. Irish plays, by Irish authors, about Ireland, for the Irish people. Why not Indian plays, by Indian authors, about India, for the Indian people? It reads quite well.

A start in this direction has indeed been made in the Panjab. A stage society has been formed named after the Goddess Saraswati and the two Panjabi plays with which



Group in “Dina's Marriage Procession” with Rehma, the barber, standing at the back.



A group of Jats in "Dina's Marriage Procession" Manu Bodha, the bearded man in the centre was played by Mr. Raj Indro Lal Sahni, the author of the play.

this article is about to deal were recently produced by the Saraswati Stage Society. A triple bill was presented. "Spreading The News" by Lady Gregory, of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. "Dina's Marriage Procession" by Raj Indro Lal Sahni, and "The Bride" by Ishwar Das Nanda. Both of these young Indian authors are students of the Panjab University and graduated last May. Their plays promise well for the development of the aims of the Saraswati Society, and prove that there is artistic vitality in Young India.

"Dina's Marriage Procession" was the author's first attempt at play writing. It is full of humour and rich with local colour. Dina, a young Mahommadan is to be married, and when the curtain rises the festivities are taking place. The final ceremonies have to be gone through before the marriage procession starts for the bride's home. Dina and his friends are squatting round the friendly hookah gossiping. They praise Dina for his lavish marriage entertainment, at least the young ones do, the older men criticise and try to restrain him. But Dina

is very proud of the good name he has already made in the neighbourhood and intends to go on as he has begun. Mai Bakho is cooking at an open air fire and occasionally joins in the conversation. Enter to them one Nika Shah, the village *bannia*. Nika has not been invited to the feast and gets a poor welcome. He makes no secret of having come to get his accounts settled. The idea shocks even the cautious old men who have been criticising Dina. Whatever happens the marriage celebrations must proceed. Let the *bannia* settle his claims after. This he refuses to do and even demands the family jewelry in payment. His rapacity (the rate of interest on money already lent to Dina is exorbitantly high) puts every one's back up and by degrees a violent quarrel develops. Insults are hurled from side to side, and eventually Dina who is a hot headed youth, belabours the *bannia* who rushes off to report to the police. An especially severe and self-important *havildar* is in the village and the villagers know that if this particular police



The Bannia and the Jats, with Mai Bakho to the right, in "Dina's Marriage Procession"

officer gets mixed up in the affair, it will go badly with Dina. So they hurry on with the marriage ceremonies hoping to get the procession on the move before the police have had time to arrive. Women approach singing a *gharoli* song and take the bridegroom off to the inner courtyard for his ceremonial bathing. Meanwhile the men press on feverishly with other ceremonies. Presently the bridegroom returns with the women in procession, and another song is being sung. The *chuni*-breaking takes place and a *sehra* is wound round his turban and the women retire. A necessary collection of monies is then made, after which the barber is hurried off for the bridal umbrella and the horse for the bridegroom. The barber quickly returns bearing the umbrella, his son is saddling the horse. The company rise in haste to be off when they are confronted with the police officer of whom they are in such dread. The *havildar* followed by the enraged *bannia* makes full enquiries. Dina's friends plead for him and eventually offer

to bribe the police to inaction. They are just about to come to a satisfactory arrangement, when Dina's fury is aroused. He is sick with his friends for ingratiating themselves with the police, he thinks that a great deal too much fuss is being made over a very simple matter. He has neither broken into any man's house, nor has he killed any person; and who are the police? "They are not gods that we should lay our heads in the dust before them?" The *havildar* who had been on the point of relenting, changes his tone and has Dina arrested. The old mother rushes in and throws herself at the *havildar's* feet, and a stormy scene follows in which Dina heaps fuel on the fire, and after a fierce struggle is led off, the men following in great excitement, the women following wailing. The last to go off is Mai Bakho, supported by women, striking herself and lamenting. Here is a vivid picture of Jat life treated with a perception of the picturesque which is as refreshing as it is rare on the Indian stage. The dialogue is typi-

cal of the particular villagers dealt with and reveals also a pleasant drollery in the mind of the author.

"The Bride" is a totally different play. The curtain rises on Kauran, spinning. She is gossiping with an old woman, her little daughter Lajo, aged six, is seated on a *charpai* playing with dolls, and Lajo's big sister, Melo, aged seventeen, is sitting close to the *charpai* on a *piri* embroidering a *phulkari*. Melo is the subject of conversation. The new custom of marrying girls late does not meet with the approval of the two women, and Kauran is being instigated to



Barberess, Kauran, and Lajo, in "The Bride." Barberess was played by Mr. Ishwar Das Nanda, the author of the play.



Melo and her friend Basanto, in "The Bride."

worry her husband, Hushiar-chand, on the point, which later on she does, and is told by him that an arrangement has now been made. In answer to Kauran's catechising he gives vague answers but assures her that all is well, laying stress on the fact that the chosen bridegroom has money and lands, saying that "a cow should be tethered where there is plenty of grass." It remains for a barberess, who later on visits Kauran, to divulge the fact that the chosen bridegroom is a decrepit old man, wealthy it is true, but one who is marrying to spite his sons with whom he has quarrelled, and Kauran now realises that her Melo is to be sacrificed. In a violent quarrel scene with Hushiar-chand she refuses to allow Melo to be married, but he eventually wins her over and shows her a bag of money he has already received from their prospective son-in-law. After



Hushiar Chand, Kauran and Lajo, in "The Bride."

the first, recoil, the sight of so much money reconciles Kauran. Meanwhile Melo has learnt of the fate in store for her and aided by a friend, runs away. The marriage procession is on its way. Hushiar Chand foreseeing trouble with his wife had already completed the arrangements swiftly and secretly. When the time comes for Melo to be seated at the *lawan* she is nowhere to be found. They call for her in vain, meanwhile the *pandar* of the other party is shouting at their door and telling them to hurry. Still no Melo. Still the insistent calls of the *pandar*. Now what shall they do? They will be disgraced! Kauran weeps. Hushiar Chand storms. "Melo! Melo!" No answer. The *pandar* calls again. The bridegroom's party is growing angry at the delay. "Coming, just coming!" desperately cries Hushiar Chand. Then he turns to his wife. What to do? What to do? Whom to seat at the *lawan*? Quick, put the red *sahu* on to Lajo! She is forth-

with enveloped and snatched into her father's arms who carries her off kicking and crying "My dolls, my dolls! Let me play with my dolls!" Kauran mad with grief, follows. This play is also the first rapid outgrowth from old customs is rich with problems and with the conflict necessary for drama. Then too the marvellous beauty of India. It is not to be expected that those who have never known anything else should be acutely aware of its reality, but the faithful representation of Indian life on the stage necessarily results in beauty, and it is just possible that thus an aesthetic consciousness will be developed that may help to arrest the wholesale westernising of Indian life. However, be that as it may, quite apart from ultimate tangible results, the actual production of absolutely Indian plays justifies itself. It is a mistake to give reasons for undertakings of this kind. That possessing the qualifications and the desire one is compelled to participate, is perhaps the best reason

to give, leaving results to take care of themselves. Unfortunately the theatre in India, as in other countries, has a bad reputation which it undoubtedly deserves. But it is for this very reason that we cannot afford to ignore it. The theatre wields immense power, since it has a great formative influence. Not only may it influence the taste and aesthetic sensibility of a people, but it may influence their very outlook on life. Then it is democratic. It is, if ever an art was, the art of the people. The most illiterate, presupposing moderate intelligence and an understanding of the language spoken, might acquire knowledge and a critical faculty, otherwise denied to them. The spirit of a people must be nourished, and take it by and large, the finest nourishment for the mind is ideas, and where could one find a better field for the broadcast sowing of ideas than the theatre?

NORAH RICHARDS.

Notes.—

Banua—A village shop keeper and money lender, usually a Hindu.

Havildar.—Head Constable.

Gharoli song.—The *gharoli* is an earthen water vessel much decorated with coloured and gold papers. It contains water for the ceremonial bathing of the bridegroom. Women sing an appropriate song as it is carried in procession.

Chuni-breaking.—A *chuni* is an earthen lid of the water vessel, which the bridegroom breaks with his foot after the ceremonial bathing. This act is considered auspicious.

Sehra.—A long fringe of jasmine flowers and roses, which is bound round the bridegroom's turban and forms a veil before his face.

Chhapai.—A string woven bed of very simple structure, literally, four legs.

Piri.—A very low string-woven stool with four legs, made in the same simple fashion as a *chhapai*.

Phulkari.—A head drapery, the whole surface of which is embroidered with flowers, usually yellow silk is worked on an Indian red ground. The meaning of *phul* is flower, and *kari* is a suffix equivalent to work.

Lawan.—The circle round a sacred fire at which are seated the bride and bridegroom with their guardians and relatives for *Phere*. *Phere* is the final and binding ceremony of a Hindu marriage, during which the bride and bridegroom with their robes knotted together seven times circumambulate the sacred fire, while the brahmin chants the *mantras* which contain the duties and obligations of the married pair to one another.

Laudar.—The brahmin who performs the priestly duties in the marriage ceremonies.

Red salu.—A red head drapery worn by the bride at the marriage ceremony.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

BY A DISCIPLE OF PROF. J. C. BOSE.

IN 1911 I had the supreme privilege of being accepted as a disciple by my Master; since then not a day passed that his disciples did not come face to face with wonders which grew greater and greater every day. The Master came round in the morning and talked to us and laid down the programme for every day. He would often give us a sealed envelope, containing the results he foresaw of new experiments, and to our great astonishment we would find how everything came out exactly as he had anticipated. We thus came to realise the difference between aimless drudgery and the true insight which comes after years of struggle. Some of the results were so astonishing and so completely against existing theories that the foremost scientific paper, *Nature*, after paying the highest tribute for his wide outlook and great

generalisations, and also for his marvellous power of invention, was yet constrained to add words of caution, that the result of Dr. Bose's researches "would be of the highest value did it not continually arouse our incredulity." This frank statement proved to be of great use, since it clearly described the state of existing knowledge, and the absolutely novel character of the Master's conceptions. In other instances his theories have been quietly accepted and given out by different compilers as their own. A glaring instance of this is seen in a certain article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. I may be permitted to anticipate what comes afterwards by saying that it took nearly six years for *Nature* to be completely converted, when it devoted an article ten columns in length describing the extreme importance of the Master's discoveries.

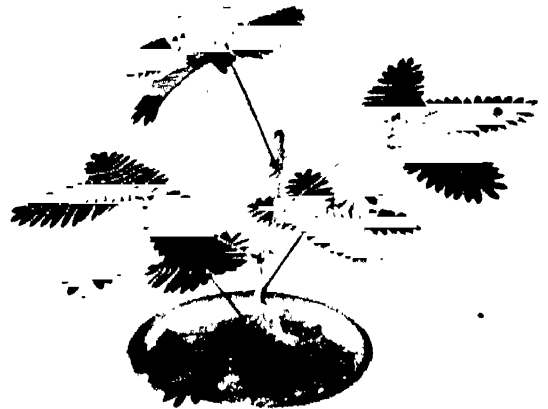
I was, however, speaking of the time when his theories were fiercely assailed because the result challenged belief. How to convert the world? He realised that controversies led to nothing. Finality lay only in an appeal to Caesar, in this case to the spirit of the plant! Would it ever be possible to have the unknown inner history of the plants revealed by scripts made by themselves? This has been his unceasing quest for many a year. Even in his ordinary conversation with friends and pupils one would realise that the mind behind was working quietly and sometimes we could catch a glimpse of sudden illumination in his face. His thoughts had become sub-conscious. The obstacles which stand in our way and all false perspective had vanished for him. Discoveries came almost spontaneously and new inventions were like play to him.

We were impatient at the world's slow recognition of his work. If others could only see as we did! The Master was amused at our impatience. To him it had become almost indifferent whether he won recognition or not. The only thing that did matter was whether he pursued truth to the utmost. Our impatience, however, must have slowly influenced him, for one day he said, "I will have to do it, but that would mean long conflict of practically one man against the world." The odds were after all not so great if one was in the minority with truth.

The Master had now perfected his self-recording apparatus and plants now registered their autographs. A demonstration of the actual record of the plants before the scientific world in the West could not but be most convincing. This was, however, no easy task; the only time when plants flourish in Europe is in the middle of summer, when every place of learning is closed for the vacation. For the rest of the year there is nothing but bare stems, the plants having gone into a state of tranced hibernation. How then was this difficulty to be met? Nothing short of carrying our own plants and risking their frail life to the inclemencies and danger of the journey.

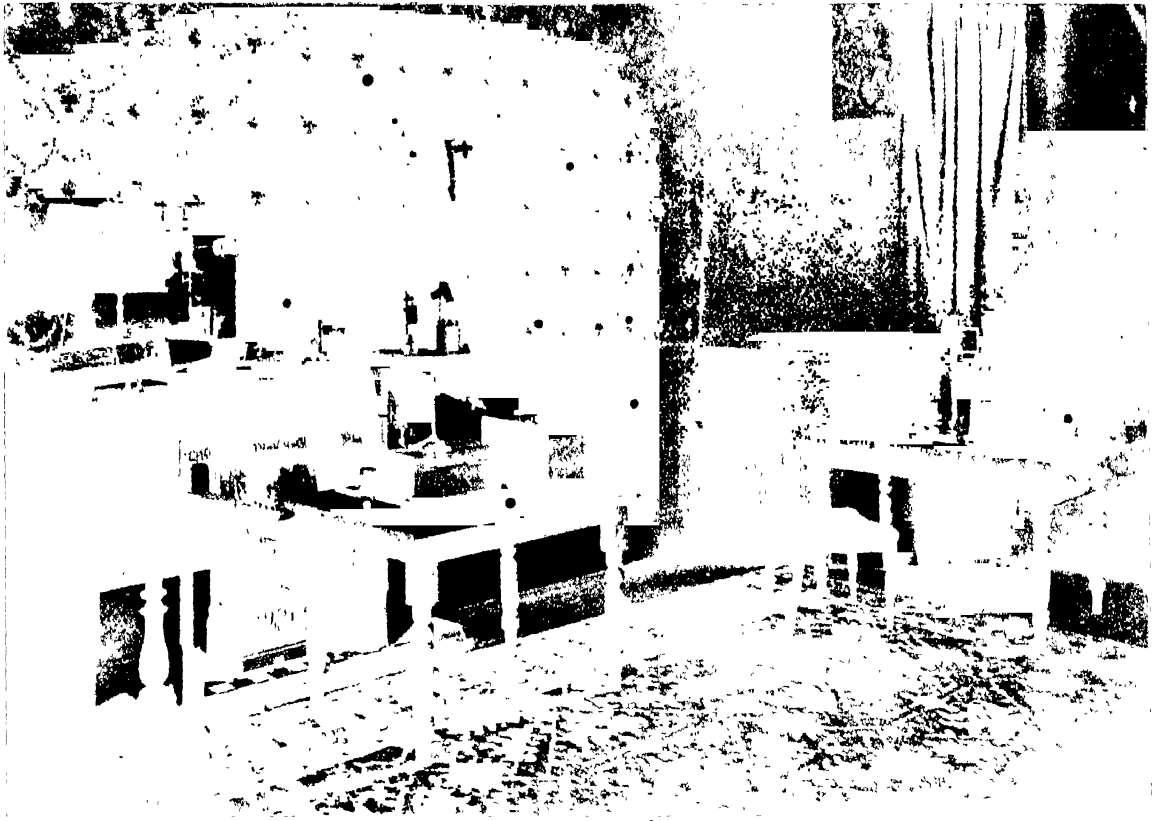
His mind became troubled with all these difficulties. He must have thought of me in this connection, but had fears that a superficial contact with the West for a short period might prove for me very unsettling. I distinctly remember the morning when

turning to me with mingled affection and pity he spoke of all his hopes and fears. What could I do or say? Neither did I know my strength nor my weaknesses. I could only throw myself into a raging sea if that would serve him. That is all a disciple could do. But the Master always showed displeasure when we attempted to voice our personal devotion. He wanted no weakings, but wished to forge men who could work and grow to their utmost stature. He was never tired of impressing on us the fact that the sum total of energy was constant; when that found vent in talk there must be the inevitable run down of latent energy of character. About my going, the Master said that he would take the risk and ordered me to be ready.



The Mimosa which toured round the world with Prof. J. C. Bose.

Once the course was decided the Master rapidly made his preparations. He now seemed all energy, and his ideas were definite even to the minutest detail. Every thing that might possibly be required, from an ordinary pin to his most complicated apparatus, were then packed in



The Interior of Dr. J. C. Bose's Laboratory at Maida Vale, London.

portable boxes. All our brother disciples were lost in the joy of preparation. My own part was to learn from them the peculiar difficulties of each apparatus and the way to overcome them.

Plants had to be personally carried by hand. No more than four specimens could be taken,—two of *Mimosa* and two of our *Bon chanral*, *Desmodium gyrans* or the Telegraph Plant. We had fairly good specimens of the sensitive *Mimosa*, but the telegraph plant was out of season, its best time being from July to November. It was March now, and the plants had seeded and died. After much difficulty I got a small sickly-looking specimen. Casually I heard from the doorkeeper of a neighbouring house that he had a wonderful plant which drove out ghosts! And on going out to investigate I found that it was nothing less than my long sought telegraph plant. The specimen was good-sized and was in a vigorous condition. I convinced my superstitious friend how our national future depended on this plant. He, though unlettered, rose to the patriotic demand. But

fearing that his fit of generosity might not last long I looked about and found a cooking vessel. I converted it into a flower pot and marched home with the valued treasure. I placed it in the quadrangle of my small house and carefully watered it. I could hardly wait for the morning to see how the plant fared. Alas! an unscientific cat trespassed into our house at night and ate the top off and broke the main stem into half. The plant looked very lame. But even the lame can scale mountains through faith. And I had enough for two.

The Master went by the quicker overland route. I travelled by sea all the way by s.s. "Egypt" from Calcutta. The companions of my journey were: two *Mimosas* fairly vigorous, two telegraph plants, one weakling and the other lame and halting. This was the strength of the expedition that went out to meet the hostile shock of the world. I had no misgivings of the ultimate victory. I knew my Master and the flag he carried.

Sensitive plants have a strange fascina-

tion even for grown up children. Every student who passed by our laboratory could not help stopping to watch the leaves close as they pinched them. This did not matter in India, where we had many plants to spare. To protect them from the too ardent attentions of the children during the voyage, a little cage of wire gauze was made. The captain knowing their destiny offered special help. The standing joke every morning was to inquire after the health of the "canary" in my cage!

Life on board a steamer is certainly delightful, provided one escapes the much dreaded sea-sickness. I was fortunate in this matter and I could spend my time in reading and looking after the plants. From every passing port a detailed account of their condition—health and temperament—was sent to the master. It was a full four weeks' experience of varied character, in which the disciple found himself now in the heights and then in the depths, as the plants showed signs of thriving or drooping. To my great delight the lame one put forth two green sprouts. I took this as a good omen.

As long as the ship ploughed through the Indian Ocean the plants thrived as though they were in their own familiar soil. During the journey through the Red Sea they bathed in the sunshine and enjoyed the warmth. When we entered the Mediterranean there was a sudden chill and the plants became depressed and the leaves drooped. As we proceeded further West the weather became colder and colder, and when we reached the Gulf of Lyons I was greatly discouraged by the fear that I might not be able to carry my charge alive to their destination. The Bay of Biscay, I was warned, would prove to be quite fatal. The only thing I could do was to wrap the cage with blankets and expose the plants only to the brief flashes of sunshine when they appeared.

After the long voyage we at last reached London. The Master had already arrived a few days earlier and engaged a beautiful house in South Kensington. He had carried with him two boxes of his most delicate apparatus. The one he carried with his own hands was quite safe. But the other box had to be entrusted to the care of the Railway porter; the result was that these instruments which had survived the perils of the sea succumbed to the rough handling of the

British workman. There remained now only two instruments, The Resonant and the Oscillating Recorders, but the wonderful Crescograph which instantly recorded the infinitesimal growth of plants was ruined beyond repair. However, the first two instruments mentioned above proved more than enough to serve our purpose. These extremely delicate instruments, after the inevitable shaking to which they were subjected during the long journey, required certain repairs and readjustments. Fortunately there was in London one of Master's old pupils, Dr. Jyoti Prakas Sircar, who had his training under him for several years before he left India. His help was now almost invaluable for our present needs. Under his treatment the instruments regained their sensitiveness.

My own trials with the plants really began from the moment of our arrival in London. The day was quite dark,—at the end of April, and extremely cold, though the season was supposed to be summer. I carried the plants in a closed taxicab and placed them carefully in the drawing room, kept warm by incandescent gas heating. I hoped that we had reached safe haven at last. But the next morning going to look for the plants all my hopes were crushed to the ground. I never realised,—though my Master's works should have prepared me for it—how deadly poisonous gas fumes were to vegetable life. The four little plants which I succeeded in keeping alive so long under unexpected difficulties were to all seeming dead, and this through my own lack of foresight. The leaves hung down quite limp and the leaflets had turned yellow. After trying various expedients I was successful in reviving two, the other two being quite dead.

Now we were faced with the hopeless difficulty of keeping these two plants alive, specially through the night. If kept inside, they would be poisoned by gas, if kept outside they would be frozen to death. In this emergency the Master took steps that removed all my anxieties. He called on the Director of the famous Royal Botanic Gardens at Regent's Park, who had already heard of the wonders of the new discoveries. Every help was enthusiastically offered and we were taken into the hot house made specially for tropical plants. London with its fog and freezing temperature had greatly depressed me. But once I entered

the hot-house I felt transported as if by magic to my dear native land. How I enjoyed the intense moist heat which I did not at all appreciate while in India. But there were other wonders; the tank was full of Indian lilies in full bloom; there was the rice plant, the stalk bending under the weight of corn. And more wonderful still was the vigorous banana bearing ripe fruits. The two little sickly plants which I brought at once realised that good time was coming. Mr. Kelp, Superintendent of the Gardens, promised personally to look after the well-being of the strangers. And wonderful to relate, from that day onward they began to grow and flourish, as if they realised that great things were ex-

the *Times* devoted to the subject a long column under the heading

Rare Plant at the Botanic Gardens.

"Among interesting plants growing in the Victoria Regia House are a banana in fruit, the sacred lily of the East, *Nelumbium speciosum*, sugar cane and rice. A plant rarely to be seen in this country, *Desmodium gyrans*, the telegraph plant, has lately been received from India and is now growing in the same green house. The interest of this plant has been greatly increased since it has been found by Professor Bose that the pulsations are automatic, and that the leaflets respond in exactly the same way as the hearts of animals to stimulants, poisons, and electric shock."



The *Desmodium Gyrans* (বন চাঁড়াল) which toured round the world with Prof. J. C. Bose.

pected of them and that they were determined not to disappoint us. In showing us this kindness, the Botanic Gardens, we were glad to find, were also benefitted. Soon people began to talk of Master's great work and they flocked to Regent's Park in crowds to see the wonderful specimens that had been brought from India. The interest was so great that

The next point to be decided, was a suitable house for a Laboratory; we had to think not so much of our own comfort, as of the health of the plants which were to be brought every day for experiment from the Regent's Park and carefully returned. Any house with gas supply had to be rejected, so also houses on streets with too much motor car traffic, since the product of combustion of petrol was poisonous to the plants. At last the Master secured a beautiful house in Maida Vale, with a large garden attached. The best room in the house, the one in front, was set apart for our laboratory. The photograph reproduced on page 83 gives an idea of the interior of the laboratory: to the right is seen the large curtained glass window, with plenty of sunlight; here on a steady table was mounted the Resonant Recorder for automatic registration of the rate of nervous impulse in plants. Near to it is the white screen on which was projected by means of electric lantern the pulse records of the Telegraph plant, as registered by the Oscillating Recorder. These are seen on the mantel piece to the extreme left. In the centre was placed the galvanometer to register the electric response and pulsation of plants. Still further to the right is the Death Recorder by which the plant's signals its death at the exact critical moment. With all these instruments adjusted to their utmost sensitiveness we were ready to face our critics. And the next few weeks called forth our highest activity as the leading men in England began to flock to the Maida Vale Laboratory which was soon to attain historic importance.

(To be continued).

SYED MAZHAR-UL-HAQ.

SYED Mazhar-ul-Haq was born on 21st December 1866 in the Chapra District of North Bihar, and his genealogy goes up to the noble Quraish family of Mecca which had opposed the Arabian Prophet so long and then submitted to his sway. His grandfather was Maulvi Sakawat Ali Khan, an able and honest Deputy Collector who supervised the Permanent Settlement of many portions of Bihar. After learning Persian and a little Arabic at home and passing the vernacular primary examination with a stipend, Master Haq joined the Patna Collegiate School in 1876. According to a sketch of his life by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to which we are greatly indebted, he displayed even in his school days a passion for devouring "all kinds of light and serious literature, particularly books dealing with Islamic history in various countries." Matriculating in 1884 he entered Patna College, but two years later gave up his preparations for the University examination with a view to going to England. His guardians objected to the proposal, and he migrated to Canning College, Lucknow, in 1887 and displayed great activity in writing poetry and articles for the Urdu papers. After making a lengthy tour of the great towns of Upper India in the first quarter of 1888, he left India with only Rs. 70 in his pocket, reached Aden in a pilgrim ship and wired home for money to complete his voyage to England!

Reaching London on 15th September, 1888, Mr. Haq kept terms in Middle Temple, and "gained the title of *the book-worm* by his devotion to the study not only of law but of many other subjects, including some of the sciences." At London he started the Anjuman-i-Islamia (now the Pan-Islamic Society) and became an ardent Liberal in politics.

After being called to the Bar he returned to India in July 1891, and began practice at Bankipur. From 1892 to 1896 he served as a Munsiff in Oudh, but "his heart was pining for larger fields of activity. A love for his country and its political re-

generation were the chief determining factors of the next step in his life. He resigned his post in April 1896 and resumed his practice at the Chapra Bar." It was Mr. Haq who represented the constable Narsingh in the appeal before Mr. Pennell, after the poor man had been sentenced to imprisonment by a Deputy Magistrate (Maulvi Zakir Husain) in secret consultation with the District Magistrate, for the terrible offence of *receiving* a beating from a European officer (1899)!

In the great Tirhut Famine of 1897 Mr. Haq worked hard and travelled extensively as Honorary Secretary of the District Relief Fund, with the result that his health broke down and "for one year he was bed-ridden."

His next great public service was as Vice-chairman of the Chapra Municipality, when in the course of three years he cleared that Augean stable of corruption and mismanagement. Under his able and vigorous administration the accounts department was overhauled, and "the whole municipality became absolutely a different body, and a Municipal Market was built at a cost of Rs. 20,000. In 1907 he removed to Bankipur and gave a new life to its politics."

In December 1906, an all-India Muslim gathering was held at Dacca, to start a political association of the sect with the object of "supporting every measure emanating from Government and opposing all the demands of the Congress."

"The publication of this militant and aggressive circular at once made him decide to go to Dacca. He felt that it would be against the public interest for the Muhammadans to start an association with such objects. The two friends (Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haq and Hassan Imam) succeeded in pushing into the background the proposed institution and in starting in its place the All-India Muslim League." (S. Sinha). He also opposed the capture of the League by the Aligarh party on the ground that it would either injure the College or the League would become an

official-ridden institution. Though he was outvoted, his prophecy has been verified, and the League is now at last working on his lines.

A harder trial was soon to come for Mr. Haq, but his sincere patriotism, transparent unselfishness and fearless courage of conviction made him defy threat and temptation alike and risk the hostility of the fellow-Muslims whom he loved so well and to work with whom was his highest aim. When Sir H. Risley spoiled Morley's Reform scheme by introducing religious differences in the political sphere, Mr. Haq and his friend Mr. Ali Imam, "strongly opposed the unreasonable demands of the Muslim League extremists for special electorates. They were attacked and abused by the vast bulk of the Musalman press in India. They were called traitors and renegades, but...contumely, ridicule and abuse did not at all affect their patriotism." (S. Sinha).

In Bihar, Mr. Haq organised the first Bihar Provincial Conference (1908) to which his name and that of its president Mr. Ali Imam drew all the Musalmans of light and leading in Bihar. The theoretical Liberalism which Mr. Haq imbibed when a law student in "the land of the free and the brave" he has applied to his own country. Throughout life he has been a staunch and avowed Congressman. He has been Vice-President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress which met at Bankipur in 1912.

As Member of the Supreme Legislative Council (1910-1912), Mr. Haq did not show himself a hasty or extreme reformer. He was ready to accept the theory that administrators might honestly look on things differently from the people. But in a year or so his eyes were opened by what he saw and heard and he knew what this theory really meant for the Indian people when translated into action. Then Mr. Haq, with the fearless courage and love of truth which has distinguished him through life, publicly avowed his mistakes and came into line with Gokhale



MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQ,

President, All-India Moslem League, 1915.

and Bhupendra Nath Basu, the trio often sitting on the same bench in the Legislative Council to the disgust of those who had hoped to find in him a docile Khan Bahadur.

But Mr. Haq has paid the price of his conduct and we know he does not repine at the loss. As an open opponent of sectarian representation in the Legislature, he has been refused re-election by the Bihar Muhammadan electorate. But the mass of the community and the young educated generation idolise him as a leader. He raised an immense sum for the relief of Turkey during the Tripoli and Balkan Wars,—his fervid Urdu eloquence thrilling thousands at Calcutta and elsewhere and he defended the Cawnpore Mosque rioters.

GLEANINGS

Frogs with Hair.

In popular mythology "frog's hair" and "hen's teeth" have long played a part as typical rarities. But it has since been discovered that the German Kongo frogs have upon their bodies either hair or a very good imitation of it. Anatomically it is not hair, in the sense in which we apply that term to mammals. Our own hair is akin to our finger-nails; it is horny growth, whereas the "hair" on the African frogs is an abnormal development of the tubercles that appear on the skin of the ordinary frog.



A "HAIRY" FROG

From the German Kongo.

Dr. H. Gadow had made a microscopical examination of the hairlike structures, and reported that he was unable to find any nerves in them, altho he made out some insignificant blood-vessels and lymph spaces. He concluded that these appendages could not be considered a sensory apparatus, and that their function was a mystery.

But Willy Kuenthal, working in the Museum of

Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, established that the hairlike appendages were present only in the males, and altogether wanting in the females.

These appendages do not attain the same degree of development in all male individuals, and that even in full grown males there are very conspicuous differences in this regard.

The hairlike covering is most highly developed during the breeding season, it is to be considered a secondary sexual characteristic. The females have, on exactly the same parts of the body on which males bear these appendages, small but quite distinct tubercles, which have the same diameter as the bases of the appendages in the males. Their distribution over exactly the same areas of the surface shows clearly that they are homologous with the appendages of the male.

Both males and females show similar tubercles scattered over the whole back, and they are more closely crowded in the region of the angle of the jaws. In some areas of the surface of the males may even be observed the transition of these tubercles into hairs. These hairlike appendages are therefore to be considered as highly developed tubercles of the skin.

—*Literary Digest.*

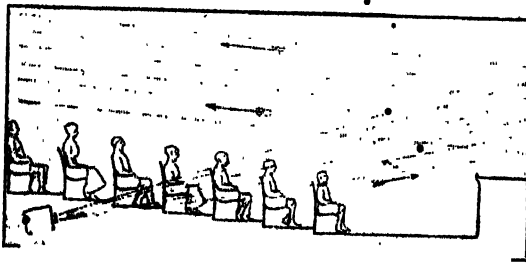
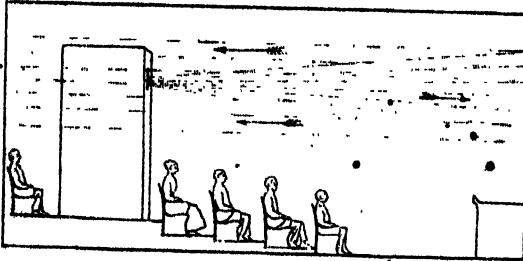
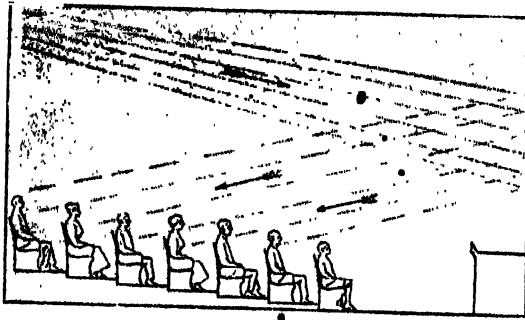
Movies and the Eyes.

If your eyes are strong and normal, looking at moving pictures will do them no harm; if they are weak, you had better stay away. The elements likely to be the source of irritation to the delicate structures of the eyes are "flickering," or vibration, and inaccurate and variable focusing of the pictures, also the relation the light reflected from the screen bears to the visual plane of the observer. To a normal spectator the undue effort required to maintain distinct vision under these circumstances often produces discomfort, but this subsides and no permanent injury results. Where the refractive powers of the eye are defective—a condition more common than the normal one—eye-strain, with its accompanying disorders, will probably follow.

The influences of the motion-picture often work for the individual welfare, since, in many instances the existence of an optical defect is unknown until subjected to strain in viewing these projected images. The irritating features are possible of elimination by a more accurate mechanism regulating the relation between the condensing and projecting lenses, more care in the selection of the glass used and in the grinding of the lenses; and a scientific understanding of optical principles by those who are responsible for the placing and operating of the projecting machines. The most irritating feature to the eyes is the exposure to the direct reflected rays, and this condition should be remedied.

One very serious objection to the manner in which the pictures are projected upon the screen is the presence, in some of them, of innumerable glimmering, flashing, and dancing bright spots that try the eyes.

Another feature which puts a severe test upon the eyes is the unnatural swiftness with which the



HOW EYE-STRAIN AT THE MOVIES MAY BE LESSENED.

One of the chief causes of eye-strain in the motion-picture theater, according to Dr. J. Norman Risley, is the glare reflected from the screen. The top diagram shows the usual position of the projecting machine, which causes a reflection injurious to the eyes. In the middle diagram this fault is obviated, but the position of the machine is illegal. The third cut shows Dr. Risley's proposed solution—the picture projected from the basement instead of the gallery.

films are reeled off, making every action abnormally rapid and jerky.

But the common practise of flashing written letters and printed matter on and off the screen with almost lightning celerity puts the greatest strain of all upon the eyes.

Another effect of watching moving pictures, worth mentioning in this connection altho it is not injurious, to the eyes, is a pronounced hypnotic experience that many people have, particularly when the performance is prolonged to more than one or two hours and is not of a very exciting nature.

—Literary Digest.

Skill in Handling Artificial Arms.

A young New Yorker is doing many remarkable things with the two artificial arms which for a number of years he has worn in place of those first given him by Nature. In fact, he goes through the paces of every-day life without the slightest fuss or effort, and

yet he has wood for flesh, steel for joints, and rawhide cords for muscles in place of the real fingers and wrists.

The arms are made of willow-fiber, with rawhide cords as muscles, each one attached to suspenders stretched across the back and chest, to give tension. Forward movement of the stump raises the elbow. A downward movement of the shoulder pulls the finger-cord, bending the hand backward from the wrist-joint and opening the fingers. Another shrug of the shoulder closes the fingers and locks them so that they can hold whatever object is being handled.

In the presence of the astonished surgeons at the International Surgical Congress in New York the other day the young man dressed himself. First he buttoned his shoes and put on his garters. Then he drew his



Skill in Hand Artificial Arms.

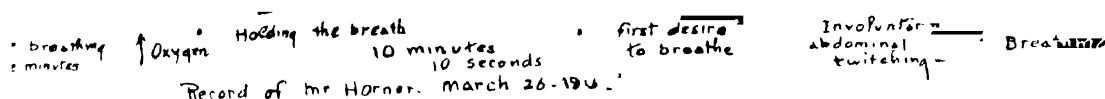
shirt over his head and buttoned it down the front, closing the top with the ordinary collar button. Then he picked up his collar and buttoned it back and front, handling it as deftly as the average man manages his with ten fingers. When this was done, he tied his four-in-hand scarf, drew it tight and fastened it snug with his scarf-pin, drew on his coat, picked up his hat and put it on. Next he rolled a cigaret, struck a match, lighted the 'smoke' and started puffing it with plain enjoyment. Walking over to the water-cooler he drew himself a drink and tossed it off without spilling a drop. And when he dashed off his name in excellent handwriting, first with the right hand and then with the left, he completed an exhibition which has not yet ceased to cause wonder among those who saw it.

The Technical World Magazine.

Holding Breath to Beat the Record.

In the course of some recent experiments in respiration in the University of California Medical School, an undergraduate student held his breath ten minutes.

This was accomplished while having the student lie on a table, with a pneumographic belt attached about his thorax and communicating with a kymograph. Slow, deep inspirations were taken for two minutes; this eliminated a good portion of the carbon dioxide from the blood. A breath of oxygen was then taken and the time-marker started. The tracing is here shown. A slight relaxation of the respiratory



TRACING OF A RECORD BEATING RESPIRATION EXPERIMENT

muscles is indicated at two minutes. No desire to breathe was experienced until six minutes had elapsed. The belt having been placed over the diaphragm, the pulse-rhythm is shown throughout. From this time on, the conscious effort to hold the breath increased and an involuntary twitching of the abdominal muscles was quite apparent; but no respiration took place. All the time the pulse was full and strong, the color good. No oxygen want appeared. At the expiration of ten minutes some vertigo occurred, and

the impulse to breathe having become imperative the first inspiration was taken—ten minutes and ten seconds having elapsed. No great hyperpnœa, no weakness, no heart changes appeared. The student rose from the table and went about his class-work. Mr. Horner, on whom this experiment was tried, is a swimmer and has participated in underwater contests.

—*Literary Digest.*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Teaching of Civics in Schools

is the title of an excellent article in the *Local Self-Government Gazette* which sets forth within a short compass sane directions for the teachers and pupils for growing up into useful and intelligent citizens.

We read

In teaching civics the aim should be to train for citizenship. Good citizenship depends not so much on a knowledge of the governmental forms of a community as upon the practice of civic virtue in that community. The pupil should know what community life means. He should have the desire to be an honest, industrious and useful member of the community, because he has been taught to feel that his happiness and the welfare of the community depend on his efforts to live right.

The school affords the teacher an excellent opportunity to illustrate concretely the principles underlying community life.

The pupil should be taught that a citizen's rights are the most important things he can possess, that the government exists for the protection of his rights, and that the form of government depends upon the recognition and protection of his rights. But he should be constantly and persistently reminded that every right has a corresponding duty. The rights of some citizens are the duties of other citizens. Rights and duties go hand in hand.

The ethical organization of a school is of greater importance than ethical teaching. School government and class management are living and concrete examples of government, ever before the eyes of the

pupil, therefore every act and every order on the part of adults in the schoolhouse should be carefully considered with a view of the effect on the pupils. One cannot expect obedience if one himself is not obedient; one cannot expect respect if one is not respectful himself; one cannot expect fairness if one is not fair-minded himself; one cannot expect pupils to practise civic virtues when the same are being violated by his elders.

Here is a bit of sound advice for the teacher:

The teacher should be impressed with the belief that every action of his own is influencing the character of his pupils; otherwise he is not training them. In order that pupils may have actual experience in governing themselves, they should be released from constant guardianship, they should be given some responsibility and some opportunity for self-government by allowing them to manage or take an active part in managing the discipline of the school, the recitation, their own clubs, games, playgrounds, fire drills, opening exercises, entertainments, excursions, class and school libraries, athletic contests or class savings banks.

Pupils should be made to feel their responsibilities by being made responsible for something in the preservation of school property, in the tidiness of school premises and school rooms, and of the streets of the neighbourhood, and thereby learn that mutual assistance and co-operative service are the fundamental principles of all healthy self-government.

Pupils should be led to see that without law, liberty itself is impossible; that infractions of the law are injurious to the people individually and collectively.

ly, and that it is the duty of each citizen, young or old, to aid in the enforcement of the law.

Dr. N. Macnicol has translated, as an experiment, so he says, some of the

Devotional Lyrics of Tukaram

which have appeared in the pages of the *Young Men of India* for December. Mr. Macnicol has not been unsuccessful in his attempt, and those people who are not familiar with Marathi have here an opportunity of becoming familiar with some of the writings of Tukaram. For the benefit of our readers we quote some of the translations together with a short introductory note on Tukaram.

Tukaram is the most popular of all the Marathi poets. He was born at Dehu, near Poona, early in the seventeenth century, and his voluminous poems are very largely occupied with the worship and the praise of the god Vithoba of Pandharpur. The intensity of his desire for fellowship with God gives him a place among the devotional mystics of the world—those men and women who can say, "Take as the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." His poems, which are called *abhangs*, are mostly short devotional lyrics of from eight to twenty lines, and many of them are familiar to the simplest peasants all over the Maratha country.

THE SOUL'S YEARNING FOR GOD.

- As the bride looks back to her mother's house,
And goes, but with dragging feet ;
Even so it is with my soul, O God,
That thou and I may meet.

As a child cries out and is sore distressed,
When its mother it cannot see,
As a fish that is taken from out the wave,
So 'tis, says Tuka, with me.

A CRY FOR GOD'S LOVE.

A beggar at thy door,
Pleading I stand,
Give me an alms, O God,
Love from thy loving hand.

Spare me the barren task,
To come, and come for nought—
A gift poor Tuka craves,
Unmerited, unbought.

THE BOLDNESS OF FAITH.

Launch upon the sea of life ;
Fear not aught that thou mayst meet.
Stout the ship of Pandurang ;
Not a wave shall wet thy feet.

Many a saint awaits thee there,
Standing on the further shore ;
Haste says Tuka, haste away,
Follow those who've gone before

HE KNOWS OUR NEEDS.

Unwearied He bears up the universe ;
How light a burden is !
Does not His care the frog within the stone
With food supply ?

The bird, the creeping thing, lays up no store ;
This great One knows their need.
And if I, Tuka, cast on Him my load,
Will not His mercy heed ?

THE SECRET OF PEACE.

Calm is life's crown ; all other joy beside
Is only pain.
Hold thou it fast, thou shalt, whate'er betide,
The further shore attain.

When passions rage and we are wrung with woe
And sore distress,
Comes calm, and then—yea, Tuka knows it—lo !
The fever vanishes

Transition period in our Life

is the title of a readable article in the *Crucible* for September-October, penned by S. V. Puntambekar.

The writer holds that

The whole life of a society is a transition period. But some epochs of its life present sudden transitions which follow contact, conflict and revolution. At present the inherent forces of our society have been weak and yielding under the influence of external forces which are strong and resistless.

The effect of isolation :

History tells us that isolation from external centres of thought and civilisation, though sometimes it may prove a blessing in the form of having an individual type of national character and civilisation, has often proved a curse. Exhaustion of national greatness after a period of splendour and achievement is very common in past history, if the people in question are completely isolated from external world-forces

The writer goes on to say :

Our isolation of hundreds of years received a rude military shock from the advent of Mahomedans first and Europeans afterwards. In fact two civilisations one Mahomedan and the other European, one after another, during the last thousand years have been trying their best to darken and enlighten our thoughts, to confuse and inspire our minds. In both the cases their main superiority lay in military organisation, enterprise, co-operation, diplomacy and cunning, physical valour and intrepidity.

Mr. Puntambekar does not believe that Mahomedans in India have done us much good whether in the capacity of conquerors or fellow citizens. Neither does he believe in the individuality or greatness of Mahomedan art in India. Says he :

Then thundering shock of arms and their youthful energy did stagger us in the beginning. Their military qualities, those of daring and onslaught, were an object of wonder to our inactive minds. But we soon realised their intellectual inferiority, and condemned their brutal force as a piece of savagery

Mahomedan art in India is not purely Mahomedan but possesses a strong element of Hindu artistic genius; and that this so called Mahomedan contribution to India does not in any way compensate for the ruin and stagnation of our independent development,

and for the downward direction of our thoughts. The only credit I am inclined to give them is that when India was splitting into independent fragments, when petty jealousies were fomenting internal troubles, and when practically stability of life, foresight and the true star of India's self-interest had disappeared, their military valour kept alive in the minds of the downtrodden Hindus, that they were a part and parcel of a great country and civilisation and never allowed the fundamental unity of India to be dissolved.

Let it not be understood, the writer takes care to inform us, that he is drawing up an indictment against the whole Islamic civilisation. His remarks concern only what the Mahomedans brought into India. "Their civilisation and culture have left us a legacy that we may be proud of them; and has long ago exhausted itself to influence us in any way."

"The second and existing foreign force and influence is the European." In the struggle of the white people for attaining supremacy in India "the more practical, the more compromising, the better organised genius of the English succeeded," and quite sensibly, "they did not follow long the wrong track of despotism and obstinacy." As a result, "the last fifty years provide us with evidence that some progress in co-operation with the people and in their welfare has been made."

There is much truth in what the writer presents in the following lines.

In our ordinary walks of life we are observing European manners and custom, food and fashions, and more or less imitating them to a certain extent. But in all these cases we have not succeeded in differentiating trivial from important. We have not even realised our surrounding circumstances. We read European literature but do not attempt to study it. We enjoy the advantages of the advance in science, but do not fathom its depth and realise its truth. History entertains and dazzles us but we do not improve by the light it affords, and the experience it bestows. Our attitude is that of a wondering child, not that of a cool critic or experienced manhood. To read European philosophy gives us pleasure, but we neither see its truth nor expose its falsehoods. We become sceptical but are not convinced. Our scepticism is born of superficiality of our knowledge. We have not analysed or compared its contents or its basic principles. The same is the case with regard to our ways of life. The variety of manners, of customs, of food and dress which we are always changing, not in the light of higher principles of society, morals, and religious beliefs, but out of sheer imitation and false notions, shows the instability of our minds. Uniformity in life may be a monotony, but vagueness is certainly a danger. Conservation may not be advisable, but looseness is an enemy.

The writer holds that in our present-day society

There have been no bold suggestions, no heroic breaking up of circumscribed limits, or suitable recon-

structions of the old with the new. There seems to be a chaos, a curiosity and a confusion, there is no real desire, no perseverance, no studied foresight. It is all in a muddle everywhere. Some sparks of real knowledge do enlighten us, but they disappear without having completed their task of lighting an everlasting torch for spreading the empire of knowledge.

The Apalling Poverty of India

B. Raman Menon contributes to the *Wealth of India* for November a telling article in which is described the tragic conditions under which the average Indian lives.

The article opens with the following lines :

India is rich in natural resources and commands an almost unlimited supply of labour; yet the annual collective income of the nation is deplorably small. This is sufficient proof of the alarming inefficiency of Indian labour. Almost all employers of labour in India have had reason to complain of the incapacity of the average Indian labourer for sustained exertion.

What is the root cause of this want of efficiency? Lack of physical vigour is the general cause. And what is it due to—this lack of physical vigor?

Among the many causes to which this lack of vigour can be attributed, by far the most important is the systematic and all but universal under feeding that prevails among the masses of the Indian people. "It is", says R. C. Dutt "literally a fact and not a figure of speech that agricultural labourers and their families in India generally suffer from insufficient food from year's end to year's end. They are brought up from childhood on less nourishment than is required even in the tropics and grow up to be a nation weak in physique, stunted in growth, early victims to disease, plague or famine." This has been the opinion not only of Indian publicists, who may be supposed to take a jaundiced view of the situation, but also of responsible Government officials as the following extracts will show :

"The united earnings of a man, his wife and two children cannot be put at more than Rs. 3 a month. When prices of food grains are low or moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one fairly good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their heads, to buy cheap clothing and occasionally a thin blanket." (Report from the Collector of Etawa.)

"The pooriness of their physique demonstrates that they are habitually half starved. (Collector of Banda)

"It is not till a man has gone into these subjects in detail that he can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation." (Commissioner of Fyzabad)

"Hunger is very much a matter of habit and people who have felt the pinch of famine—as nearly all the poorer households must have felt it—get into the way of eating less than wealthy families." (Deputy Commissioner of Rai Bareilly.)

"The diet is of a distinctly inferior class, even

judged by the low standard of the country." (A report from the Delhi Division.)

"The standard of living is perilously low; herbs and berries are consumed for want of better food." (Gurgaon District.)—R. C. Dutt, *India in the Victorian Era*.

"A vast majority of the ryots lead a life of poverty and must at all times be but little removed from a state of short commons." (Kurnool).—S. R. Iyengar, *Forty Years' Progress of the Madras Presidency*.

This state of things will not come as a surprise to anyone who remembers the average annual income of the Indian. According to Lord Cromer, and Sir David Barbour, it is 27 rupees. Lord Curzon very optimistically placed it at Rs. 30. Probably the correct figures, if they could be obtained, will be much lower. But even if these figures were correct, they necessarily lead us to the conclusion that the average Indian is underfed.

The writer goes on to say :

Another recognised factor which makes for physical vigour and which is always associated with the problem of food is sufficient and healthy house-room. According to the last census the population of Madras Presidency is 41,870,160 and the number of houses is 7,916,490. Therefore on an average one house is occupied by five or six persons. This number is not unsatisfactory, but we can learn nothing from the mere number of houses—we should know what sort of houses these are. Evidence about this point is furnished in the humorous Census Report, of Mr. Molony. He says, "On the census night I sought perplexedly the house of one Mumyan in a city *paracheri*. A friendly neighbour banged against a sheet of iron which bent against the side wall of a cabin, and forth on all fours came Mumyan. His bar was certainly his residence, but it is a nice point whether it could be considered a house." Of the 7,916,490 houses in the Madras Presidency, we are afraid, a fairly large percentage will be found to be habitations, differing in no essential respects from Mumyan's.

Refuge

Under the above heading the *Arya* for November prints a few translations from the Tamil verses of Kulasekhara Alwar, the Chera King and saint. We reproduce four of them which will show that they are not without poetical worth.

Let Fire himself assail with its heat the lotus-flower, it will blossom to none but the Sun. Even if thou shouldst refrain from healing its pain, my heart can be melted by nothing else as by thy unlimited beauty.

The Rain may forget the fields, but the fields will ever be thirsting for its coming. O Lord of the city of the wise, what care I whether thou heal my wound or no, my heart shall ever be thine.

The rivers course down through many lands but must yield themselves to the Sea, they cannot flow back. O sea-hued Lord of the city of the wise, even so must I ever be drawn to thy resplendent glory.

Illusory Power ever seeks him who seeketh thee not, not seeking thy lasting Might. O Lord of the city of the wise whose discus flashes like the lightning, I must ever seek thee, who art thy servant.

The Thirty First Issue of the volume

Prices and Wages in India

is noticed in the pages of the October issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal*.

Regarding the rise of prices between 1890 and 1912 and its causes, we read :

In 1912 the general average of wholesale prices in India was 41 per cent higher than in the quinquennial period 1890-94. This very marked upward tendency in the prices of Indian products continued in 1913. To some extent it was due to seasonal conditions, for 1913 was not a good year from an agricultural point of view. Whilst on the one hand there were floods in parts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madras, on the other hand the monsoon ceased early in the United Provinces, Central India and Rajputana which also failed to get good winter rains. Famine conditions were therefore establishing themselves over part of the United Provinces as the year closed, and though actual 'famine' was confined to a comparatively small tract the outturn of crops was seriously affected over a much larger area. In consequence, therefore, the outturn of sugar, an important crop in the United Provinces, was seriously affected, and the excessive rainfall in Bengal in July and August resulted in the curtailment of the jute crop. Cotton was the only crop that fared really well.

The average rise in the wholesale prices of the 24 articles for which detailed statistics are given—the most important food grains, other food stuffs and tobacco, oil seeds, fibres and live stock—was two per cent over that of 1912. The average rise for all India in the prices of food grains was, however, considerably more than this and amounted to five per cent. The highest rise in food grains was in Arhar dal (fourteen per cent) and the lowest in Ragi (one per cent). On the other hand Bajra, known in South India as Kambu, showed a decrease of eight per cent, and Jawar, our South Indian Chulam, no fluctuation. There was no fluctuation in the price of sesamum, cotton and cotton seed but an increase in the prices of mustard and rape seed, poppy seed, ghee, jute, tobacco leaf and plough bullocks and a decrease in that of linseed, raw sugar (gur), refined sugar, turmeric and sheep.

"Regarding wages in 1913 the information is somewhat fragmentary."

The only information available was that supplied by the leading industries—cotton in Bombay, wool in the United Provinces, jute, paper and mining in Bengal, rice in Rangoon and brewing in the Punjab—and from the tea gardens. The importance of these industries is however shown by the fact that at the census of 1911, 704,000 persons were returned as employed in tea gardens, 308,000 as employed in cotton mills, 222,000 in other textile industries and 143,000 in collieries. The general result is to show a rise of three per cent in these industries in January 1914 as compared with January 1913. The greatest increase, one of nine per cent, was shown by the cotton and woollen industries followed by one of eight per cent in the comparatively unimportant brewing industry. The jute industry showed a rise of two per cent whilst the paper industry showed no change and the coal and the milling industries a fall of three and four per cent respectively. There was no material change in the case of tea gardens.

Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar contributes to the *Educational Review* for November an article entitled

Research in Indian History

At the very outset the writer quotes Lord Morley's idea as to what is history and what the historian should be like.

History, in the great conception of it, has often been compared to a mountain chain seen far off in a clear sky, where the peaks seem linked towards one another towards the higher crest of the group. An ingenious and learned writer the other day amplified this famous image, by speaking of a set of volcanic islands heaving themselves out of the sea, at such angles and distances that only to the eye of a bird, and not to a sailor cruising among them, would they appear as the heights of one and the same submerged range. The sailor is the politician. The historian, without prejudice to monographic exploration in intervening valleys and ascending slopes, will covet the vision of the bird.

"It is notorious," says the writer, "that India has but little history of her own."

The difficulties that have to be overcome in any work of research in this field are many and require talents of the highest order over a wide field of study. Broadly speaking the sources of Indian History can be grouped into three broad classes, namely :

1. Indian Literature (Traditionary and Historical);
2. Foreign Literature, chiefly the works of travellers, &c. ;
3. Archaeology, Monumental, Numismatic and Epigraphic.

The writer takes up each of these classes and considers them separately. The various records he mentions

have made it possible to compile a political history of India from the first century B.C. onwards with sufficient fullness up to the fourth century A.D. and with greater fullness afterwards. But to make the best use of these records and get them to yield all the results they are capable of yielding work in this line will have to go hand in hand with work in other departments of research in which hardly a beginning has been made, beyond a preliminary treatment, in detached writings, of details which will have to be hereafter brought together and handled on broader lines in connected and more easily accessible works.

The writer goes on to say :

Along with this work has to go on work upon the collation of all historical material available in literature, numismatics, art works, &c., and unless all of these are examined carefully and the material that can be drawn from them made available in a form accessible to students of history, no historical work proper would be possible. This will involve great labour in the literatures of four or five languages, in thousands of inscriptions in all these languages, besides the monuments, coins and works of art generally.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that these last are coming in for their share of attention at the hands of some individuals and Governments, and what is more they are coming to be studied with more of that sym-

pathy which hitherto was notoriously wanting. In the words of Justice Woodroffe : "It has been the fashion amongst European art-critics to deery the merits of Brahmanical sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu *pauranic* conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment. The examples collected in this volume will, it is hoped, help to dispel such misconceptions and to refute the unjust criticisms which they have engendered, and will further a juster appreciation of the fact that Indian Sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism but is a worthy representative of a school of æsthetic performance as logical, articulate and highly developed as those of any country in Europe, ancient or modern."

Tourists in Japan

is the title of a short but informing article penned by Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy and appearing in the November issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal*.

Mr. Reddy writes:

Japan knows how to mint her natural beauties into coin. Scenic attractions are by no means a negligible item in the national revenue of Japan.

From our personal experiences of Japan we know this to be perfectly true.

Japan attracts a large number of foreign tourists every year. Japanese hotels and restaurants, silk and curio stores, Railway companies etc., reap a rich harvest every spring and autumn which are the usual tourist seasons.

What is it that attracts tourists there ?

She has a wonderfully fine climate, midsummer being the only disagreeable season. Even the winter is quite enjoyable—the air is light and clear and there is plenty of sunshine and the thermometer does not go down very low or stay there very long. After it has snowed once or twice the hills and valleys look perfectly beautiful. In addition to natural scenery Japan offers all the attractions of art and antiquity. The temples of Nara, the shrines at Nikko and other celebrated places are in their way as interesting as the art treasures of Rome or Florence. The Japanese knew how to lay out parks and train trees long before the Western nations awoke to the conception of beauty in nature or landscape gardening. In architecture the Japanese are far inferior to us, but in all the other departments of art, decoration, painting, carving, sculpture, metalwork—and shall I add cleanliness and tidiness?—they are easily and by long odds our superiors. In the culture of flowers they are unsurpassed by any people in the world. And so the temple and surroundings display to perfection the combined charms of art and nature. The lotus ponds, the miniature bridges and waterfalls, the little artificial islands, the well placed rocks with a few pines growing out of them, and the other features of the regular Japanese garden reproduce on a small scale the beauties of mountain scenery. There is nothing grand or sublime about it, but it fascinates by its astonishing cleverness, and its pretty, coaxing, appearance. The places are kept very clean and spruce; the Japanese horror for dirty, slovenly ways.

But all these beauties would not have proved such a success in attracting tourists, foreign and Japanese, were life in Japan not based on better and more liberal principles than it is amongst the Hindus.

Anybody irrespective of caste, creed or colour could enter their temples provided only he takes off his shoes or else wears wooden or canvas over shoes, so that he may not carry into the sacred presence, along with his devotion, the dirt and dust of the street. There is nothing superstitious about this regulation; it is rational and therefore allows freedom of means if only the end is conserved. Thus the rule applies only to temples which are covered with mats and Japanese mats are very pretty and fairly expensive. In regard to many of the popular Shinto shrines, the floors of which are quite bare, people could go in with their shoes on. Even where shoes are prohibited, it is done not because there is objection to leather as such but on hygienic grounds. In many such temples and monasteries visitors are provided with over-shoes which they could slip over their boots and walk in. As a precautionary measure, I went about with a pair of over shoes of my own stocked in my overcoat pocket. But since the removal of shoes is considered by the Japanese, as amongst us, a mark of respect, it is insisted on in the case of a few very holy places—such as the Shogun's shrine at Nikko, the temple of the Sun-goddess at Ise, and the Imperial places (for the Emperor is divine). Here both boots and overcoats should be taken off but socks are kept on and visitors are provided with felt or other warm slippers. So on the whole even in regard to matters of this kind, which are better tests of a people's temper than things of more ostentatious importance, the Japanese are a remarkably reasonable race.

For the convenience of pilgrims and tourists there are large numbers of inns and rest-houses near temples, health resorts or any other places of interest.

Owing to the absence of caste or other forms of antisociality, hotels have sprung up in great abundance. Foreigners, as a rule, prefer to go to hotels in which the comforts they are used to are provided. These are known as foreign hotels, though most of them are owned and managed by Japanese. Sometimes out of curiosity they stop at Japanese inns, which however defectively furnished and provided from their point of view, are invariably clean and attractive. They may not like the food which consists chiefly of rice, fish, and vegetables, cooked in a manner which does not appeal to their taste, or the necessity of having to sleep on quilts spread on the floor-mats, but then the rooms are large and prettily decorated with kakemonos and embroideries, the quilts too are done in fine rich designs, the surroundings are perfectly clean and tidy, and the host, hostess, and maids excel in good manners and polite attention.

The Japanese know the art of alluring customers.

They advertise well the scenic attractions of their country. At every railway station is put up in conspicuous position a board containing a list of the places of interest near by, and their distance from the station. Maple parks, plum groves, cherry valleys, waterfalls, pine woods, mountain peaks, Buddhist and Shinto shrines, castles, or whatever else there is of beauty or antiquarian interest within six or seven miles of that spot are included in the list.

India too could enrich herself by drawing tourists from abroad if she were as liberal as Japan; if she offered the same facilities for travel and stay in places noted for their scenic beauty or of historical interest; if she were more tidy and less indifferent—in fine if she were more up-to-date and well-organised.

As India is to-day, she does not offer enough attractions to the foreigner to empty his purse here.

The cry for

Home Rule in India

has been started. As time goes on it will gain in volume and strength. In the course of an article in the *Commonweal* "Politician" says that "the Mysore Representative Assembly may be said to be an object-lesson in Home Rule in India."

The Mysore Assembly was started by the late Mr Rangacharlu, the first Dewan of the post-Rendition period. He was a man imbued with the best principles of the British administration in India, and his work, whether in Madras or Mysore, has shown what an Indian trained under high class British officers of the old type could achieve, if given some latitude in a Feudatory State. His conception of a large Assembly composed of the governed was considered as a novel one at the time. Its annual sittings spread over six to seven days and its discussions of subjects brought forward are brief, pointed and constructive in character. The time allowed for a speaker is very limited and if he shows any tendency to be diffuse, he is soon made to know it. Though largely made up of people without any knowledge of English, the members respect the rulings of the chair, come well prepared with facts and figures, and even with precedents, and show a distinct desire to get through the business in hand without delay. Its utility as an annual audit of the State's progress is recognised by His Highness's Government as is manifest from the privileges conferred on it from time to time. This year Sir M. Visvesvaraya intimated that Government had bestowed on it the right to ask twenty-five supplemental questions after the arrival of the delegates in Mysore and a majority agree in the view that they should be brought forward. They have also conferred on them the right to criticise the State Budget, a privilege which was utilised in a telling manner by a few of the members present this year.

Anybody could see the highly fertile character of the debates if he considers the concluding speech of the President of the Assembly which closed its thirty-second session a short while ago.

He promised, for instance, a fresh Committee of Inquiry in regard to the question of the relations between landlords and tenants. The Report of the first Committee is vitiated to some extent by the fact that the Committee had no representative of the tenant class on it. Its Report cannot, under such

circumstances, be taken as final, more especially as we know, from experience, that landlords of every class have no great desire to further the interests of tenants. These facts were brought home to the Government by different speakers and the effect was magical. The same may be said in regard to the sympathetic promise made by Sir M. Visvesvaraya as to the need for reducing the irrigable area under tanks which have been silting for ages. While the silting up process has been going on steadily though imperceptibly, the area under irrigation has remained the same, with the result that wet rates are charged where the supply of water is either deficient or practically nil. This is a grievous injury that ryots suffer from in British territories as well, but a remedy here has been made possible by popular representation.

Mysore has solved the question of the Separation of Executive from Judicial functions, but want of funds stands in the way of the adoption of the approved scheme. It may be argued that while there may be little to be said against a reform of this kind, the financial objection to its wholesale adoption may practically prove an insuperable one even in a comparatively small State. "No," said the popular representatives in effect; if an abuse is an abuse, it must be remedied and a remedy should be found for it. Sir M. Visvesvaraya's answer in regard to free primary education seems a just one, in the light of the popular demand for it, though it may smack a little of Mr. Lloyd George's maxim of exploiting the rich for the benefit of the poor.

The lively discussion in regard to the imposition of a cess in lieu of compulsory personal labour in connection with communal work for half a day in the week led naturally to a reply which is not likely to prove a final one on the subject. The report of this discussion published in the papers will doubtless have made it clear that the villagers themselves are conscious that however much they may feel for it, communal life on the old lines is fast passing away. The causes which have contributed to this result are many; but the position though clear is not free from difficulty. Sir M. Visvesvaraya's answer to the members is, we think, therefore a right one. More time is necessary for the formation of a more decided opinion in the matter. If practical unanimity prevails among the people themselves in regard to it Government action would be open to less objection. As it is, the imposition of a cess of the kind proposed would be hardly legal. Perhaps legislation of a simple kind may easily help Government to get over this technical difficulty but before Government could undertake this, it would be necessary for them to obtain a clearly defined opinion from the people primarily affected by it.

The throwing open of the State Life Assurance

scheme announced by Sir M. Visvesvaraya is another concession which popular representation has won for the people. It is we think fully justified by local conditions, though we trust that steps will be taken to differentiate this class of insurance from that covering the case of public officials. Still another question discussed related to a railway connection to a port on the West Coast. It is still said to be under "active investigation." This question owes its prominence as much to the people's representatives in the Assembly as to the planters.

"Politicus" closes his article with the following very pertinent observations:

The subjects touched upon at the last session of the Mysore Assembly show that the people's representatives, though most of them are ignorant of English and speak only in Kanarese, are quite up to the mark. It is a mistake to think that Indians when trained to look at things from the business point of view would not prove successful in the handling of public questions. It would be verily a libel to say so. Trust begets trust; believe the people, and you will not be disappointed. Opportunities make men; they create politicians, even statesmen. Blame not people without giving them an opportunity to prove their capacity. The only way to learn is to try and do a thing straight out; failure need not be made much of in the first instance. Unless judges commit mistakes there is no progress in legal procedure or substantive law. That is so everywhere. Unless we commit mistakes, we can never learn. Because Indians commit mistakes, it should not be said that they are unfit to exercise power. That would be arguing against common experience. It is said that, thirty years ago, members of the Mysore Assembly did not know what questions to ask. Dewan Rangacharlu, it is said, took them by the hand, and taught them how to prepare their questionnaire. When he disallowed questions, he showed the questioners concerned why he disallowed them. In course of time the members have become experts in their work, have developed a sense of solidarity that is surprising. They do their work efficiently and well. Their position as popular representatives is coveted, and their work is so much appreciated that they are believed to be the best spokesmen of popular grievances.

Government in Mysore is largely moulded by opinion as expressed and formulated in the Assembly. That is one reason why Government in Mysore is hardly ever unpopular, though there is, to speak frankly, no free press in it as yet. The Assembly is the organ of the people, and it is the one factor that has to be reckoned with by the Government as a whole, and by the official in his individual capacity.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Under the heading

An Enquiry into Vulgarity

there appears an article in the *New Statesman* in which the writer deplotes the lack of dignity and want of good taste which are evidenced in some of the posters issued

by the British Government to draw recruits for the present struggle.

The writer is not wrong when he says, "that which is wit in an ordinary citizen is blazing vulgarity when uttered by a Government."



JEFFREY ALLEN RA

The voice of Johnnie Jones or George Robey is one thing; the voice of England is another; and it is the voice of England, and not of Johnnie Jones, which will have the profoundest appeal for Englishmen in a time of peril like the present. "It is more blessed to go than to be pushed"—that is the Johnnie Jones note and would pass in a music hall. The England for which men lay down their lives, however, is not a music hall comedian. She is, however vaguely, a sacred land, a place—almost a person—beloved. It may be retorted that, if this were so, soldiers on the march would sing sentimental hymns to England instead of music-hall songs. But that would be to misunderstand. Soldiers sing music hall songs not as an expression of all they believe and care for, but as a sort of careless music of courage. They sing them among themselves, but even they do not expect generals and statesmen to address them through the medium of music hall songs. No one would have been more shocked than they if the Prime Minister, in the course of his visit to the Front, instead of addressing them in the grave language of patriotism, had insisted on singing them *The Night I Found the Five Pound Note*; and the general who on the eve of battle attempted to rouse the courage of his men by singing *The Hat My Father Wore* or some other light song, excellent in its own place, would be regarded as a lunatic.

The writer goes on to say: . . .

Men live largely by forms: at least they desire forms which suit the spirit of different occasions. Their passion for decorum is as great as their passion for indecorum. They claim the right to be both familiar and vulgar themselves; but they have no love for excessive familiarity and vulgarity in those whom they wish to respect. They resent the thought that the latter may be simply superior persons trying to play down to them. Mr. Lloyd George, familiar though his genius is, would only horrify his followers if he winked on the platform, sang out "Cheero!" to his interrupters, and behaved like a comedian at a third rate smoking concert. Yet that is more or less how the British Government has been behaving in its recruiting posters. It has been made to appear familiar and by all means vulgar. Some of the recruiting bills of the Napoleonic wars used to end with the sentence: "God damn, blast, and confound the enemy!" On the whole, we are glad this sentiment has not got on to the hoardings during the present war. But we are not sure that we do not prefer it in some ways to "Is your best boy in khaki?"

Recruiting is not a thing which is to be "pushed in the same manner as pills or soap."

That in itself is a vulgar conception of the call of what most of us regard as a war of liberation. Garibaldi did not summon his conquering volunteers to his banner with jests about its being better to go than to be pushed; he offered them death and wounds on behalf of their country, and they rose to the appeal like heroes. Joan of Arc did not go about France asking young girls questions like "Is your best boy in khaki?" She spoke in the accents of one inspired, and men died at her bidding.

But what is vulgarity?

There is nothing more difficult to define than vulgarity. It is often merely something one dislikes in somebody else's manner of speech or behaviour. . . . Vulgarity is apparently something which may

afflict kings as well as the common people. It is something which is as rife in the middle classes as in the working classes—perhaps more so. . . . It is the spirit of insensitiveness, of ignorant egotism, of indifference to the code of civilized people, of indignity. It flaunts gewgaws in scorn of mind. It cheapens fine emotions. It talks loudly, it walks loudly, it brings itself loudly. It restores man to an ape.

Unity Beneath the Present Discord

is the title of a lengthy and profoundly thoughtful article penned by Eugene Troubetzkoy and published in the *Hibbert Journal*.

Underlying the present discord and inharmony which is convulsing the whole of Europe and countries situated far away from Europe, there is an unity, an underlying solidarity which is almost a miracle. This unity is visible in the fighting nations taken individually or all together.

It is only in times of national danger that the feeling of national unity can attain this degree of penetration and vigor. Now, therefore, is a very moment when, in spite of the fury of the strife between the nations, we become aware, with a depth of feeling unknown at other times, of the general meaning of our life. This stands out in clear relief, infinitely raised above the nations and their quarrels, and forms an indefeatable bond of union, which should be capable of reuniting them and triumphing over their discords.

In war we always witness the growth of the consciousness of national unity. It thus exaltation of national sentiment is exceptionally strong at the present moment, it is because the world war is without any parallel in history: men are not fighting for the minor interests of life. For all the combatants engaged it is the very nation that is at stake.

At the beginning of the present war a mighty revolution was effected in the minds of men. Suddenly the strife of parties was seen to stop; no more disintegration, no more discord: in every country the union of the nation was re-established and affirmed. These were the typical facts equally conspicuous in each of the opposing camps. Lost in time of peace, the guiding motive of life asserts itself unmistakably in time of war: each nation comes to itself and gathers its forces to a unity under a single idea and a single act of will.

The effect of war is thus described by the learned writer:

The great European war has brought a wonderful increase to the intensity of life both in the individual and in humanity at large. The chief result of the war has been to double the energy and active force of the general life.

On the one hand war unchains the powers of hell; it breaks the fetters which civilization has fixed upon evil, but, on the other hand, it is during war that all the forces of the good, hidden in the depths of the human heart, rise up and gather themselves together to do battle against the Satan who has broken loose. In these supreme moments we see the awakening and uprising of moral forces which till then have slept; new qualities, or, it may be, the

long forgotten traits of past ages, make their appearance. Suddenly comes the perception that all our European culture is only a thin covering hiding the ferocious appetites of man's bestial nature. We behold the savage in man, the antediluvian monster, which remains the same in its essential nature, slightly polished and drilled by civilization, but also armed by civilization to the teeth. Once more we must listen to the story of the achievements of the brute, of the superhuman cruelty of individuals and of masses—all the horrors of prehistoric chaos making a fresh appearance in the twentieth century. But at the same time we see the revival of beneficent forces which, until that moment, have been dormant, or demoralized by the comfort and well-being of our daily life in the long interval of peace.

This abnormal force of hatred, now let loose, provokes and quickens into activity an equally abnormal force of love, so that, for the time being, the most astonishing heroism is looked upon as an almost everyday occurrence, and the supreme act of self-surrender becomes an ordinary event. Most remarkable of all is the fact that this sublime heroism has ceased to be the exceptional quality of a few individuals—the heroic spirit possesses whole masses of men.

At such a time a new type of humanity comes into being, more powerful and more wonderful to behold. Man augments his stature; and therewith the feeling of his own value gathers force within him.

The part love is playing in this war is thus described :

Love is reacting against the hatred which is invading the world; and for that reason it burns in all its forms with a splendor and force such as we see at no other time. This ardent flame of love we may now behold in a vast variety of situations.

In all such scenes the most moving figure is that of the woman, standing beside the husband, son, or brother who is going off to the war.

At the beginning of the war the Russian papers published a letter which had been intercepted by our troops, written by a young German girl to her lover in the Army: "What does this cruel Kaiser want with our poor bit of happiness, which is so dear to us?" Every loving heart, especially if it is a woman's, has the same feeling in similar circumstances. And yet in this woman's love there is an aspiration of a higher order, which imposes silence on the spirit of rebellion. The letter which I have just quoted contains also this phrase: "Return covered with glory; be my victorious Siegfried."

The psychology of love: the love of the individual, the love of country.

In all true and sincere love there is this inevitable conflict of two powerful aspirations: first, the desire for the preservation of the being beloved, the desire to snatch him from death at all costs; and then, along with this, the dream of seeing his brow encircled by a crown which cannot be won save by an act of heroism, often at the cost of his life.

Love is not satisfied by merely perceiving the presence of the being beloved: it must also reverence him; its object must justify its devotion. And love is deeply conscious that the individual human being who inspires it is nothing if abstracted from the great human whole to which he belongs. Individual existence becomes empty and meaningless just so far as it ceases to serve that larger whole. And that is why love is

always ready for the supreme sacrifice. For those who desire before all else to be proud of the beings they love, the death of these is always preferable to their dishonor.

The feeling of the individual for his country must be extraordinarily powerful when it leads him to sacrifice not only his "self" but that which is far dearer to him—to wit, *everything that he loves*.

Now when human slaughter is going on on an unprecedented scale, when acute hatred and distrust are in the air, "now, more than ever the unity of our history comes into view." The writer, being a Russian, as a matter of course alludes to the history of Russia but his findings apply nevertheless to the histories of all the other nations who are engaged in the terrific conflict. Says the writer:

We are conscious of it even at those very points where until now it seemed most obscure, where the breach between past and present seemed final, when a great gulf divided the fathers from the sons.

This change is seen, for example, in the new feeling evoked in us by the ancient monuments of our national culture.

The writer tells us that he recently visited "one of the most beautiful examples of Russian religious architecture in the seventeenth century—the church of St. John the Baptist at Jaroslawle." Says he:

This was not the first time I had admired it; I had often seen it twenty-three years earlier; but at that time something was wanting to the wholeness of my impression; there was some inward inhibition of my enjoyment. But now the inhibition had vanished. I was overcome by the colors and beautiful lines of the architecture, because, for the first time, I was conscious that the spiritual life which formed these things is not our past alone, but our present as well.

Among the frescoes of this church there is one, of outstanding loveliness, which expresses its whole idea. It is the image of the Baptist—the face noble and severe, the arms and limbs much emaciated and refined by asceticism. The whole is surrounded with the powerful wings of an angel.

Many centuries of our history have expressed their innermost thought and spirit in the symbolism of this fresco. It speaks to us of the spiritual growth of ancient Russia accomplished in the midst of much bodily weakness. Her physical organs were weak, so much the more did her soul soar up on these splendid wings. As I examined the church with this thought in my mind I saw clearly that the same idea was embodied in the eternal architecture, which stands out in striking contrast to its surroundings. This temple of costly stone, with its golden pinnacles flashing their light under the blue of heaven, richly decorated with paintings in bright and varied colors, is built in the midst of one of the poorest quarters of a poor country town. The majesty and splendor of its lines inevitably remind the beholder of the powerful wings of the angel: while the surrounding hovels, miserable wooden huts inhabited by the poorest people, are the counterpart to the emaciated limbs of the forerunner of Jesus.

The following observations of the writer

contain much truth. They prove the writer's remarkable insight into the heart of things.

This renaissance of human solidarity is one of the most paradoxical, and yet typical, features of the war. Nor is it merely among living contemporaries that these bonds of union come into being. In these grand moments of history we see the centuries draw near to one another, the past joins hands with the present. And then it is that this past grows very dear to our hearts; because, when war threatens, the past represents an ancient glory for which we are fighting, a heritage of our fathers of which someone would rob us, the tradition of a culture which we are defending against the enemy. It is precisely by this link with the past that we become a nation. To be conscious of it is to feel that our fathers are with us; for our country is precisely "the land of our fathers."

What gives a nation its essential characteristic is not its mere possession of riches, but the way it values and employs them. And can we not discern at the present moment a great change in this respect? Do we not perceive that the heart of man is now breaking the chain which binds it to mere comfort and material pleasure? Do we not see from day to day the growth of a superb contempt for mere bodily ease—that contempt without which there would be no more heroes in the world? And, this orgy of universal destruction which is setting the world on fire—does it not enable us to rate at their proper value both the wealth which is being burnt up and the material culture which has thus perfected the instrument of its own ruin?

The individuality of nations derives its content and value from a universal principle which stands above all the nations and unites them in the whole of humanity. If we eliminate the universal characteristics of a nation which form the link of connection between itself and others, its individuality vanishes.

The spirit of unity and of universal solidarity bloweth where it listeth; it knows no limits of geography or race; the impulse which stirs it cannot be arrested by artificial barriers, by fortifications or great guns. From the very heart of war there issues this mighty protest of life against the destructive force of death. But whenever life asserts itself, its object is always to re-establish a living unity. The more violently unity is threatened by war, or by the mutual hate which would tear it asunder, the more powerful becomes the answer of this spiritual force in its effort to re-establish the integrity of mankind.

As an instance in point the writer refers to the "touching description of the Christmas festival in the trenches, when the Germans, hearing the English singing their hymns, went out to meet them and heartily shook their enemies by the hand."

In the October number of the *United Empire* H. S. Gullett discusses about the ways and means of

Strengthening the British Empire.

The writer is of the opinion that

"While the war is disrupting Europe, it is each day consolidating the British Empire. The Canadi-

ans, Australians, South Africans, and New Zealanders, and the people of the United Kingdom are immeasurably nearer in sentiment and ideals than they were a year ago. The common peril has demonstrated our common blood and speech, our love of freedom, and our antagonism to the bully. Every casualty in our grand Empire Army strengthens and consecrates the Imperial bond.

He is very optimistic about the growth of the British Empires. Says he:

One need know but very little about the new lands of the British Empire to recognise that a century hence, or less, their population and their wealth, or, in other words their fighting capacity, will have been doubled again and again. The self governing Dominions sent some 40,000 men to the war in South Africa; in connection with the present great struggle they have actually at the battle fronts and in the course of training about 250,000 troops, more rather than less. All going well, they could twenty years hence easily put a couple of million men into the field in any part of the world, in addition to furnishing a great naval force. At each successive Empire call it will be found that the part played by the children will be relatively stronger in men and money and ships until, far sooner than most of us anticipate, Britain's fighting capacity will be greater beyond the seas than it is in these Islands. When that day comes the world will be nearer to peace than it has ever been before.

The writer, though an imperialist, is not blind to the dangers threatening the British Empire, especially the Overseas Empire. For we read:

Imperialists glibly talk of the Empire as though all the lands which fly the British flag must continue to do so indefinitely. But let us be frank about the real position. It is by no means certain that Britain will rule the whole of Australia, or the whole of Canada, fifty or even twenty-five years hence. The loyalty of the Dominions is not in doubt. The danger is elsewhere. So long as the great majority of the people of the Empire Overseas are of Anglo-Saxon origin, they will adhere strongly and proudly to the British Crown. The disturbing factor is that we live in an exceedingly ambitious land-hungry age in which solemn treaties are lightly honoured. Everywhere the clamour is for more territory. Within the past few years war after war has been waged, and despite the attempts of the aggressors to cover their design the aim in nearly every case has been material gain. The richest of all the unpeopled defenceless lands are those which comprise our self-governing Dominions.

Perhaps the Empire is too large; perhaps we are attempting too much. But the tendency is to acquire more and still more territory, and to add year by year to our monster task of colonising. We who live Overseas are already spread very thin; after the War our grip, unless we are strongly reinforced, will be precarious indeed. There is grave danger that unless the position is faced squarely by leaders in the United Kingdom and the Dominions our success and our insatiate appetite for more territory will prove our undoing.

As a remedy the writer proposes:

The first care should be to make the Empire safe against the foreign aggressor and that can only be done by putting into every fertile portion of it the

largest possible British population at the earliest possible moment. People the Dominions with Anglo-Saxons, and the strongest and best, and the only bond worth having, the bond of blood and sentiment, is already established. The rest will follow naturally. When the War is over give to the young lands Overseas every man, woman, and child who can be spared.

We want after the war a general recognition of the fact that our best allies are our own British people living in every portion of the world. They, and they alone, are the allies who will stand the test of time and the strain of circumstance.

The most remarkable feature of this article is that nowhere is there a mention of even the name of India. It seems, the writer in his enthusiasm about the future growth and prosperity of the British Empire forgot the existence of India, without which the British Empire could not have been what it is.

Rabindranath Tagore: as seen through Japanese Eyes.

We all know how deeply the writings of our Poet have moved the cultured mind of Europe and America; but up till now we did not know what the cultured Japanese thought of his writings. To the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association* for August Prof. T. Hirose of Keio University, Tokio, contributes an article on our Poet which makes us familiar with the views of a few Japanese critics on the writings of Rabindranath. It is not possible to judge the true worth or properly appreciate the merit of Rabindranath's works unless one is familiar with his contributions in literature which are vast and varied. The foreigner can reach his works only through translations in which much of the beauty and grandeur of the original is lost. That explains why oftentimes the foreign critic's judgment is faulty and falls out of the mark. This can be said of some of the views of the Japanese critic Mitsui which are quoted below.

Prof. Hirose writes:

Mr. Mitsui's remarks greatly satisfy us in that it touches Tagore's views on moral philosophy. While tracing the fountain-head of the stream that has fed the thoughts of Tagore to the mythology, philosophy and religion of ancient India, Mr. Mitsui emphasizes the impossibility of reviving the cosmic view or life-view of the ancients in its original form, and argues that Tagore's mission lies where the strains of his thoughts can not be considered separately from the life of the contemporary Indian people. But, he says, there seems to be too much of intellectual reasoning where Tagore attaches importance to quotations from the classics of the old saints. The mystic tendency of all religions is a evil resulting from the

precedence of intellectual reasoning or supposition over experience and it must be taken into account that the presence of a somewhat mystic tendency in Tagore's religious views reflects the influence of the political conditions of the present India. The activities of a nation begin with their spiritual movement, and treating Tagore as a mere thinker, it is a question whether his thoughts are supported by internal necessity that reacts within and without. The critic recognizes the course of Tagore's moral ideas in his criticism of European civilization, but he regrets to find in Tagore's thoughts and his literary productions traces of efforts or tendency to try to escape from the actualities of life. We Japanese do not attach much importance to what is novel, or romantic or mystic about his teachings, but want to learn something from him on a more sober subject—his views on morality.

In my humble opinion, Tagore is a man of the first-rate literary ability in the Orient and at the same time there is none in the Occident to compare or compete with him at present. Since the opening of intercourse with the Western countries and the introduction of advanced Western civilization our thinking world has been invaded by Western thoughts and apparently we have gradually lost some of the traditional traits of old Japan. Of late we have awakened to the inadvisability of discarding our own ways and manners in our zeal to take good things from other nations. It is a matter for congratulation that the thoughts of Tagore have found their way to the minds of thinking Japanese, who have begun to awake from their exclusive adoration of Western civilization, and have aroused within them a spirit to love and respect the old traditions of their own country. In that respect, I think, our nation is greatly indebted to Mr. Tagore.

War Philosophy, Hindu and Christian 1500 B.C. and 1915 A.D.

is the title of an interesting article contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* by S. M. Mitra. For his article the writer has largely drawn upon the *Mahabharata*, the great Hindu epic.

Says Mr. Mitra:

The Western conferences which have met from time to time during more than fifty years to discuss the laws of peace and war are the development of the principles enunciated in the seventeenth century of this era by the famous Dutchman Grotius, whose *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* is generally regarded as the foundation of the Western science of international law. But the literature and history of India show that my countrymen anticipated Grotius by about thirty centuries that they forestalled the Conferences of Geneva (1864, 1868, and 1906), St. Petersburg (1868), Brussels (1874), and the Hague (1899 and 1907), that they had rules of warfare laid down about fifteen centuries before the Christian era, and very similar to many important regulations of modern international law.

The ancient Hindu's general outlook on War:

The ancient Hindus believed war to be a necessity; though they did not allow overmastering desire for conquest to overrule their love of peace. The Hindu

sages held that peace was the normal state of human society, and war its abnormal condition. Their rules for establishing and maintaining peace were as precise as their rules for waging war.

We read further :

The huge epic of the *Mahabharata*, composed about 1500 B. C. shows that both the morality and the expediency of war were discussed at length by the ancient Hindus. Sometimes they debated whether war was a profitable investment for a country, as some modern Western thinkers have lately been doing. "The king should gain victories without battles. . . . The clash of battle is undesirable as long as one can avoid it," said Bhishma, the mighty commander of the Kauravas, and the great philosophic warrior-statesman. "Men have five different kinds of strength," declared Vidura, another Hindu statesman of the *Mahabharata*, "strength of arms, good counsellors, wealth, birth, and strength of intellect. Strength of arms is inferior to all these others." "Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained by conciliation, by gifts, and by exciting dissension among other kingdoms." This last means of enlarging a nation's boundaries recalls the famous Roman motto of later centuries, *Divide et impera*, which foreign rulers still regard as a highly useful maxim. One of the Hindu arguments against acquisition of territory by force is worth consideration : "The energy necessary for putting down a hostile kingdom would be better expended in care of one's own kingdom."

Treaties and Alliances :

Treaties and alliances held prominent place among various methods, resembling those of modern times, which the ancient Hindus adopted for avoiding war and for strengthening themselves to resist attack. They distinguished roughly three kinds of treaties :— (1) Those made through fear. The volumes of Ardenison's *Treaties and Sanads* supply numerous examples from modern Indian history of agreements which small rajas and petty chiefs have made with the Government of India to ensure themselves against aggression from powerful maharajas. (2) Those made through good offices. The present alliance between the Maharaja of Nepal and the Government of India, largely based upon the good offices rendered by the Nepal State during the Indian Mutiny, affords a modern instance of this kind of treaty. (3) Those made through gifts of wealth, i.e., through a subsidy. As representative of this class, the treaty may be instanced by which the Government of India enters into an alliance with the Amir of Afghanistan and gives him annually a large sum of money, in return for which the Amir agrees to form no alliance with any foreign power without the consent of the British.

In those ancient days alliances were regarded as invaluable aids to peace and supports in war. "There is nothing that cannot be achieved by alliances," asserted Vidura. "The tiger outside the forest," said Krishna, "falls an easy prey ; the forest wherein no tiger dwells is easily cut down ; hence the tiger guards the forest and the forest guards the tiger."

"A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man." To these ancient statesmen successful alliances and counter-alliances were as necessary a part of policy as war. "When a common danger threatens, make peace," they advised, "with one who is strong. When the danger is over consider

well the advisability of making a compact with the enemy. Having achieved the object in view, trust not the foe again."

International friendships and Diplomacy :

Bhishma's description of the friends of a monarch aptly summarized the factors that go to make modern international friendships, and his counsel, applied to nations, was evidently taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Hindus in making peace and war. According to him, the different friends of a ruler were : (1) one who pursues the same object ; (2) one who is exceedingly attached to him ; (3) one who is related to him ; (4) one whose good will has been gained by presents and kindness ; and (5) an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both. Of these kinds of friendship," said Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth ; at the same time do not trust any overmuch. Trust and mistrust all men. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall." Already in Bhishma's time the intimate connection between war and politics was realized, and Hindu statesmen were divided as to whether war is an outgrowth of politics or politics an outgrowth of war. Before resorting to force, the peoples of ancient India who were involved in disputes, dispatched diplomatic agents or envoys (duta) to each other to try what could be effected by peaceful persuasion. The ablest brains of the nation were pressed into this service "They should," said Bhishma, "possess these great qualities : noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."

Secret service system and the question of Neutrals :

Ancient India had a great secret service system with approved rules. "Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India, and as roots to their kingdoms." Inattention to spies is mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.

Several centuries before the birth of Greece and Rome, students of war philosophy in India had gone deep into the question of neutrals, and had divided them into four main heads :—(1) Neutrals who, whether active or passive, could not but be affected by the progress and result of the war (2) Neutrals who would be practically unaffected by the war, and therefore felt hardly any concern in the progress of the struggle. (3) Neutrals who would be affected by the progress and result of the war, and who could, if they chose, alter the course of the war without becoming belligerents by manipulating economic forces, etc. (4) Neutrals who, though affected by the war, had not the power to alter the course of the war, like China in the present instance.

How war was conducted by the Ancient Hindus, and the treatment meted out to prisoners of War :

Indiscriminate slaughter was regarded by Hindu warrior-statesmen as both inhuman and inexpedient. A retreating enemy, they said, was not to be pursued too closely, lest he should suddenly turn and rend his pursuers, and also because brave men do not care to mow down those who flee before them. "A king," quoted Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never

inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart.

The Hindus maintained that it was better to go down before the foe than to conquer by wrongful methods. "A victory sullied by unrighteousness," they said, "is insecure, and never brings one to heaven."

In certain particulars the Hindu's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails in warfare. Bhishma's rule of battle was, "mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry." Manu, the ancient Hindu lawgiver, maintained that battles were to be contested fairly. Other definite rules for the conduct of warfare are clearly anticipations of the principles set forth by the Geneva Conventions, and the Hague Conferences. "Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used," said Bhishma, over thirty centuries before Convention IV., Article 23 (a), of the Hague Conferences forbade belligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms." "A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, "or he whose weapon has been broken. . . . One should fight one adversary and leave him when he is disabled. . . . A warrior whose armor has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, . . . or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."

The ancient Hindus guarded against maltreatment of war prisoners by dividing them into two classes: the well-to-do, who were kept as hostages against unfair warfare on the part of their enemies; and the ordinary prisoners, who were placed under the supervision of the authorities in charge of temples and shrines. According to Bhishma, those prisoners whose wounds permanently disabled them from military service were to be sent home; others were to be taken to the victor's camp, and their hurts attended to there. These regulations for the humane treatment of prisoners may be compared with Chapter I., Article 1, of the Geneva Convention of 1906: "Soldiers, and other persons officially attached to armies, shall be respected and taken care of when wounded or sick, by the belligerent in whose power they may be. . . ." and part of Article 2, Chapter I., of the same Convention: "Belligerents. . . will be at liberty to agree: to restore to one another the wounded left on the field after a battle; to repatriate any wounded and sick whom they do not wish to retain as prisoners. . . ."

The war lords of ancient India advised moderation, urging the victor to protect a conquered country from useless plunder. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility, and also from insolent speech," is counsel to which Bhishma gives approval. But when a people offered obstinate and determined resistance to the invader, the attacking Power was advised to adopt sterner tactics, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."

Western international law decrees that the person of an ambassador is inviolable. Similarly, in ancient India, to slay or imprison envoys was a heinous sin. "It was forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, or whose armor and weapons had fallen off, a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children, and women."

Mr. Mitra has shown in his article that

even the ultra-modern problem of the "War baby" was satisfactorily solved by our forefathers. Doubtless this problem has been present from time immemorial.

Says Mr. Mitra:

Even the latest difficulty of the "war baby" received the attention of my distinguished countrymen in that dawn of time. To prevent the destruction of infant life and to save the children from being branded as bastards, the alliances that were responsible for "war babies" were raised to the status of marriage. Three classes of such alliances were recognized: (1) "the reciprocal connection of a youth and a maiden with mutual desire," denominated a Gandharva marriage; (2) when the lover secretly embraces the maiden, flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect," called a Pisacha marriage; and (3) "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded," styled a Rakshasa marriage. The expense of the maintenance of the offspring of these alliances was borne by the Church, the army, and the civil ratepayers, the proportion contributed by each of these bodies being fixed according to certain rules.

About the treatment of the vanquished foe, we read:

Conquered kingdoms paid war indemnities. There were rules regulating the confiscation of the property of the vanquished. Scholars and philosophers belonging to the conquering party were given certain prizes taken from the conquered. The conqueror's attitude was to be a diplomatic blend of mildness and severity. "Before striking the blow, and while striking, speak gracious words, having struck, show pity towards the conquered." The people were to be protected from pillage, slaughter, and pain; but a conquered foe was to be kept in submission, as a father masters and restrains his son, without anger and without destroying him. "Put no trust in a vanquished foe," was another Hindu maxim; and "when one's enemies have been subdued, one should not repose in peace." "A king should bring over a hero to his side by showing appreciation of him; a coward, by making him afraid; an avaricious man, by bestowing wealth upon him; and with an equal he should wage war."

Death in battle—how it was looked upon.

To the ancient Hindus righteous battle was a virtue, and the high merit, glory, and respect earned by the warrior who met with death in such a combat made him envied by his fellows. "All the Kshatriyas, O King," said Krishna, "who have fallen in this mighty conflict. . . were heroes and ornaments of battle. They were slain while charging with faces towards their foes. None fell wounded in the back or flying from the enemy. All of them. . . have attained to heaven. Thou shouldst not mourn for them." "Life laid down in battle," it is written, "is for heroes the blessed gate to heaven." But "the gods themselves with Indra at their head send misfortunes upon them who desert their comrades and return with limbs unscathed from the fray."

The ancient Hindus were wise enough to admit that warfare could not "always

he waged in a thoroughly straightforward manner."

"Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at the king's command," declared Bhishma, "yet though he be conversant with it, he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. He may use it to oppose the dangers that come upon him."

The Constitution of Armies and Conscription:

Armies, consisted of four main divisions: (1) regulars, (2) allies, (3) mercenaries, and (4) irregulars, each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp followers, spies, and ensigns. There were volunteers among the ancient Hindu armies, and it should be noted that according to the Hindu idea of chivalry a volunteer is a man who refuses all rewards, even decorations, for he is risking his life only for the sake of his country. Subsidies were paid to certain peoples in return for military service, if required. The army had rules for various formations of troops, systems of signalling, armor, weapons, various badges, generous rewards for valor, medical corps with equipment in attendance at the camps, and envoys whose mission it was to treat with the foe. To some extent the ancient Hindu military system resembled Western conscription: but whereas in the West a conscript nation means practi-

cally a whole nation liable to military service, the ancient Hindus divided the nation into four classes, only one of which, the Kshatriya, was the warrior class, every member of which had to train and be ready to fight for his country.

The strategy of War—as practised by the Ancient Hindu:

Unexpected and superior preparation for war, and unexpected attack, are in his opinion highly important principles of strategy. What are these but Bhishma's ideas enunciated over thirty centuries before?—"The gathering together of troops for achieving victory should be concealed." He who wishes to destroy an enemy should not put that enemy on his guard. "A king who is sure of his own strength should, in command of a large force, confidently and bravely give the order to advance, without making known his destination, against one who has no friends or allies, or who is already at war with another, or who is weaker than he." The law of expediency was the essence of Hindu policy. "When the time comes, make peace with a foe, when the time comes, wage war against a friend." By nature no one is the enemy of another," said the Hindu. He only is one's enemy who covets the same prize. Hindu strategists believed in decisive action. "A king should wait long and then destroy his enemy. . . . When the occasion comes, he should attack him without missing the opportunity."

THE LATE MR. U. RAY

MR. Upendrakishor Ray Chaudhuri, better known as U. Ray, was born at the village of Masua in the district of Mymensingh in the year 1862. His father "Munshi" Syamsundar Ray was a reputed Persian and Sanskrit scholar and a man of fearless independence. He was called 'Munshi' because of his Persian scholarship. He is known to have been a man of fine literary attainments and used to perform his daily devotions with the help of Sanskrit *Stotras* (hymns) of his own composition. His Sanskrit scholarship was recognised even by the orthodox Brahmin pandits who often invited him to arbitrate in their shastric discussions. Known in early life as Kamadaranjan Ray, Upendrakishor came to be adopted by his uncle Babu Harikishor Ray Chaudhuri, a well-known Zamindar and Pleader of Mymensingh, who gave him the name by which he has been known since then.

He matriculated from the Mymensingh

Zilla School, obtaining a Government scholarship of Rs. 15 per month. While a student at School he displayed marked mathematical and scientific talents, but even at that early period his attention was largely claimed by the fine arts. Alone and unaided he mastered the mysteries of light, shade and perspective. The drawings which he lavished upon his books and papers in his school-boy days excited the admiration of his teachers. So great was his passion for music that the first instalments of his scholarship were entirely spent on musical instruments. His passion for science, too, went hand in hand with his devotion to the fine arts.

After matriculating he studied at the Presidency College in Calcutta and afterwards at the Metropolitan Institution, whence he took his B.A. degree in the year 1884. During his early College days he constructed with his own hands a working model of a gyroscope out of an wooden ball and a few bits of wood. His academic

career was, however, cut short by the domestic troubles that followed his joining the Brahmo Samaj.

His interest in juvenile literature was directly due to coming in constant touch with the late Babu Pramada Charan Sen, the founder of the "Sakha," one of the earliest and most successful Bengali magazines for children. The interest thus aroused had a permanent hold on him and the education and entertainment of children was one of the absorbing passions of his life.

His contributions to the juvenile literature of Bengal are well-known to all educated Bengalis. His *Sekaler Katha* is a popular illustrated account of the many strange animals which lived on our earth before the birth of man and as the contemporaries of primitive man. Though a book meant for children, it shows his thorough grasp of the subject. The illustrations were from his own original drawings. His *Tuntunir Boi* is a highly enjoyable book of folktales. He popularised the stories of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in such juvenile works as *Chheleder Ramayan*, *Chheleder Mahabharat*, *Mahabharater Galpa*, and *Chhotta Ramayan*. In his children's monthly, the *Sandesh*, he popularised stories from the Purans, along with many scientific subjects. This magazine at once took its place as the premier juvenile magazine as soon as it was published. This magazine, as well as all his other works, he illustrated himself. He excelled and was unrivalled as a comic illustrator of children's books. His fine humour lighted up on whatever subject he wrote, whether science, travels, mythological stories, folktales or music. He was a man of deep and wide culture, and wrote, not like a mere compiler or translator, but as one who had mastered his subject. His discourses on music, astronomy, &c., were highly appreciated. His talks to children were eagerly looked forward to by the little folks, and were as humorous and entertaining as they were instructive.

He has left some fine hymns, thereby enriching the hymnology of the Brahmo Samaj.

It was while engaged in publishing one of his first books for children that the wretched condition of the book and magazine illustrations in our country was first brought home to him. He forthwith took up the study of photo-engraving and in 1895 brought out the necessary apparatus

for producing halftone blocks. In this work of improving the half-tone process, he spent quite a fortune, unmindful of what pecuniary returns he might or might not get from his labours. The half-tone process was at that time still in its infancy, and its underlying principles were but little understood. Unsettled and arbitrary rule-of-thumb methods found little guidance from the conflict of theories, each claiming to be an all-sufficient explanation of the mystery of the half-tone image. With characteristic thoroughness and independence, Mr. Ray proceeded to tackle the problem afresh in his own way. He examined the claims of various rival theories and arrived at conclusions of far-reaching importance that have since found almost universal acceptance. The standardizing of half-tone methods in recent years has largely followed the lines indicated by him and many of his suggestions have been adopted in current practice. Mr. Howard Farmer of the Polytechnic, in a paper before the Royal Photographic Society, specially mentions "Mr. U. Ray, a very clever writer on the subject," as one of the authorities whose brilliant advocacy of the pin-hole theory, "has determined its general acceptance." N. S. Amstutz of America in his "Handbook of Photo-engraving" and his contributions to various societies, refers extensively and appreciatively to his earlier writings and points out that modern practice in half-tone work had been largely anticipated by him. The Editor's notes on "Mr. U. Ray's half-tone researches" in the 1904-5 Volume of Penrose's Annual speaks of "the classical pen of Mr. U. Ray" and goes on to say: "Mr. Ray is evidently possessed of a mathematical quality of mind, and he has reasoned out for himself the problems of half-tone work in a remarkably successful manner. Those who have the earlier volumes of Process Work will do well to turn to his articles and they will be found to well repay perusal by the increased interest they gain in the light of present day methods."

William Gamble, F.R.P.S., in his article on "A Wonderful Process" in the Process Year Book, speaks of "investigators of the highest eminence, amongst whom I may mention.....U. Ray of Calcutta, whose admirable articles in the Year Book have shown not only a clear grasp of the subject but have suggested new methods of work."

His screen adjusting machine, his diaphragms systems, his contributions to the theory of half-tone, his invention of the 60" screen, his highly instructive studies in diffraction and his original methods of colour work have all received very favourable notices in the technical press of Europe and America. Amstutz describes his screen adjusting process as a "unique method." Verfasser calls it the "most promising idea of this kind." This apparatus has been supplied to some of the leading technical schools in England where it has been reported upon very favourably. The nett result of these researches is to enable the operator "to do uniform work, with the fullest graduation and detail in it and with the minimum amount of manipulative skill in the negative making and etching." (Penrose's Annual, 1904-5).

The same article describes the results obtainable by Mr. Ray's methods as "wonderfully good." "Process Work and Electrotyping," in a highly eulogistic reference to some particular applications of his methods, says: "Mr. Upendrakisor Ray of Calcutta.....is far ahead of European and American workers in originality, which is all the more surprising when we consider how far he is from the hub-centres of process work."

The Jubilee number of the British Journal of Photography (1904) says:—"The question of multiple diaphragms has really a very important bearing on the future of half-tone; and the only worker I know of who has thoroughly grasped the bearing of it is U. Ray of Calcutta. He has brought it to a mathematical exactness."

The interest roused by his articles has been world-wide, for Mr. Gamble writes that he often receives "enquiries from all parts of the world concerning them." They have frequently been referred to as models of lucid and accurate exposition.

References to Mr. Ray's work are also to be found in various text books and technical journals, including *Le Procédé* (Paris). The *Illustrator*, The *Inland Printer* (U.S.A.), *Process Work and Printer*, *Process Photogram*, *Process Engraver's Monthly* &c.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Ray had practically retired from his half-tone business, leaving it to be carried on by his two elder sons. His eldest son, Mr. Sukumar Ray, B.Sc., who has inherited to a great extent his

father's versatile genius, is, at present the most scientific and skillful photo-engraver among Bengalis, having received his training first under his father, and in London and Manchester as a Calcutta University Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar.

Mr. U. Ray was a noted artist, and used both oil and water colours, particularly the latter. It was as a landscape-painter that he specially excelled.

He had made a deep and extensive study of the theory and practice of music; vocal and instrumental. Just as his knowledge of optics stood him in good stead in his researches and inventions in the half-tone process, so did his knowledge of acoustics enable him to master the science of music. He could play on the flute, harmonium, violin, piano, *setar*, *tanpura* and *pakhwaj*, but it was as a violinist that he was most appreciated. Though not a professional teacher of music, his skill and success in teaching the art was very remarkable. Years ago he had written a "Harmonium Teacher" in Bengali. It was in great demand. But as he had latterly become convinced that the harmonium had done and was doing incalculable injury to Indian music, he did not agree to issue a new edition of the book in spite of the urgent requests of his publisher; so it has been out of print for years.

In his youth he was a noted cricket player. He was regular in his habits and took his constitutional regularly till the day previous to his last illness. But he had most probably overworked himself, becoming a diabetic in consequence, and fell a victim to the fell disease at the early age of 53. He breathed his last on December 20, 1915.

Our brief sketch will give the reader some idea of his varied gifts; but no pen-picture can convey an adequate idea of the kind of man he was. His genial presence and charming conversation will be long remembered. He had a very affectionate heart, and was extremely modest and courteous. He was at the same time possessed of a sturdy independence of character which is not quite common. He had nothing of what is called "push," being of a retiring disposition, and avoiding the glare of fame and publicity. He was a true *bhakta* (भक्त) a devout worshipper of Parabrahma, possessed of a deep, genuine and unostentatious piety.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

PEOPLE are, generally, sceptical as to the merits of any universal panacea, whether it be for the ailments of the physical or social body. The science of Political Economy, conceived by Adam Smith, supported by Malthus, shaped by Ricardo, perfected and polished by John Stuart Mill, and interpreted for popular comprehension, adaptation and adoption by Henry Fawcett, Henry George and Cecil Balfour Phipson as well as by others, has offered many suggestions for the solution of the economic problems of the human society; but the millenium is still far from sight. All the same, what these master minds have thought and enunciated on such an important subject as Co-operation affecting the good of the community at large, deserves serious attention and consideration of us all.

Mill, writing on Co-operation, says:—

"...The peculiar characteristic, in short, of civilized beings, is the capacity of co-operation, and this, like other faculties, tends to improve by practice, and becomes capable of assuming a constantly wider sphere of action. Accordingly there is no more certain incident of the progressive change taking place in society, than the continual growth of the principle and practice of co-operation. Associations of individuals voluntarily combining their small contributions, now perform works, both of an industrial and of many other characters, which no one person or small number of persons are rich enough to accomplish, or for the performance of which the few persons capable of accomplishing them were formerly enabled to exact the most inordinate remuneration. As wealth increases and business capacity improves, we may look forward to a great extension of establishments, both for industrial and other purposes, formed by the collective contributions of large numbers, establishments like those called by the technical name of joint-stock companies, or the associations less formally constituted, which are so numerous in England, to raise funds for public or philanthropic objects, or lastly, those associations of workpeople, either for production or to buy goods for their common consumption, which are now known by the name of co-operative societies" [*Principles of Political Economy, Book IV., Chap. I, Sec. 2, p. 423*]

Writing on the same subject, Fawcett observes:—

"..... Anyone who considers what it has already effected, and what it is capable of doing in the future, must, we think, come to the conclusion that we may look with more confidence to co-operation than to any other economic agency to improve the individual condition of the country" (*Manual of Political Economy, Book II, Chapter X, p. 281*.)

Fawcett adds:—

"It cannot be too carefully borne in mind that those who have achieved the most striking success in co-operation have not been assisted by any extraneous aid. They have placed their chief reliance in union of effort, in prudence, and in self-denial" [*Ibid.*]

And he gives instances of such success by citing the cases of Co-operative Banks in Germany established first by M. Schulze-Delitzsch in 1851, and the first of those started in England at New Castle-on-Tyne, in 1871, mainly through the exertions of Dr. Rutherford, the accounts of the developments of which are, indeed, highly interesting. But even before the advent of the co-operative idea in England and Germany it had been established in France; for among the institutions of credit and *prevoyance* established for or by the *ouvriers*, Lyons possessed, before 1848, a *caisse d'prêts* [banks for lending money] for the *chefs-d'atelier*, and a considerable number of mutual aid societies.

The growth and development of the Co-operative movement in this country, which is only of recent origin, tends undoubtedly to show, that more in this respect has been achieved in India in about a decade or so than in the countries of Europe in three quarters of a century, more or less. The reason for this rather astonishing progress in India is not far to seek. The success of the movement in this country, so far at least as the speediness of its growth indicates, is undoubtedly due to the fact that it was not only initiated by the Government but from the very outset of its being it has received the fostering care of our rulers, who, unlike in the progressive countries of Europe, must always be at the helm to render help in such matters to the people who seem otherwise to be utterly helpless—for even their educated leaders are generally quite apathetic and indifferent with regard to them. The speedy progress of the Co-operative movement in India, however, clearly demonstrates the fact that our people, conservative as they are in many matters, in a matter of this kind, when properly initiated, trained and directed, are seldom

slow or backward in accepting and adopting methods meant for their own relief and regeneration.

The following tables give an analysis, in brief, of the Co-operative Societies in India at the end of the year 1913-14:—

Particulars.	Agri- cultural Societies	Central Societies.
Class of Societies—		
Credit	14,364	320
Purchase, and Purchase and Sale	12	...
Production	4	8
Production and Sale... ..	78	...
Insurance	69	...
Other forms of Co-operation	11	1
Type of Societies—		
Central Banks... ..	...	111
Central Banking Unions ... ..	...	89
Unions ... ..	...	129
Limited	169	...
Unlimited	14,369	...
Number of Societies	14,538	329
Number of Members—		
Individuals	599,822	24,786
Societies ... ..	...	9,924
Number of Affiliated Societies—		
Central Credit ... ..	...	67
Agricultural Credit ... ..	...	10,843
Non-agricultural Credit ... ..	...	322
Others ... ..	...	17
Loans made to—		
Individuals } On Personal Security. 2,22,96,965	7,16,345	
} On Mortgage Security. 39,71,049	1,20,653	
Societies } Local	4,22,636	1,53,13,834
} Central	3,53,805	24,89,468
Sale of Goods to Members. 98,076	16,902	
Purchase of Members' Products. 98,940	8,010	
Cost of Management	2,62,285	2,81,033
Most Usual Dividend Paid on Shares	7 & 14 p.c. Bet. 6 & 9 p.c.	
Most Usual Rate of Interest—		
On Deposits	6½ & 9 p.c.	6 p.c.
On Loans	9½ & 12½ p.c.	Bet. 7 & 9 p.c.
Loans Due—		
By Individuals	3,62,84,418	16,62,869
By Societies	15,92,185	2,52,21,339
Share Capital	53,31,929	38,50,248
Members' Deposits	36,15,614	60,77,386
Loans from Government	9,72,554	1,02,376
Reserve Fund	24,55,218	5,60,790

The Co-operative movement is, indeed, still in its infancy in India, but in tracing its rapid development since its inauguration about a decade ago, we find the advantages which have already accrued to the country; and if the movement be persisted in it may surely be relied upon as any other form of economic agency to effect a marked and permanent improvement in the social and industrial condition of

the country. Though only of recent growth the movement has, all the same, we repeat, a hopeful future before it, although it has to pass through at present a critical period of its existence owing to the situation created by the war in Europe and several other causes over which we have but little control; and the annual reports on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the different parts of India offer interesting study. The Reports on the whole, adverse circumstances to the contrary created by the war and other causes notwithstanding, are highly satisfactory and encouraging, in that on the whole, even in the most backward provinces, progress has been made and maintained in the way of expansion and the relations between the Co-operative movement and agriculture, in a country which is mainly agricultural, are becoming gradually greater and closer.

In 1913-14 the number of Societies of all descriptions in Bengal increased from 1123 to 1,663, or by 48 per cent., the total membership from 56,889 to 90,363, or by 59 per cent., and the working capital from Rs. 46,07,301 to Rs. 89,40,803 or by 94 per cent. Satisfactory as these figures are, it is still more gratifying to find that the expansion of the movement has been accompanied by intensive development. The most noteworthy feature of the year under review has been the extension of the central bank system, on which depends largely the financing and supervision of individual rural societies. The number of central banks has increased from 17 to 33, and their working capital from 13 lakhs to 32 lakhs of rupees. Of this 32 lakhs, 27 lakhs is derived from deposits and 5 lakhs from share capital. The development of agricultural societies is also remarkable. The number of societies has increased from 1,039 to 1,543; the membership from 42,000 to 71,000; and the working capital from 22.75 lakhs to 44 lakhs of rupees. A sum of 30 lakhs was issued in loans to the members against 14 lakhs of the preceding year, and of the loans taken more than 28 lakhs were devoted to the payment of debts and other economic or productive purposes. Non-agricultural credit societies are also said to be working satisfactorily in Bengal and are being appreciated by the middle classes in the towns in which they have been started. The number of such societies has increased from 60 to 71, the membership from

11,164 to 13,653 and the working capital from 9 lakhs to 12 lakhs of rupees. The considerable increase in members' deposits indicates a satisfactory growth.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, we gather from the Report for the year 1914-15, the banks and societies were put in great straits during the year preceding to that to which the Report relates, owing, it is said, to the failure of the crops. Large loans had to be given to members to meet their requirements and thus their average liabilities had considerably went up. The hope that with the return of normal conditions the agriculturists would be in a position to redeem a large portion of their debts to the societies and that the central banks would be able to undertake the organisation of new societies in localities where there was a demand for them; hopes that the large outstanding loans of the previous year would be collected during 1914-15, were not realised—thus giving the movement in these Province rather a serious outlook. Nearly 17 lakhs of rupees were outstanding at the end of the preceding year, 27 lakhs were advanced during the year while the total repayments amounted to 29 lakhs, the outstanding at the end of the year being, thus, 45 lakhs. It is satisfactory, however, to note that with the exception of one or two areas, the general body of the members of the co-operative societies in the United Provinces were thoroughly loyal to their respective societies, and their failure to timely meet the demands of their societies was due mainly to the special circumstances of the year over which they had no control. So far, however, as the material welfare of the cultivating classes is concerned, co-operative activity in the United Provinces, is manifesting itself in the supply of good seed, solution of the problem of irrigation, the supply of water, the establishment of small plots for the demonstration of new staples, cattle-breeding, experiments in joint-cultivation and the supply of improved agricultural tools and implements. Thus, on the whole, although the progress made during the year under review has not been quite commensurate with the high hopes of all concerned, the Government of the Province is not prepared to see it suffer from causes outside its control. The uneasiness which took such a firm hold on the depositors of joint-stock

banks at the outbreak of the war, affected the depositors of co-operative banks in a small degree. The directors of the latter felt that they could refund all deposits that matured, but they could not at the same time issue liberal loans on *rabi* sowings, which was, indeed, very necessary both in view of the failure of previous crops and of the peculiar circumstances of the moment. To meet this extraordinary situation the Government granted to banks a limited sum in loans where otherwise the *rabi* seed advances would have been considerably jeopardised and Rs. 2,55,000 was received from Government for this purpose. The loan was to be repaid in two annual instalments, but the recovery of the banks was so rapid that it was repaid in full long before the loan fell due. The Central Societies showed a small increase, but the financial position of these societies on the whole improved during the year under notice. The reserve fund increased from 3.11 to 3.86 lakhs of rupees while the proportion of the paid-up share capital and reserve fund to the working capital rose from 15.9 per cent. to 18.1 percent. and deposits increased from 40.34 to 42.29 lakhs of rupees. Among agricultural primary societies the year has been more noticeable for re-organisation than expansion, but the number increased from 2,560 to 2,716 due to the conversion of affiliated societies of the old type into corporate self-managing village societies. Among non-credit societies the chief feature of the year has been the creation of four cattle insurance societies, which are largely experimental, and Government, we are glad to note, has promised to give them special aid, should such be necessary.

In the Central Provinces and Berar, we gather from the Report for 1914-15, the working of the Co-operative Societies, notwithstanding difficulties of all kinds arising from the failure of crops and the incidents of the war, went on all right, presenting many encouraging features. Notwithstanding the need for caution in expansion the number of Societies of all kinds has increased, during the year, from 2,213 to 2,297; membership from 40,415 to 44,084; and working capital from 65 to 72.5 lakhs of rupees. Yet only a fifth of the number of applications for registration could be accepted owing to lack of facilities for adequate control and supervision. Many unregistered societies, we are told,

are springing up in all directions in the Central Provinces and Berar and these require special care and supervision. In his resolution on the Report the Chief Commissioner takes note of the criticism generally levelled at it that the Co-operative movement is degenerating in those Provinces into a mere money-lending concern, and this criticism though carping in its character, will, says the Chief Commissioner, serve the purpose of warning against a great danger. Money-lending as the most obvious of all the advantages of co-operation, receives the largest amount of attention at the first stages, and as the movement is more correctly apprehended, its other advantages will not fail to receive the attention of the people.

The Report from the Punjab shows, that the initial impetus given to the Co-operative movement in that Province has not been kept up, the reason given being the same as in other parts of the country, namely the war in Europe and the failure of harvests at home. But despite the fact that there has been no increase in the number of societies and that of the members, there has been, it is interesting to note, an increase in the working capital of 7.25 lakhs of rupees. The Punjab Government observes that the year has been of a character to show a marked relief from both the dangers to which the societies under present conditions are exposed and also the vitality which has saved them from those dangers; and indeed nothing bears better witness to the solidity of the foundations on which the movement is based in that Province, than the manner in which it has passed through the crisis. Owing, however, to the general stagnation of business, and the consequent inability of the members to obtain loans from the societies, they have been obliged to have recourse to the usurious money-lenders to the extent of some 10 lakhs of rupees. Also, village societies have had in some cases to ask their depositors to wait, but the central banks have been able to meet their obligations, and there is everywhere evidence of the confidence of the cultivator in the soundness and stability of the movement. One of the most gratifying features of the time of stress through which the co-operative societies have generally passed has been the readiness with which the Government in all the different provinces have

them financially. Turning to the financial position of the societies in the Punjab we find that withdrawals of deposits have exceeded receipts by nearly 7 lakhs, but this deficiency has been more than made up by receipts under the head of share payments and interest. There has, thus, been a small increase in the working capital which now amounts to Rs. 1,30,63,842, but this total includes a large amount of profit which has not yet been received. The true working capital may, therefore, be put at Rs. 1,24,74,956, of which all but about 10 lakhs is utilised as loans to members. Of this 10 lakhs of rupees, nearly 2 lakhs have been invested in the form of shares in central societies, and are available at any time for loans to the village societies. The cash in hand is upwards of 7½ lakhs, and the balance is under "stock in hand." From the percentages of the items which compose the total working capital, it is shown, that the societies' own money forms nearly 42 per cent. of the whole, and if to this is added the members' deposits, then the latter forms more than 50 per cent. of the whole. So that from this point of view the position of the societies may also be considered as favourable. To boil the figures down to the definite results attained, the Registrar has had compiled from the societies' ledgers exact figures of the loans hitherto advanced to pay off old debts and mortgages. "The total of these," he says, "comes to Rs. 69,46,710 and Rs. 12,50,668, respectively. . . . It may be considered with certainty that Rs. 80 lakhs have been paid to money-lenders and mortgagees, resulting in the satisfying of money debts and mortgages of a considerably larger value. It will thus be seen that members have replaced one form of indebtedness amounting to at least 30 lakhs by another amounting to 72 lakhs, and they are still further this much to the good in so far as the interest they pay on the new form of debt is very much lighter than what they paid on the previous form, while they have recovered cultivating possession of valuable ancestral lands amounting to not less than 8000 acres." These conclusions are based on the calculation that of the working capital 41.7 per cent. consists of shares and profits received, which represent the members' savings, while the remainder, i.e., Rs. 72,36,675, is borrowed money. The fact that seems to stand out is that after paying off

come to and 80 lakhs of debt, members have accumulated savings of half a crore of rupees which they are now using in place of money-lenders' money, a fact which is, indeed, highly satisfactory.

The Reports on the Working of the various Co-operative Societies which we have dwelt upon at length are, it will be seen, suggestive of possible extension in the future, near or remote, rather than of actual progress in the immediate present—owing to the various drawbacks that have been incidentally indicated in the course of this article. One thing, however, that would strike the intelligent and knowing observer is that the Co-operative Societies in India are, so far, mere lending corporations; once the man in need of money obtains it as a loan he is apt to forget the various other calls the idea of co-operation suggests. It would, all the same, spell a ruin to the prospects of the progress of the country to withdraw the Co-operative Credit Act from operation because the people have not yet thoroughly realised the highest ideals of co-operation obtaining in the West. The bulk of the loans given, as we have seen, are for purposes of payment of old debts, rents, etc., by members, for which in the not long forgotten past the average borrower had to resort to the modern Shylock, the usurious Indian money-lender whose rate of interest is sometimes as high as 36 per cent. per annum! It is, however, not to be expected, that our illiterate villagers, however intelligent they may be, should be able to grasp true principles of co-operation obtaining in the countries of the West within a measurable distance of time, without undergoing a training for it; and it is inevitable that they should look upon themselves as members of Co-operative Credit Societies, merely as borrowers, and their societies as convenient agencies for securing loans of the nature of *takavies*.

The essential difference between the Co-operative movement in India and that in Europe is dwelt upon at length by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in a lecture recently delivered by him at Allahabad, in the course of which he rightly observes: "The most pressing problem of the (Indian) agri-

culturist at the present time is how to carry on his existing business without gradually sinking into a condition of virtual serfdom to the money-lender for himself and his entire family. Once the cultivator is freed from bondage to the money-lender for his current requirements he naturally begins to look about and seek new and improved methods of developing his business."

It is hoped, however, that the gradual spread of education among the masses of our people will, in the long run, do much in training them to imbibe a more correct idea of co-operation; and we doubt not that the various Provincial Co-operative Conferences will do a great deal in devising means for spreading such education and knowledge. In this connection the following lines quoted from the Government of India Resolution No. 12-28-1, dated Simla, the 17th June 1914, is highly significant:—

"Co-operation has been, in the widest sense of the term, education both intellectual and moral. When men are associated for business purposes, they feel the need of education..... Illiteracy is a hindrance to the movement, and just as co-operation leads to a demand for literacy, so literacy leads to a demand for co-operation. The effect of co-operation, however, extends beyond this. It does more than merely produce cheap credit; it encourages thrift..... self-restraint, punctuality, straightforwardness, self-respect, discipline, contentment, and thrift have been encouraged."

"The ideals of the movement," justly observes *The Irish Homestead*, "are freedom and solidarity. Freedom of thought for the individual, liberty to act with or withdraw from the society as he chooses. And solidarity or brotherhood in the organisation which offers to all the advantages of unity and strength." It would thus be apparent even to the most superficial observer, that not only the economic salvation of the country, but, also, to a great extent, the regeneration of the national character of the people, depend not to a small extent upon the spread and development of the Co-operative movement; and we have every reason to hope that the movement so kindly and wisely initiated by the Government of India will receive every encouragement and support of our educated countrymen who seem to be so anxious for the spread of primary education among the masses of our countrymen.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEA.

NOTES

Our Basic Faith.

All joint endeavour for reform, improvement and progress made by bodies of men, giving themselves the name of Convention, Congress, Conference or League, rests on a basic faith. This conscious or subconscious belief is that in this world of ours reform, improvement and progress are possible, nay, certain, and that there is a Something transcending human power and knowledge which makes a favorable response to effort in the right direction. If people did not believe in the possibility and certainty of betterment, if they did not believe in the law of cause and effect, if they did not believe in the Something, call it Power, Person, Oversoul or by any other name, which makes fruition follow right endeavour, either in the life-time of an individual or generation or after a longer period, they would not sacrifice ease, comfort and wealth, nay, even risk their lives and liberties, in the pursuit of an ideal. We believe that this Supreme Person is our friend, protector, inspirer and guide. We are impelled to action, consciously or unconsciously, by our faith in Him and love of Him. It is meet, therefore, that among all the congresses, conferences, and leagues, held during the latter half of December, there should be some to bear witness to this basic and supreme faith. The Indian theistic movement is one of the world movements which stand for a religion of which the central point is this fundamental faith.

The Theistic Conference.

The world requires a religion which is a reconciler between sects professing apparently conflicting faiths, and is con-

sequently a unifier of all. More than any other country does India require such a faith. For she is the meeting ground of more living religions than are to be found in any other country. And by her catholicity and tolerance she is fit, too, to be the preacher of such a faith. The work of reconciliation and unification requires that this religion should be tolerant and also appreciative, in due degree, of all faiths that have in any age or clime helped man to any extent in his upward struggle. The masterly presidential address of the Hon'ble Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., delivered at the last session of the Theistic Conference, printed in this number, shows how the catholicity, tolerance and appreciativeness of the Indian theistic bodies stand this test. Indian theists do not believe that God's revelation, inspiration and guidance have been confined to any particular favoured age, race or clime. He has spoken, still speaks and will continue to speak to men and women of all races, castes, and creeds or no-creeds in all lands. This is but the bare truth: it satisfies our idea of a just and impartial God, and does not humiliate or mortify any race, nation or



HON'BLE DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR, M.A.

people by excluding them from the circle of "the chosen people of God." The Indian Theistic Movement stands for the ideal of giving opportunities to all, irrespective of sex, race, caste or creed,—opportunities to be and do whatever their powers, manifest and latent, may fit them for. It does not assume any capacity or incapacity in any individual or class. However humble its actual achievement, its aspiration is to hold out the brotherly and sisterly hand of help to the lowly, the fallen, the weak, the depressed, the ignorant and the miserable.

In these and other ways it humbly seeks to fill the place of a *Yugadharma*, or religion which the age requires, but not to the exclusion of other faiths guided by similar principles.

Inter-dependence of Reforms.

All movements for progress are inter-dependent. Individual instances may here and there seem to contradict this statement, but its general truth is beyond question. We have seen how all endeavours for reform rest on the basic truth of religion. As, however, men and women sunk in the depths of ignorance and destitution cannot make much progress in spirituality, their progress in religious ideas and righteous conduct are dependent on progress in knowledge and material advancement. Material advancement, again, depends on progress in knowledge. As a privileged class is never in favour of universal education, the progress of a whole people in knowledge depends on its possession of political power. Economic progress, too, is not possible without the possession of political power. Social reform, also, depends on the possession of civic rights. The fusion of sub-castes and castes can be facilitated by the State recognising intercaste marriages as valid. But this recognition can be secured only by changing the law, which implies the possession by the people of political power. The "lower" castes rightly desire to occupy a higher position in the social scale. The surest means of doing this is for them to educate themselves and improve their material condition. It must also be recognised that that strenuous united effort which must be put forth to secure political power would require greater social unity and solidarity than the people of India at present possess. These and other similar considerations show how every reform is correlated with every other. The various pan-Indian and sectional conferences held during the last fortnight shows that it has been recognised that man's life is not a mechanical aggregate of various separate activities, but that it is an organic whole of which no department, sphere or province is uninfluenced by or without its influence on the others.

Disadvantages of a Crowded Week.

Though man's life is an organic whole, it is not possible for each individual to take equal interest in or devote equal

energy to the solution of religious, social, political, educational, industrial or other problems. According to one's powers and inclinations one should choose one's particular field or fields of activity. But though the workers must specialise, the public should have time to understand the propaganda, plans, methods and ideals of all the different movements. But this is scarcely possible when we find that in the city of Bombay alone twelve bodies held their sessions during the last eight days of December. And there were other conferences held in Bombay and other places during this period or a few days earlier. Even the big dailies prove unequal to the task of printing in full the presidential addresses, not to speak of their other important speeches. And supposing the editors could do so, where is the newspaper reader who could read all this literature even superficially, it being absolutely out of the question to do so attentively and with reflection?

Nor is it possible for the editors to help their readers with careful and succinct summaries of the presidential addresses and other important speeches with comments thereupon. For advance copies of these pronouncements are sometimes not received at all, (that at any rate is our experience), and sometimes received only a day or two previous to the date of a session.

If the presidents were chosen some months in advance, and some, in fact, had been so chosen, and if they could furnish the editors with copies of their addresses at least a week in advance, journalists at any rate could do their part much better than they do now. Still the listening or supposed-to-be-listening public and the far larger reading public could not help being bewildered at the mass of more or less ephemeral literature hurled at their heads in the course of a few days.

The only feasible plan, as has been pointed out by many journalists repeatedly, is to hold the various conferences in different parts of the year. But our public men are for the most part dependent for their leisure on court holidays, and Christmas is the only time when there is a vacation throughout India lasting for more than a week. This accounts for the overcrowding of Christmas week with engagements. But it is better to have some sort of deliberation and demonstration than none at all.

The political platform is the common platform for most educated and public-spirited Indians. The session of the Indian National Congress is therefore *the* function which furnishes occasion for most of the other movements to hold their sessions. But the importance of these latter must not be judged by the subordinate place which circumstances have given them in the public eye.

The Industrial Conference.

India was for ages both an industrial and agricultural country. It is now mainly an agricultural country. Its poverty and the famines which visit some province or other almost every year, are due to a great extent to this fact. If the country is to prosper, the old manufacturing industries of India must, where possible, be revived, and new industries introduced. The object of the Industrial Conference is to devise ways and means for making India an industrial country.

SHIP-BUILDING.

Sir D. M. Petit, chairman of the reception committee of the Bombay session, after giving an idea of the progress of the cotton manufacturing industry of Bombay, went on to observe:

Having said so much about this industry in vain do I look round to see if there is any other in this city worth mentioning. There was, however, one a few generations ago, which, if it had lived and continued till now, would have reached with the growth of prosperity and civilisation of the world, a dimension possibly even greater than the Cotton Industry and might have contributed still more to the greatness of this city. What I am alluding to is the ship-building industry, which, at one time, flourished to such an extent that it was talked about in distant parts of the world. It is more than a pity that this industry was not fostered and looked after but was allowed to come to an end, otherwise it would have been to-day one of the greatest assets not only of this city but most probably of the whole country.

TATA CONCERNS.

This city has also been lately the birthplace of two industrial concerns, of an extent and importance, which has not been surpassed until now, anywhere else in the whole of India. I mean the Tata Hydro-electric Works and the Iron and Steel Company. It is the first time in the history of India that such gigantic works have been started by Indian gentlemen, with Indian capital, and they are to-day an example for future generations to start other industrial concerns.

The history of the death of the Indian ship-building industry deserves to be more widely known than it is. No nation can have flourishing industries and com-

merce which does not possess an adequate merchant marine, as the efforts of Japan in this direction, described in our pages by Mr. Lajpat Rai, show. We ought to direct our energies to the revival of the shipbuilding industry in all maritime provinces.

Sir D. M. Petit agreed with those who want "Government intervention and giving of such help and protection to the industries of the country, as are being given by other foreign Governments and chiefly Japan."

There is no doubt, that such help and such intervention would be of the greatest value for the growth and starting of new industries, to enable them to fight against foreign competition, against concerns much older and therefore much stronger; and any industry in its infancy can hardly hope to fight such competition without Government help and Government support. But while the country is asking for Government intervention on behalf of new industries those who are interested in an industry, which comparatively speaking, is in its youth but not in its infancy, are clamouring for the removal of Government intervention. It may sound paradoxical, but Government intervention in this case, is certainly not in the best interests of this country and the industry concerned. That Government intervention is nothing else but the Excise Duty, a Duty levied on cloth manufactured in our own country, out of cotton grown on our soil and sold in our own markets. Nobody with any sense of justice can with the greatest stretch of imagination consider this duty a fair and equitable one. We know how it was laid, at whose demand, and in whose interest. It indeed disheartens one to a considerable extent when one finds that instead of receiving the fostering care and solicitude at the hands of Government, one has to face and bear a duty of this character.

The speaker was of opinion that

The main difficulty for any one who wishes to start a new industry is that of competing with his foreign competitor, who is much older, better established and stronger than he and consequently can crush him with ease. Therefore, what is the remedy? I find that there is but one remedy which would ensure the success of new industries in this country against their foreign competitors, and that is, fiscal autonomy. Unless this country has got the power of levying duties on foreign imports in a manner that may be best conducive to the support and encouragement of its own manufactures, new industries will find it very difficult and will rarely be able to grow and thrive in this country. Spread of education on a far greater scale, than is at present, the giving of technical instructions in all large cities in the country, the starting of departments of industries where people could go for advice, help and information, are steps which are necessary for the progress and the development of industries in India. If these steps are taken and fiscal autonomy is given in such hands that it could be used in none but the right and proper way, and above all, if co-operation is established on a permanent basis between Government and the people, then with all these, one sees a future in industrial India which would make this land one of the most flourishing, wealthiest and prosperous in the world.

Sir Dorab Tata's Address.

The address of Sir Dorab Tata, president of the Industrial Conference, is entitled to careful consideration because of his experience and the position he occupies in the industrial world.

In his opinion the requisites of an industry are raw material, labour, capital and technical skill or science.

All four are indispensable factors, but if a choice has to be made as to which of them is the most important, personally I would give the palm to technical skill or science. To the eye of the unskilled observer, raw material, labour and capital are merely so much raw material, hands and things. It is only the organising brain that detects the industrial possibilities of assembling these together at a suitable time, place and proportion, as it by intuition.

"The greatest need of the hour is to wed science to industry." "Scientific research needs such large endowments that only the State can provide it."



SIR DORAB TATA

President of the Industrial Conference

Photograph by Messrs. B. G. & Shepherd

When, however, we talk of scientific education let us be quite clear what we mean. It connotes at the top the machinery for higher scientific study, for the creation of that atmosphere of scientific know-

ledge and research which will permeate all our industries. Sir Norman Lockyer once said that the greatest economic asset of Germany was not the possession of a few great scientists; other countries possess as good scientists and as good brains; but the possession of a diffused knowledge of science. We want to build up in India that diffused knowledge of science. Below this we want technical schools to increase the skill of our craftsmen, museums and exhibitions to bring this knowledge home to the people in the most practical and instructive manner namely, ocular demonstration, and universal education in order to produce a higher standard of manual labour.

Sir Dorab told our young men that in industrial concerns every one, European or American, who is filling a position of trust and responsibility, began his career at the very bottom of the ladder. He advised our young men to do likewise and not to be impatient at having to begin at the bottom.

While admitting that industrial education in the widest sense of the term is primarily the function of the state, he said :

I am not one of those who think it is the function of Government to start industries except in those rare cases where their own needs require it. Nor do I think it is the province of Government to finance, in whole or in part, new industries. The main duties of Government are, apart from the domain of education which we have considered, to conduct a scientific survey of the resources of the country; to place full information before the country in the most instructive manner possible; to provide reasonable transport facilities; and to ensure demand by giving to the products of indigenous industry their own custom, and so far as possible that of large public bodies. From this point onwards the initiative must come from the people themselves.

We do not think there is any immutable law fixing the respective shares of the work to be done by the State and the people in the industrial development of a country. Much must depend on the circumstances of a country. And as a matter of fact, we know in Japan (as described in Mr. Lajpat Rai's three articles in this Review on the Evolution of Japan) and some European countries the State has actually done what Sir Dorab says it is not the province of governments to do.

In India Government has hitherto done very little even in the spheres assigned to it by Sir Dorab.

He says as regards Japan :

The result of my inquiries is that no bounty of any sort is paid by the Government on cotton goods coming to India. Not that there are no bounties. Bounties are paid to develop particular markets but not by the Government; they are paid by the Japanese Millowners' Association...but as far as I can ascertain no such bounties are paid even by the Japanese Mill-

owners' Association on any cotton yarn, cloths or hosiery exported to India.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, however, points out that the new monthly review of trade in Japan, called "Commercial Japan" says that the Japanese Government have decided to subsidise, for a period of ten years, all companies engaged in the manufacture of dyes, chemicals, textiles and other goods. But whether the speaker's information on this point be correct or not, our manufacturers may follow his advice when he says :

What we should do is to find out by a careful study of the facts what the Japanese do to overcome the great disadvantage of having to bring their raw material thousands of miles, and next what they are doing to improve the quality of their output and to meet the taste and requirements of Chinese buyers.

He also advises the manufacturer to give his industry "natural protection" by locating it in consuming centres.

By locating his industry at an inland centre he will be placing himself at a great initial advantage as against Japanese or other foreign glassware that must pay all the haulage to such interior points. But further study of the situation a location will perhaps be found that has the additional advantage of having the right raw material at hand, saving further heavy haulage charges and reducing the cost.

Though a free-trader by education no less than by association, he was not opposed to a moderate protective duty as an integral part of our fiscal system. He referred to the unfairness and oppressive character of the cotton excise duties. His message to the conference was : "Educate, Organise, Co-operate." "Organisation is our weak point."

We must be constantly dinging into the ears of the people the remarkable things that have been achieved in other lands, much less favoured than ours, by the application of science to industry. The application of science to industry reduces, among other things, the disparity arising from muscular development between one race and another, and the advantages of climate. It is in fact a great leveller. But even more than to the ears, our appeal must be to the eyes of the people, because impressions gained through the eye are proverbially more potent than those derived by any other means. I strongly commend to this Conference and all friends of industrial advancement, the great importance and utility of holding exhibitions and starting industrial museums in as many cities as possible, to demonstrate to the public the vast possibilities of a combination of science and industry. More than lectures and more than museums and exhibitions are of course the concrete examples of great industries raised and worked on the soundest lines.

Industrial Conference Resolutions.

Dr. H. H. Mann, Principal of the Agricultural College, moved a resolution earnestly recommending the establishment of a

technological faculty at the principal Indian universities, development of the already existing technical institutions, opening of new ones and gradual introduction of technical instruction in primary and secondary schools. The resolution further appealed to the men of capital and industry to help young Indians technically trained in finding practical work and employment. This was followed by a resolution demanding fiscal autonomy for India. The next resolution trusted that the imperial Government will arrange for India's voice in any treaties which may be arranged between the International Powers so far as Indian fiscal interests were concerned and that at any rate it shall be accorded the most favoured nation treatment. Then followed resolutions urging the repeal of the cotton excise duty, demanding the abolition of the system of indentured labour, and urging the Secretary of State that in placing orders for the Government of India he should give preference to such firms as offered facilities to Indian students for practical training in technology.

On the second day of the proceedings the Conference adopted resolutions recommending (1) to start and revive various minor and cottage industries, (2) appointment of Indian commercial attaches to the principal British consulates to look after Indian commercial interests, urging Government to purchase all their requirements as far as practicable from this country, suggesting to the Government that there should be standing exhibitions of the nature introduced by the Commercial Department at all the presidency towns and important trade centres, and recommending the establishment of industrial banks similar to those found in foreign countries.

Sir Dorab's Confession of Faith.

Sir Dorab concluded his able, suggestive and thought-provoking speech with a "confession of faith." He said :

Every Indian worth his salt must ask himself "How best can I serve my country?" I have chosen the path of industrial development, because I am passionately convinced that it is to our industrial progress that we must look for the future regeneration of India. More even than political rights what every true Indian patriot longs for is the growth of an Indian nationality, firm and united in its love for and honour of the Motherland. The road to that nationality is economic progress.

A country's position in the scale of nations depends chiefly upon its industrial development. For instance, Germany is what she is mainly owing to

the great advance she has made in her iron, chemical and other industries.

But if Germany had been a dependent country like India, would it have been possible for her to make the rapid and phenomenal industrial advance she has made? With the unfair and oppressive cotton excise duty, with railway rates which favour foreign articles, with neglected and undeveloped water-ways, with no mercantile fleet of our own, and in the face of numerous other disadvantages due to our political powerlessness, it is a task of the greatest difficulty for us to make progress in industries.

Nevertheless, though never forgetting that industrial and political progress are mutually dependent on each other, it is self-help on which we must and ought mainly to rely. Weak whining is contemptible. It is for this reason that we like the manly self-reliant tone of Sir Dorab's address, though we think Government ought to do more for the industrial development of the country than what he would expect it to.

Western Industrialism and Our Handicrafts.

Western industrialism can justly boast of its achievements, but it has also been to some extent soul-killing, disruptive of family ties and destructive of home influence, and morally and physically injurious. India has already copied to some extent western industrial methods and organisation, and the prevailing tendency is to go further in this direction alone. Two problems, therefore, face us in consequence. How are we to have industries of the western type without importing at the same time western industrial evils; and, if they be an inevitable accompaniment of such industries, how are we to minimise them? How can injury be prevented to the heads, hearts and bodies of the factory operatives? The second problem is connected with our cottage industries, our small crafts or handicrafts. Owing to the abuse of political power by the East India Company and others and to foreign competition, many of them are dead and most are in a decadent condition. Is it possible to revive and strengthen them? And if so, how can that be done? Cottage industries are undoubtedly far better than big factory industries physically, morally, and socially. They are also more conducive to the development

and conservation of the artistic genius of a people. It is not merely in and by its literature that the soul of a people expresses and nourishes itself. Its arts also serve the same vital purpose; and not merely the fine arts, but the crafts also. The factory operative tends to become a part of the machinery; whereas the craftsman is able to give full play to his intelligence and artistic talent.

These questions ought to receive prominent attention in an industrial conference. As agriculture is our chief industry, it should also receive adequate attention. But in its recent session the Industrial Conference did not pass a single resolution on the essential need of agricultural education for all Indian villages, or on any other question directly connected with agricultural development. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President made passing, though emphatic and significant, references to agriculture as "the oldest as well as the largest industry of the country." But they had nothing to say regarding our crafts. And the conference passed only a colourless resolution on the starting and revival of cottage industries.

The First Indian Commercial Congress.

To the uninitiated, to those, that is to say, who stand outside the business world, it might seem superfluous to have a Commercial Congress in addition to the Industrial Conference. But in modern times, business, like many other things, is highly specialised, and there are many divisions and sub-divisions. While industry is concerned mainly with production, commerce is chiefly concerned with the distribution of what is produced, with export and import and exchange. And considering the gigantic proportions which Indian inland and foreign trade has assumed, surely there ought to be a separate organisation to look after our interests in this line.

Speech of Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Mr. D. E. Wacha was fitly elected chairman of the reception committee of the first Indian Commercial Congress. In his speech welcoming the delegates, he carried his hearers back to that dimly lighted past when, as "history informs us on the authority of great historians and travellers who flourished more than 3,000 years ago," India carried on trade "on the one hand with Arabia, Persia, Asia Minor, Syria,

Egypt, and even distant Greece and Rome, and on the other with Java, Borneo, China and Japan." Regarding present times Mr. Wacha observed:

I am strongly of conviction from my study of the history of the world's international trade for the past fifty years that our rulers are on the whole following a policy, though not without some grievous mistakes now and again, which is certain, to lead to the greater material prosperity of the land. We should all try to realise here the remarkable dictum of that great economist, Dudley North, given over two hundred years ago that "The whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons."

As "commerce cannot exist without agricultural products which could be safely exported to foreign countries after what may be necessary for home consumption," "it should, therefore, be the constant aim and object of this Commercial Congress to stimulate the agricultural (including the breeding of live stock) and mineral prosperity of the land."

Mr. Wacha laid stress on the institution of Agricultural Banks on the lines of the Egyptian Agricultural Bank with such modifications as may be deemed essential. He also spoke of the incalculable advantage of commercial education based on high scientific knowledge of a practical character. He expressed his earnest hope that

Indians of enterprise and commerce will devote specific attention to the incalculable advantages of possessing a mercantile fleet of their own. As you all know the vast sea-borne trade of the country is carried on in foreign bottoms and thus a part of the annual wealth by way of freight inward and outward is carried away by foreign ship-owners. Ship-building is an art not unknown to India, and it is an historical fact that along with a large number of war ships for the British Navy, during the latter part of the eighteenth and almost the whole of the nineteenth century, built in the Bombay Dockyard by those great Parsee master builders, Wadias, merchant vessels were also built of a most durable type. It is much to be wished that this art of ship-building was again revived on a sure and solid foundation which may lead to the greater mercantile prosperity of the country and be also in times of emergency a tower of strength to the Government itself.

Speech of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, President of the Commercial Congress, delivered an able and informing address. The account which he gave of the dimensions of Indian foreign commerce in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries will be new to many. He also spoke of India's ancient maritime trade.

Of the gathering over which he presided he rightly observed:

Here is no recognition of racial distinctions but a

unification of all races and interests on a common platform, and in this attempt to establish commercial unity we may perhaps discern the preparation of India for ultimate political unity.

Drawing a comparative picture of India's foreign trade in ancient times and in our day, he said:

She had a large foreign trade and a well-equipped shipping which took her wares even to the most distant regions then known. But large though that trade was it pales into insignificance when we compare it with figures in the trade reports of the present times published by the Government of India, and large though that shipping was, it must have been nothing to the huge tonnage which serves our ports at present. The one regrettable feature is that



SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY
President of the Commercial Congress

while the shipping was ours, the present shipping is not our own; and just as we have lost the carrying trade so we can scarcely hope that Bombay will ever regain her former position as one of the great ship-building centres of the world.

The difference pointed out in the last sentence between ancient and modern times is vital and should never be forgotten. India can never attain full commercial prosperity until she has her own merchant vessels.

The paramount necessity of a commercial congress will be understood when we remember that

At both the Wheat and the Cotton Conference the Indian commercial community was completely ignored by Government. Such exclusion of some of the Indian chambers from important discussions of matters relating to Indian trade would have been impossible were all the chambers federated on the lines of the proposed Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce. But the impelling reason for an early session of the Commercial Congress is the paramount need for the speedy formation of an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce in view of the expected settlement at the close of the war of important issues affecting Indian trade interests.

The *raison d'etre* of the Commercial Congress will be clearer still from the following extract from Sir Fazulbhoy's speech:

Ours is not a self-governing country, and the voice of the people must in any case be united and very strong indeed to influence the policy and action of the authorities. The subjects of a dependency must of necessity be at a serious disadvantage. So long as the Government of a country is not thoroughly national in spirit and sentiment and personnel; so long as it is, from its constitution and the accident of its foreign character, more or less exclusive; with all its benevolent intentions and desire to promote their material welfare, it must to some extent at least be ignorant of the true feelings and the real needs of the people. The difficulty is considerably enhanced when the Government is subject to the powerful influence of the ruling nation, which has sometimes conflicting interests, and an effective industrial and commercial organisation which can make that influence irresistible. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India is powerless to shape its commercial and industrial policy with a sole eye to Indian interests. The British manufacturer and the British merchant, with their votes which they know how to use to the best advantage, are masters of the situation. In the result the Government of India has on many an occasion to adopt a line of action at once repugnant to it and prejudicial to the interest of the people. It has not a free hand, and in fiscal matters is practically helpless. For instance, even for the purposes of revenue customs duties cannot be imposed upon British manufactures along with other manufactures unless counterbalanced by corresponding excise duties, whether the home made articles compete with the imports or not. Again we have lately seen the deplorable sight of a strong British syndicate attempting to get from one of our Provincial Governments a practical monopoly for the manufacture of Cement. It is useless to multiply instances. The outstanding feature of the situation is that the Government of India does not lack the will to take the right course in industrial and commercial matters, but has not the necessary freedom of initiative and action. We the people of this country must therefore do all we can to strengthen its hands, and an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce with periodical Commercial Congresses should provide the machinery through which we can make our support effective.

Sir Fazulbhoy's demand that India must have fiscal independence, fiscal autonomy, self-government in commerce and industry, leaving complete liberty of action to the Government of India in matters relating to commerce and industry,—will be readily

endorsed by every Indian who has any knowledge of Indian economics.

The President pointed out that we must concentrate all our forces on the question of the customs duties.

In any scheme of additional taxation,—not an unlikely contingency should the War continue some time longer,—the customs will and ought to, have, not only an important, but a predominant position. In every country these duties, bating one or two exceptions, are the most productive sources of revenue. In India, however, this source has been insufficiently tapped. Whether Free Trade or Protection wins in the end, there can be no doubt that a very careful revision of the tariff has become increasingly necessary in view of the financial needs of Government.

His observations on our waterways deserve to be quoted.

The waterways are very inadequately developed; indeed, in certain respects we are losing ground. Channels which were once navigable and which once served as highways for the cheap transport of heavy merchandise have either become completely silted up or choked with weeds and their mouths blocked by bars. The rapid extension of railways has also contributed to the neglect of the watercourses. No serious attempt has yet been made to restore the river systems of the country to their former satisfactory condition. The result is, we have numerous stagnant pools, malaria and other diseases. The natural drainage of the land is thus becoming blocked. The improvement of the rivers and watercourses will not only restore this drainage and facilitate the movement of merchandise, but will provide canals for the purposes of irrigation at a minimum of cost. Larger production of raw materials through improved irrigation will certainly increase our exports at the same time that it will add to the financial resources of the agriculturists and enable them to consume larger quantities of finished articles whether manufactured at home or imported from abroad.

He rightly complained that

Railway rates are at present adjusted in such a way as to be more favourable to foreign articles than to articles which are exchanged as between province and province and district and district.

And that

Railway loans are raised in Great Britain and it is a long standing demand that Railway rupee loans should be thrown open to the Indian people. This is an opportune moment for effecting the great change and affording to the people of India an opportunity to have their share in the railway development of this country, as great Britain will not respond at present to any Indian or Colonial loans, so pressing are our own financial needs.

Commercial Congress Resolutions.

The Commercial Congress adopted a resolution establishing an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce and another

Urging respectfully that Indian trade and commerce should be given adequate representation on Councils of the Empire and that for this there should be two elected seats in the Imperial Council and at least one elected seat in each of the Provincial Councils.

Among the other resolutions passed were the following:

It is highly expedient in the true interest of Indian Commerce and manufacture, that at any Conference or Conferences to be hereafter held for the purpose of considering and arranging International Commercial treaties the Government of India should be adequately represented thereon.

Government be requested to institute a thorough inquiry into the question of the incidence and comparison of Railway rates and their effects on the trade and commerce of the country, both internal and foreign, with a view to give every facility to the Indian manufactures of cheap transport throughout the country, and that in order to put Indian industries on equal footing with foreign ones, the low rates charged for foreign goods be applied in case of Indian products although the load or the lead may be less than the standard one required.

This Congress urges on the attention of Government the desirability of stimulating and extending well irrigation where it may prove most economical and profitable to the cultivators.

That in order to provide facilities for the transport of goods it is desirable that a complete and uniform system of through communication by water should be provided, wherever practicable, between centres of commercial industrial, or agricultural importance, and between such centres and the sea.

That in the opinion of the Congress the utility of the British Consular Service would be materially enhanced if consular officers were authorised to communicate direct on application, available information sought by accredited British inquiries in foreign countries, instead of being compelled, as at present, to supply such information only through the medium of the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade; the Congress also earnestly recommends the appointment of Indian Commercial attaches to provincial British Consulates.

That having regard to the great advantages resulting from the extensive employment of untaxed Alcohol for industrial purposes and for the generation of powers and the increasing demands for petrol for motor purposes, this Congress is convinced that the retention of the existing duty on Alcohol for such purposes is a very serious obstacle to the progress of the Indian industries and that a letter be addressed to the Government requesting them to exempt, from duty, Alcohol for industrial and power purposes in particular.

Mr. Wacha's Address at the Indian National Congress.

THE NEED OF VIRILITY.

In the course of his address of welcome as chairman of the reception committee of the 30th Indian National Congress Mr. Wacha said:

Virility in a people is as much essential as material prosperity to their orderly and healthy progress. There should be a happy co-ordination of the arts or war and peace. Material prosperity alone is prone to lead to effeminacy or as the poet has said "men decay where wealth accumulates." So too excessive exercise of virility alone is unproductive of prosperity and often leads to stagnation if not arrest of all social progress and welfare. History teaches us that that nation survives the longest which possesses in

itself both the elements of virility and material prosperity in the highest degree. Indeed, Great Britain has herself shown to the world, in this unhappy war, a brilliant instance of what co-ordination of great wealth and material resources with a spirit of virility can achieve. Are we not entitled to say that this co-ordination alone has enabled her to raise the large army of over three millions without any previous compulsory military service. Wealth alone at this hour could not have accomplished this miracle which is the admiration of the world. Side by side with her material prosperity was to be discerned all through that fostering and stimulating of the soldierly spirit in her militia first, in her volunteers next, and lastly, in her territorials. We all devoutly hope that, profiting by this great achievement, Great Britain will not deny any further to the Indian people the exercise of arms, the want of which for so many years, has led to their emasculation.

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORM.

He aptly characterised the Morley-Minto Reform as "the homeopathic dose of popular reform" and complained of "the nigardliness of the boon" of a slightly "freer discussion of the Budget," which "in no way reflects popular wants and wishes."

Thus, if we consider the principal features of the Morley Minto Reform we find that they are so exceedingly defective and hardly in harmony with the growing popular sentiment and wishes that it is inevitable that sooner or later the defects which presently accompany them will have to be removed.

ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

The mountain of the Decentralization Commission "has laboured to produce a ridiculous mouse." It has been often said of Royal Commissions that

They are generally known to be devices for solving difficult or inconvenient problems. They seldom solve them. Their character has been well typified in the following couplet.

"Promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
And end by letting things alone."

Regarding the Public Service Commission Mr. Wacha observed:

In this matter of the Public Service no finality can ever be reached, be there as many Royal Commissions or other devices, so long as Indians are deliberately balked under various pretexts of their legitimate aspirations and ambitions.

GENESIS OF UNREST.

Regarding the genesis of unrest Mr. Wacha quoted the following observations of James Russell Lowell, the great American scholar, statesman and poet:

"It is only by the instigation of the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of men become turbulent and dangerous. It is then only that they syllogise unwelcome truths. It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous but the revolts of intelligence. It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable

and impracticable, only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy."

To British officials, and non-officials, whether here or in England, who are fond of "stand-pattism" may also be commended the following quotation made by Mr. Wacha from Buckle's "History of Civilization."

"Men have recently begun to understand that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilization and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a 'progressive nation, there is required a progressive polity; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the State. Neglect of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries."

Government as Customer.

In his presidential address at the Industrial Conference Sir Dorab Tata said: "Once the right kind of article is produced—of a quality and at a price which will stand comparison with the imported article—the custom of Government is immediately forthcoming." That may be true, at least so far as the experience of great and successful capitalists like Sir Dorab goes. But the question is to what extent, if any, Government help and encouragement are required to bring an industrial concern up to the standard of efficiency when it would be able to produce "the right kind of article." If one is able to produce an article which in price and quality can stand comparison with the imported article, he may even be able to do without Government custom in some cases, as Dr. Johnson was able to do without Lord Chesterfield's patronage of his English dictionary after it had succeeded in gaining popular approval.

Five Hundred Thousand Officially Going Hungry.

In reply to a question asked by the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Ray in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Birley replied on behalf of the Government:

The affected area comprises 1,115 square miles out of the total area of Bankura district, which is 2,621 square miles. The population affected is 502,837, the total population of the district being 1,135,670. The classes principally feeling distress are cultivators, weavers, agricultural labourers and beggars. Small tenure holders are also affected.

Private estimates put the number of the famine-stricken people much higher,—something like 8 lakhs. But supposing, as Government says, that about half the district is affected, it is difficult to see why famine should not be declared in the affected area. Government simply says:

Government are aware that considerable and widespread distress prevails in the district of Bankura. Government have adopted such measures as are necessary to meet the situation. Government do not propose to declare a state of famine in the district; this decision not in any way limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress.

No reasons are assigned for Government's decision not "to declare a state of famine in the district"; it is simply added that "this decision does not in any way limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress."

The decision may or may not limit the scope of the measures taken for the relief of distress; but the limits are ruthlessly drawn by the amount of money available for relief measures; and according to Mr. Birley's reply,

Government have sanctioned Rs. 3,75,000 for agricultural and land improvement loans, Rs. 50,000 for gratuitous relief, and Rs. 1,00,000 for relief works in Bankura district.

So Government grants come up to rupees five lakhs and a quarter. Supposing one spends the minimum of 2 pice per head per day on an average to keep alive the famine-stricken people, five lakhs of the sufferers would require five lakhs of rupees per month. The distress made itself felt earlier than September. But supposing the people began to feel the pinch of hunger only from September last, adequate relief measures would have required, during the last four months of 1915, twenty lakhs of rupees; instead of which we have a Government grant of five lakhs and a quarter. And private relief-workers can under no circumstances have spent more than fifty thousand rupees.

It is, therefore, urgently necessary for Government to make more ample grants, and employ a much larger staff of official relief-workers. We do not know whether this will be done. But whether Government do their duty fully or not, we should



Photograph

FAMINE-STRICKEN PEOPLE OF THE DISTRICT OF BANKURA.

not refrain from doing ours. Help will be badly needed for 7 or 8 months more. Principal Mitchell of the Bankura College writes to Dr. D. N. Maitra of the Bengal Social Service League :—

The nights are now bitterly cold, and many are suffering; for their houses are in such a bad state of repair that it is impossible to keep out the cold.

The gathering at the Thana every Sunday is a pathetic one. Many of the doddering old men and women are on the edge of the grave. Some are clamorous but the majority are patient. On Sunday last I noted one feeble very old man. He had to wait over 4 hours for his turn, but never an impatient word did he utter. We rewarded him by giving him an extra seer. It is a touching sight to see the children crawl up to the sacks as the work of distribution proceeds. Little tots of 4 and 5 sit on the ground near the table and scrape up the dust and dirt on the offchance of picking up a few extra grains of the precious food.

I fear our work must continue at least for another 7 months. It is not a bright prospect. At present there is a slight improvement in the condition of the people, for what paddy there is in the 'sole' lands is now being harvested. But the real pinch has to come and we must be prepared to meet it.

There are thousands of poor people in this district

who are now being alive by the noble work Government is doing and the generous help sent to them by you and others. But we need more help. Oh that people could see the sights I witness every Sunday. But help will come. It has come so far most unexpectedly, most generously. Our Father above has heard the cry of the children and aged. He bids us feed the hungry ones. They have a right to live. We, also, have heard the cry. We hear it every day. We are bound to respond.

It should be borne in mind that Bankura is the poorest district in Bengal. This statement is not a random one based on a vague impression or surmise. We make it after looking at the figures relating to the area and revenue demands of all the districts of Bengal. This poor district has few rich men. Hence outside help is very urgently needed.

The Bankura Sammilani, of which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Digambar Chatterjee is president and the editor of this paper is vice-president and treasurer, has opened relief-centres in Unions Numbered 10 and 11 in Khatra Thana, and Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Raniband Thana and at village Harh-

masrah in Taldangrah Thana. We gratefully acknowledge elsewhere the contributions received, since our last acknowledgment, and earnestly solicit more help. The giving for which we plead is even the giving in excess of ability. "Most giving is measured by what one has after he has got all his wants satisfied. Rarely does giving spring from self-denial, the real diversion of expenditure from self to others. But this is the only giving which binds the world closer, and yields the finer the best returns. The prevention of waste, the exercise of more careful economy, the omission of easy and needless expenditure, would yield to almost every one a fund for sympathy. To do without things we need in order to supply the greater need of others would keep the fund large, and to many people would open a new world of satisfaction."

Half-fed District Pays 104 Per cent Revenue.

In the Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Presidency of Bengal for the year 1914-15 it is stated :

"The majority of the people in the Burdwan Division look to agriculture as their principal means of livelihood. The weather conditions during the year were not favourable to agriculturists, as the rains ceased abruptly in September and so the outturn of the crops was below normal. The cultivators were, however, compensated to a certain extent by the high prices of food grains which ruled throughout the year.

In the Appeal for Help issued by the official Bankura District Relief Committee over the signature of the District and Sessions Judge and sometimes signed by the Magistrate and Collector also, who is a member of the Committee, it is written in explanation of the cause of the present famine :

"The distress is the more acute on account of previous bad seasons. In 1913 a large area in the northern portion of the District was devastated by the great Damodar flood. Last year [in 1914] the rains ceased early in September and the yield was very poor in most parts.

Regarding the year 1915, we find in Mr. Birley's reply previously referred to :

The distress in Bankura district is due to short and ill-distributed rain-fall in June, July and August, resulting in damage to the winter rice crop and making transplantation impossible over a large area.

It is officially admitted then that the very poor district of Bankura has had bad luck during three successive years. But this singular misfortune does not seem to

have impaired in the least its revenue-paying power. On the contrary, it appears to have increased its capacity to meet the revenue demands of Government. For such is the machine-like "efficiency" of the administration, that paragraph 58 of the Land Revenue Administration Report for 1914-1915 is able to tell us :

The table in the	margin shows the districts in
Percentage of collections	which collections attained the
which districts	prescribed standard of 100 per
(1) Bank	cent. or more on the current
(2) Bard	demand. Of the remaining dis-
(3) Durg	tricts the percentage was nearly

up to the standard in Malda (99.2), Noakhali (99.2), Hooghly (99.09), Jalpaiguri (99), Chittagong (98.7), Midnapore (97.9), Rajshahi (97.6), Bakarganj (97.5) and Khulna (97.09). In the other 13 districts the decline in the percentage was due mainly to the depression in the jute trade as stated above.

We wonder whether there was exultation instead of "depression" in Bankura owing to successive years of bad luck. It stands at the top of the list of the districts which paid more than cent per cent! The unconcerned spectator may admire the perfection of the wonderful revenue-reaping machine, but those whose limbs may have been caught in its wheels may be pardoned for not entertaining that sort of feeling. They might even mutely appeal to Lord Carmichael or whoever else has the power to heal their wounds and bind up their fractured limbs, and for future years to import a little more of human failings like sympathy into the machine.

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta.

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, who has recently returned to India from London, had a very brilliant career in India at school and as a student of the Bombay Grant Medical College, where he obtained almost all the prizes and scholarships meant for meritorious students. Proceeding to England for higher medical studies as a Tata and Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai Scholar, he joined the London Hospital.

There he successfully obtained the degree of M.R.C.S. and M.A.C.S. and also won a prize in Anatomy. He then passed the first F.R.C.S. and at the early age of 26 stood at the top in the M.D. Examination and was awarded a gold medal finally securing the coveted degree of M.R.C.P.; and for these rare achievements a public dinner was given in his honour at the Hotel Cecil by distinguished Indian residents in London. He was the first Indian after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century to be appointed a clinical assistant in the various departments of the London Hospital, where he subsequently acted as a pathological assistant, as Assistant Director of clinical laboratory and as an assistant clinical pathologist—all



DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA, M.D.

these posts he fulfilled with great ability and credit to himself

The Gujarati tells us that

Side by side with his brilliant University career, both in Bombay and in London, he has strenuously worked in numerous movements of public usefulness and has been an indefatigable champion of the cause of Indian students in the United Kingdom. He has been a General Secretary of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology. He was also for two years President of the London Indian Association. He had the distinction of being a member of the important deputation that waited upon Lord Crewe under the presidency of Sir M. M. Bhownagree for representing the case of Indians in South Africa. After the declaration of war in Europe, he has been an active supporter of the Indian Ambulance Corps and worked zealously with Mr. Gandhi of South African fame. He worked hard in the cause of the Indian Students for admission to the Officer's Training Corps. He was also appointed a member of the British Indian Congress Committee and a member of the Committee of the Indian Social Club in London. In face of poverty and various other difficulties, Dr. Mehta has won brilliant laurels and fought his way up to an eminent position.

India has reason to be proud of students like Dr. Mehta. His success sets one thinking of the reasons why the State does not adequately recognise Indian talent in the medical and sanitary departments.

Reason for not appointing Indians to high posts in the Medical Services.

The late Surgeon-General Harvey's name was a very well-known one in his life-time in this country. As a professor in the Calcutta Medical College and as organizer of the first Medical Congress in this country, one should have expected him to sympathize with the aspirations of Indian medical graduates. But he had not the strength of mind to resist the temptations of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and not to fall a victim to their ways of thinking. When more than 15 years back, the question of reforming the medical services of this country was before the British Medical Association, Dr. Harvey, in his capacity as Director-General of Indian Medical Service, opposed the proposal of reform, in a "note" which will hardly commend itself to any fair-minded person. He wrote :

"The principle of *detur digniori* sounds well, and is followed as far as may be by the Indian Government, subject to the limitation that it takes the most worthy of its own officers for its own appointments, and does not throw them open to the world. If it did, it might conceivably get better men for particular appointments, though it is doubtful if the best men in any branch would come to India on speculation for the salaries given."

Of course it is convenient for Dr. Harvey to ignore the existence of competent medical men who are 'natives' of the country. No, *the best men in any branch* need not come to India on speculation. In India itself there are best men available who are competent to teach every branch of the medical profession. Of course, Dr. Harvey writes :

"The service is open to all natives who choose to compete, and it would be most undesirable to open it to men who have never left India, and are ignorant of Western manners and modes of thought."

The first portion of the above sentence, that is, "the service is open to all natives," is a myth. Dr. Harvey has not told us what "Western manners and mode of thought" have to do with one's professional competency. But there are many "natives" who have been trained in the Universities and medical schools of Europe and America and have distinguished themselves by their original work and professional competency who would try to qualify

themselves for the professorships, if these appointments were thrown open to the world. There are many "natives" who have taken the highest academical degrees and diplomas in Medicine and Surgery—not only in India but in Europe and are quite capable of discharging the duties of professors in the Indian Medical Colleges, not only with great credit to themselves but with great benefit to all concerned. Then the great bugbear of Dr. Harvey, namely that "an outsider ignorant of the language and customs of the country would be much handicapped in the competition for practice," would altogether disappear.

But then is it absolutely necessary that those "natives" who have never left their country should not be appointed to high posts in their own country simply because they are ignorant of "western manners" and modes of thought. This is a very dangerous doctrine if followed out in practice. Is not the English education imparted to Indian youths in colleges and schools in India, calculated to train them in the Western manners and modes of thought? Lord Macaulay pleaded for higher education in these terms. "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words, and intellect." Dr. Harvey must admit then that the system of education which Macaulay introduced in India and whose efficacy has been borne testimony to by some of the best English statesmen and administrators of India, must have proved a failure if he insists that the professional competency alone of a "native" trained in English is no qualification for his appointment to a high medical appointment in his country, because he has never left India! Do the natives of Australia and Canada leave their own country to qualify themselves for high medical appointments in their own colonies?

That there is a great deal of bias against Indians being appointed to high posts in their own country, every one knew very well. But of Dr. Harvey no one should have expected this. The success of his Medical Congress was mainly due to the "natives" working hard for it. Therefore it pains one to see that he should have in the most public manner cast reflection on the professional ability of an Indian gentleman—a late member of the

Indian Medical Service—whom he says he had twice nominated to the Chair of Materia Medica in the Calcutta Medical College. Dr. Harvey should have explained in what respect his nominee was not a success. In India, an impression prevails that no one can aspire to any professorship in any of the medical colleges in the country unless he is thoroughly Europeanised.

Turning to the Grant Medical College, Bombay, Drs. Parekh and Kirtikar were never confirmed as Professors in that institution and no one ever had the hardihood to even suggest that they were not successes as professors. They were not confirmed because they were "natives."

Sir K. G. Gupta on "Young India" and "Old India."

Some months ago, a contributor writes to *India*, a dinner was given in honour of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, and friends of all races and creeds gathered to congratulate him upon the notable victories he has won for Indians in England in the course of his studies. It will be remembered that when he was to be passed over at the London Hospital for a post he had legitimately won, and simply because of the colour of his skin, he refused to submit to injustice, and eventually triumphed. Since that time he has proved himself able to bear with dignity and credit the responsibility still higher posts have placed on him.

Everyone, says the same writer, who comes into touch with Dr. J. N. Mehta is impressed by his modesty, and when occasions arise which need a strong hand, his force of character often causes surprise. Beneath the quiet demeanour there burns a strong sense of justice, and when it is impelled to action unexpected power becomes manifest.

On the eve of his departure, the members of the London Indian Association gathered at the Caxton Hall to wish him God-speed. Sir K. G. Gupta, in the course of the speech which he made on the occasion, observed:

There is a gulf between young and old: the young think the older men too cautious, and the older men do not like the manners of the young, considering them wanting in respect. It will be better for all when it is recognised that no nation can get on without its old and its young; the gulf between the two ought not to exist, for the years merge one into the other. The young men must be ready to take the places of those, like Mr. Gokhale and Sir P. M.

Mehta, whose work here was done. But he insisted that preparation was necessary; that it was absurd to consider that a young man could suddenly blossom out into a politician to be trusted without studying politics. Just as law, medicine, and science, so politics required long preparation. He urged his hearers to take politics seriously, to study all sides. "When you have done that," he added, "you will find that old men have their uses." He compared the administration of a country to a steamer, saying that the younger generation, strong, fearless, pushing, were as the motive power in the engine room of a steamer; but a steamer guided only by the engine room would soon come to grief; it needed the older men on the bridge to direct its driving power. He referred with pleasure to the friendly co-operation prevailing among Indians in this country; they allowed no difference of creed to interfere with their social intercourse; they knew they were Indians first, and Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, and Christians afterwards. He said that Dr. Mehta was going back to India at a critical period; toleration of differences did not exist there as here, and he begged his young friends to realise that they must not only preserve in India the spirit of toleration and co-operation they had learned here, but endeavour to extend it throughout the various communities. The education of the masses was imperative in the effort to dispel prejudice and bigotry. "As long as we quarrel over a cow or a question of language, we cannot stand united. We must compose our differences, recognise that it is common service which counts that union is strength; till we have learned that lesson, all talk about nationalism is moon-shine."

Sir K. G. Gupta's observations were all to the point. Old or young, we should all have patience with and respect and consideration for one another. That is so far as patriotic men and women are concerned. For the opinions of self-seeking, servile and cowardly youngsters or old fogies no one need care a pin. Nor need one be influenced by the opinions of thoughtless young hot-heads, except so far as it may be necessary to convince them of the error of their ways and bring them back to the path of sanity and duty.

Rebels in South Africa & India.

In the twentieth century there has not been any rebellion in India, not at least of the same kind or magnitude as in South Africa. Indian conspirators or rebels have, however, been punished far more severely than De Wet and his followers. But now even the lighter punishments inflicted upon De Wet and his followers have been remitted, as the following telegrams show:

De Wet and one hundred and eighteen prisoners who had been sentenced for high treason, have been released. De Wet in an interview emphasised the necessity for Anglo-Dutch amity. Discord and past misunderstanding should cease.—"Reuter."

Forty-five prisoners, convicted of high treason are still imprisoned. Their cases will be considered later.—"Reuter."

The release of De Wet and his followers has created a favourable impression in Holland where the British policy of magnanimity is contrasted with the German method.—"Reuter."

Forty-five rebels are still imprisoned in Johannesburg. The conditions on which the others were released include a promise to abstain from politics and public meetings and not to leave their districts without permission until the expiration of their sentences.—"Pioneer" Cable.

Among the reasons why De Wet and his followers have been treated leniently are the facts that the Boers are self-governing and their kinsmen the Dutch in Europe are an independent neutral nation whose good opinion is of some value.

Conspirators and rebels in India ought to be punished. But it is bad statesmanship, if also not something more, to magnify and dignify hairbrained boys, and wicked robbers, be they were boys or older men, into rebels.

What Veteran Teachers Think of our Boys.

Our boys have got a bad reputation with the Anglo-Indian tin-gods, official and non-official. Perhaps Bengali boys are considered the most wicked, and then Deccani and other boys. But their teachers, who ought to know them best do not seem to think so. At the farewell reception given to Dr. J. C. Bose by the students of Presidency college, where he was a professor for the last 31 years, and where the students are almost all Bengalis, in concluding his reply to the Principal James and addresses of the boys, the great professor had something to say about our students.

Turning to the Indian students, he could say that it was his good fortune never to have had the harmonious relation between teacher and pupils in any way ruffled during his long connection with them for more than thirty years. The real secret of success was in trying at times to see things from the student's point of view and to cultivate a sense of humour enabling one to enjoy the splendid self-assurance of youth with a feeling not unmixed with envy. In essential matters, however, one could not wish to meet a better type or one more susceptible to finer appeals to right conduct and duty than Indian students. Their faults were rather of omission than of commission, since in his experience he found that the moment they realised their teacher to be their true friend, they responded instantly, and did not flinch from any test, however severe, laid on them.

That is the testimony of a teacher of world-wide reputation.

The past and present students of Wilson College, Bombay, recently assembled to pay tribute to the work of their principal Dr. Mackichan by presenting his bust to the College. The Doctor has been a teacher

in India for forty years, and has served the Bombay University since 1877 in various capacities as Syndic, Dean and Vice-Chancellor, and has thus had to come into close contact with a large number of Deccani youth. Referring to the bust he said :—

It will serve to remind me continually of those amongst whom I have spent these happy years, of the men and women students whose gratitude has been a minister of continual encouragement, of the graduates who have gone forth from the College to serve their day and generation, whose careers have brought honour to their people, and to the College which was proud to claim them as its *alumni*."

"The Indian student," he said, "is sensitive to a remarkable degree to the sympathy and interest manifested in him by his teachers and his guides."

In speaking of the famine-relief work which Principal Mitchell of Bankura College and his boys are doing, he bears the following testimony to our students :—

We have one distribution day—Sunday. On this day we cycle up to Chhatna, generally about six of us. There is no lack of workers. This responsibility is making men of the students. I am proud of them. They are not only enthusiastic, they are sensible and careful and act cheerfully according to instructions.

Sir. S. P. Sinha's Address.

Sir S. P. Sinha's presidential address at the thirtieth Indian National Congress was a clear and well-reasoned pronouncement, though it was not a great speech, nor one which can be called satisfactory in all its parts from the people's point of view. His praise of the British Government, of British statesmen connected with India, of the British nation and of the Indian Civil Service, would require some qualification. But when all deductions have been made, the address, considering his career and personality, was more significant than any that might have been delivered by Mr. Lajpat Rai or by Mr. B. G. Tilak, had they been called to fill the presidential chair. For, Things-as-they-are, under British rule, has been very propitious to him. He is an eminently successful lawyer. He has obtained wealth, high position and honours. He has been the first Advocate-General in Bengal, and the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He has been in the inner councils of Government, taking part even in forging some of the fetters for the Indian Press. It is clear, then, that the Shoe of British Rule has not pinched Sir S. P. Sinha very hard, whatever the case may be with its other wearers. And what does such a person, favoured by fortune as well as by the British Government,

say? He wants self-government, described by him in the words of Abraham Lincoln as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*." True, he says the goal is not yet, but he also says that he refuses "to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination," and wants "an authentic and definite proclamation" on the part of Government, that self-government is also their aim, a proclamation "with regard to which there will be no evasion or misunderstanding possible." And he will not be satisfied even with a mere declaration of policy.

What I do say is that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow, and that *steps should be taken*



SIR SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA,
President of the 30th Indian National Congress.

to move towards self-government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire.

The definite reforms and remedial and progressive measures which he demands are:

Firstly—The grant of commissions in the army and military training for the people.

Secondly—The extension of local self-government.

Thirdly—The development of our commerce, industries and agriculture.

Regarding the first he goes into details as follows:

1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests, and that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will leave the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. That the mysterious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are justified on the same ground of political expediency.

He gives very satisfactory reasons why we should have a reasoned ideal of our future. As to the reasons why we should have self-government he said:

A British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government." Says a recent writer in a well known British periodical, "Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all his rights, the right of making his own laws. ... He would not be an Englishman, he would not be able to look English fields and trees in the face, if he had parted with that right. Laws in themselves, have never counted for much. There have been beneficent despots and wise law givers in all ages who have increased the prosperity and probably the contentment and happiness of their subjects but yet their government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in citizenship or fortified its character or enlarged its understanding. There is more hope for the future of mankind in the least and faintest impulse towards self help, self realisation, self-redemption than in any of the laws that Aristotle ever dreamt of." The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment, but on the lessons of history.

He quoted the opinions of some English statesmen, from John Bright to our present Viceroy, to show that ultimate self-government for India has been their ideal, too. As for that matter, an earlier pronouncement, perhaps the earliest, which is a century old, is to be found in the following extract from the *Private Journal* of the Marquis of Hastings:

A time not very remote will arrive when England will on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and uninten-

tionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice and to maintain with propriety towards her benefactress that commercial intercourse in which she would then find a solid interest.

But the pity is that British proclamations and pronouncements have raised hopes to fulfil which earliest efforts have not yet been made. They have been treated by the bureaucracy as mere scraps of paper. This has been clear to foreigners, too. As Sir S. P. Sinha himself says:

This is what Mr. Chailley says (I am reading from page 188 of the translation by Sir William Meyer): "Had England taken as her motto 'India for the Indians,' had she continued following the ideas of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give entire autonomy to the Indians but that is not now her aim." (The italics are mine.) Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institution are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that, many of these young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy, and, driven to despair, conclude that "the roar and scream of confusion and carnage" is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom? Fifteen years ago, Lord Morley said: "the sacred word 'free' represents, as Englishmen have thought until to-day, the noblest aspiration that can animate the breast of man." Therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India, and I say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character. For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation.

Should Sir S. P. Sinha's conviction be founded on fact we should be glad indeed. But no proclamation, declaration, promise or pledge can persuade us to believe that his conviction is not a hallucination; we have had enough of them. It is action alone which can produce the same conviction in our minds as in his.

Having formulated the ideal of self-rule, he counselled patience, for "the path is long and devious and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised

land." We, too, are not in favour of impatience, as manifested in throwing bombs or things of that description. But what we want to say is that Sir S. P. Sinha's counsel of patience was as superfluous as the proverbial carrying of coal to Newcastle. For are we not the most patient people on earth? The French Canadians were conquered by Great Britain after she set foot on Indian soil; they have got self-government. The Boers got self-government *immediately after* being conquered. India was never conquered in that sense; and yet after a century and a half of British rule we are told to patiently wait *even for the beginning of self-rule*. The French Canadians and the Boers being of European descent, they might be thought to have a God-given right to self-rule. But how is it that America granted self-rule to the uncivilised Filipinos within a few years of conquering them, and has promised them independence in a decade or two? We repeat that we are the most patient people on earth. But England has not appreciated our patience, possibly because her own sturdy sons are cast in altogether a different mould, as the history of the methods they adopted to win their rights amply bears out. But it will not do for us to imitate their ways. We shall be patient, but not inactively patient. We must be patiently active to win our birthrights. Sir S. P. Sinha says:—

Let us argue out for ourselves freely and frankly the various ways by which we can obtain the priceless treasure of self-government. It seems to me that it is possible only in one of the three following ways:—

First, by way of a free gift from the British nation.

Second, by wresting it from them.

Third, by means of such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it and on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it.

Now, as to the first. Even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity.

Regarding the first way and the speaker's comments thereupon (which are not without much truth) we desire to draw attention to what Mr. Lajpat Rai wrote about the Evolution of Japan in our last November number:

The Anglo-Indian and British critics of Indian

nationalists are very fond of charging the latter with impatience and of pointing out to them, day in and day out, that Rome was not built in a day; that most of their troubles are due to a want of initiative on the part of the Indians themselves; that representative and democratic institutions are foreign to the genius of the Eastern people; and that it is unreasonable for them to demand what the British have built up after centuries of effort and struggle. We are also very often told that institutions grow from below and can neither be imposed from above nor grafted from without. Many of these statements are at best half-truths, and fallacious. Some are absolutely stupid. This is proved by a study of the growth of institutions in the new world, but even more forcibly is this demonstrated by the development of Japan and the revolution in China.

Japan is an object lesson to those who deprecate the granting of constitutions by sovereigns without agitation, without pressure from the people. She is an example and a successful example of how a Government can educate a people in democratic methods by the grant of democratic institutions. Modern Japan was hardly out of her teens when her monarch decided to give her a constitution and granted her Parliamentary Government.

Japan is a singular example of a democracy being trained by responsibility and trust. It was not a case of first deserve and then desire. It was a case of a father showing his entire confidence in his child and handing him over the reins before he had proved his fitness by the standards set up by Western nations. No education is so effective as that afforded by a position of responsibility.

Of course, it is not feasible to win self-government by an armed conflict with the British power. But we have certainly not exhausted the resources of what is known as constitutional struggle to win self-rule. Rational and moral influence and very great pressure of other kinds may be brought to bear on the British people without using physical force or shedding a drop of blood: Let us think out all the peaceful methods of constitutional struggle which may be necessary to adopt according to changing circumstances, and actively follow them. But it should be remembered, that though we must be firmly resolved not to use any violence, nor to shed anybody's blood, we should ourselves be prepared to undergo every kind of sacrifice and suffering to the uttermost.

Before discussing the third means of attaining the goal of self-government, Sir S. P. Sinha reminded the audience of a parable in Mr. Edwin Bevan's book on "Indian Nationalism."

He likens the condition of our country to that of a man whose whole bodily frame, suffering from severe injuries and grievous lesions, has been put in a steel frame by a skilful surgeon. This renders it necessary for the injured man, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame—until nature resumes her active

processes. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time : perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon will only make the matter worse, and above all, the aid of the surgeon is indispensable and it is foolish to grudge the necessary fee.

Quite so. But have we not waited "quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame," for more than a century and a half, and have we not paid the surgeon's fee more handsomely than any other people on earth? He must be a precious surgeon who would confine the limbs of his patient with splints and bandages until they are atrophied and paralysed or until the poor fellow dies, and who, in order to realise his fee, would keep his patient in perpetual tutelage. It was high time the British Surgeon took off our bandages and allowed us also to manage our property in order to convince us and the world that he was a really capable and conscientious man.

Sir S. P. Sinha proceeded to say :—

We are left, therefore, with the third alternative as the only means of attaining the goal of self-government. When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India.

But, as regards securing internal peace and preventing external aggression, the speaker himself told his hearers later on :—

There can be no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. "If there is trouble, others will quiet it down. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it." When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings.

I shall be the first to acknowledge that various steps have been and are being taken by the Government to promote the right spirit of self-help in the country, but I feel that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect.

How then can we advance in any particular direction if, as he says, "positive obstacles" are put in our way?

Regarding the ability to manage our own affairs, we should like to know which nation has acquired that power and learnt that art to perfection, and which has not made and is not still making

serious blunders in managing its affairs. It is responsibility which develops ability. No nation is so unselfish and wise as to be able properly to manage the affairs of other nations. Administrative ability is not a mysterious thing. The nation which in India, under circumstances of great depression, still produces great seers, great poets, great scientists, great fighters, certainly contains thousands of men who can manage the affairs of the country.

The speaker wanted free institutions to be established for the whole of the country,—“not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress.” There is no charm in the words “gradual” and “cautious” nor need we dread the sound of the words “sudden” or “revolutionary.” Whether one uses the word revolution or not, a radical change there must be, and there must be a point of departure, an instant when Government must break with the past, in however mild a manner, or small a way. And the radical change required is this : Public servants belonging to the I. C. S. or other Services are nominally public servants, they are actually the masters of the people. They make and administer the laws, they levy, collect and spend the taxes, and they give the people as much or as little education and medical help as they think fit. What we want is that public servants should really be servants, carrying out the policy laid down and the laws made by the people, collecting the taxes levied by the people themselves, and spending them in the way laid down by them ; &c. This is a radical change, and this change must be made.

If men like Sir J. D. Rees, who thinks that Gurkha and Sikh sepoys, no matter whether literate or illiterate, drafted into the Indian Civil Service, are sure to make competent magistrates and judges,—if men like him can be the arbiters of India's destiny, surely there are thousands of Indians who are far more competent to make self-government a success in India.

The so-called “lower” castes of Hindus have been told from time immemorial that they can become Brahmans after several births, or even at the next birth, if they lead good lives ; and they have, generation after generation, waited patiently for the good time coming after several births. But,

such is the "impatience"-breeding power of the Time-spirit, even their proverbial patience has been exhausted ; so that many a so-called "low" caste now claims to be twice-born. Our British friends and their followers must excuse us if we do not profess to be satisfied with the vague and indefinite hope of self-government held out for the great-grand-children of the great-grand-children of the great-grand-children of our great-grand-children (though we are afraid even this might be considered much too definite a promise !) : we want something for ourselves within our own life-time. We want to see India enjoying civic freedom before we die.

Time required for Education for Civic Responsibility.

And this is not a preposterous demand or expectation. When a British or an American or a French boy is born, he is not born with the statesman's portfolio or the general's baton. Nor is it solely or mainly heredity which makes him what he becomes when grown-up; for if heredity were so important a factor in the making of men's character and capacity, the sons of most of the poets, generals and statesmen would have become poets, generals and statesmen. It is chiefly by association and education and the bearing of responsibility that the boys of independent nationalities become what they do. Give us and our boys the education and the opportunity, and it is certain that a decade or at the most two decades will find a generation quite ready and able to shoulder any burden. We do not find very big trees in the midst of arid deserts. They are found in the company of other trees equal to or only a little smaller than themselves. Shakespeare was the greatest dramatist among other great dramatists. Lord Roberts was the greatest general among other great generals. Similarly our great poets, our great scientists, the few administrators and judges whom the British Government elevates to high offices, the great Indian captains of industry like Tata, the Indian winners of Victoria Crosses, all these are not rare or accidental products; there are large numbers of other Indian men who are fully their compeers or only a little less gifted than they. And there may be others among the rising generation with even greater gifts and capacities.

For decades the Congress has prayed for commissions in the Army, Simultaneous examination and so forth; are we an inch nearer the goal? It is good to be patient, but it is absurd to preach patience to a proverbially patient people.

Military Careers.

Sir S. P. Sinha's reasons for demanding Commissions in the Army and military training for physically and otherwise qualified persons in all provinces are irrefutable. We will quote one passage.

I take leave to point out, therefore, that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms. But even if it were so, is it not the obvious duty of England so to train them as to remove this incapacity, as they are trying to remove so many others, especially if it be the case, as there is some reason to believe it is, that it is English rule which has brought them to such a pass? England has ruled this country for considerably over 150 years now, and surely it can not be a matter of pride to her at the end of this period that the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventurers. There are some of our critics who never fail to remind us that if the English were to leave the country to-day, we would have to wire to them to come back before they got to Aden. Some even enjoy the grim joke that were the English to withdraw now, there would be neither a rupee nor a virgin left in some parts of the country. I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes.

The reference to ancient British history in the last sentence ought to prove convincing, if not interesting. The argument is concluded as follows:—

Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support every one of the claims I have put forward; and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the war has changed the "angle of vision" of our rulers. It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier "that the Empire rests, not upon the pre-dominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights."

In reading the address, one should never forget, as suggested before that it is not a man having any just or unjust grievance against the British Govern-

ment and people, not a "pestilential agitator," who speaks, but that it is Sir S. P. Sinha, the favourite of fortune, who has been specially favoured and decorated by the British Government. And then it will be clear that he has voiced the irreducible minimum of the immediate and urgent demands of the people of India. Will the Anglo-Indian papers which are praising his address, honestly advocate definitely and earnestly the conceding of those demands?

Prof. Karve's Address.

In the opening paragraphs of his presidential address at the Indian Social Conference, Prof. Dr. D. K. Karve discoursed on the principles and processes of the reform movement. He said:—

We cannot help changing. In spite of ourselves we are not to day what we have been. "Why not then change intelligently?" asks the reformer. It is the privilege of man alone to consciously adjust himself with his surroundings, and all that the reformer does in the case of social life is to consciously probe social evils and devise, as an intelligent being, means to remove them.

There is one prejudice against reform with regard to which Prof. Karve wished to clearly state the reformer's position.

When we ask our brethren and sisters to overhaul social customs and institutions, we are accused of irreverence, of an irreligious spirit. Let me give a flat and emphatic denial to the charge. Far be it from me and from us to lay sacrilegious hands upon the teachings and precepts that are still pulsating with a spiritual life, and that are a perennial source of guidance to frail, tottering man. It is not there that the iconoclastic axe of the reformer is ever laid. He is impatient, as all nature is, of the dead and the effete, which, he, as the representative of the living principle of the race, cannot rest till he has done away with, lest it should rot and putrify and give rise to fatal pestilence. Let no one, therefore, labour under the misconception that reform is an undermining of faith and a violence to the susceptibilities of the religious and righteous. On the other hand faith in the ultimate triumph of Good is the very essence of the spirit of reform. The reform movement, therefore, would not seek to undo that which is the very source of all life and health. It would only seek to bury the dead and clear the ground for all healthy and vital operations of social life.

In the Professor's opinion the greatest need of Indian society at the present day is education. The first thing that we ought to look to is universal education. The social reformer is, however, more closely concerned with the education of women. As has been observed in the Educational Despatch of 1854, by the education of women "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and

moral tone of the people than by the education of men." Prof. Karve regretted that Government have not "displayed one-tenth of the activity in the cause of women's education; that they have in that of men's, though even the latter falls immensely short of the needs of the country."

India is proverbially a land of famines. But never was the dearth of material food so sore as that of the food of the mind. Indian children, particularly girls, are starved educationally. It is really very



PROF. D. K. KARVE, E. A.,
President of the Social Conference.

strange that the government of the land should discuss the quality of the food-stuff when the need of the hour demands any edible article just to keep body and soul together. Not an ideally efficient education, but a sort of rough and easy education—that is what is immediately wanted. Let every boy and girl learn the mere rudiments, the three R's, and we shall be content for the present.

He suggested a practical measure for the more rapid spread of girls' education. "We ought to go in for co-education of

boys and girls in the primary schools, at any rate in the lower forms. If girls were admitted to boys' schools for the primary standards, women's education would advance by strides." There can be no objection to the acceptance of this suggestion. But even boys' schools are quite inadequate in number, and the numerical strength of the classes is unalterably fixed by departmental rules.

Vernaculars as Vehicles of Education.

In Professor Karve's opinion "the one defect of the present course of education that is perhaps the most disastrous in its effects is that of the medium of instruction."

It is indeed a very painful anomaly. It has been sapping the energies and undermining the intellectual calibre of our youths all these years. I wonder the educational experts with the Government have not yet seriously noticed it. In the case of boys there are perhaps reasons, other than educational, which may reconcile us to the present state of things, though the evils are but too apparent to a careful observer. These reasons, however, do not exist in the case of girls, most of whom will be called upon to fill the humbler office of the upholder of homes and hearths. The strain involved in receiving instruction through a foreign tongue that tells so severely upon the boys is bound to do greater harm to the girls. We cannot afford to have the future motherhood of the land thus enfeebled and enervated by this extra and uncalled-for strain. We ought to devise a system of education that will ensure all the good of the present course and yet will be free from its evils.

The speaker's idea is based fundamentally upon the recognition of two principles.

(1) That the most natural and therefore efficient medium of instruction is the learner's mother-tongue. (2) And secondly, that women as a class have different functions to fulfil in the social economy from those of men. These two principles will commend themselves to all dispassionate thinkers and have been accepted by educational experts. Whenever the day for the wholesale adoption of vernaculars as media of instruction throughout the whole educational course for boys comes, we ought not to wait for it in the case of girls. There are no political or economic reasons present, and the sooner we begin to impart all education—primary, secondary, higher—to girls through the vernaculars, the better it will be for the race.

Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar also said in his presidential address at the Theistic Conference:—

Another important and closely connected question is the high education of our girls, how far and in what direction the University and high school courses may require to be modified to suit the needs of women and how the physiological drain of public examinations on the adolescent female constitution may be avoided or minimised in the interests of the race. A programme of University Extension for

women with systematic courses of lectures in various subjects in the vernacular followed by examinations and diplomas is one of the practical needs of the hour.

Professor Karve suggested that "in framing these secondary and higher courses of studies," in the vernaculars, "we may be guided by the Japan women's university."

The speaker then made two very welcome announcements. One was that he had been authorised by the managing committee of the Hindu Widow's Home Association to announce that they were prepared to start, by way of an experiment in the direction of higher education through the medium of the vernaculars, college classes as the natural development of their Mahilasrama or Girl's High School. "Already a contribution of no less than ten thousand rupees has been promised by one of my colleagues at the Mahilasrama." The other announcement was that Miss Krishnabai Thakur, at present the Lady Superintendent at the Mahilasrama, had offered a donation of Rs. 4,000 towards the equipment of a small library for the institution.

Prof. Karve concluded his practical and stimulating address with observations showing the need of pushing considerably forward the marriageable age of girls, pointing out how there is an extensive field for useful social work for maidens who choose not to marry and for widows, and directing attention to the condition of the depressed classes.

"Sita and Lakshman."

It is narrated in the Ramayan that when Ram, Sita and Lakshman were in exile in the forest, the *Rakshas* Marich appeared before them in the shape of a golden deer. Sita insisted on having that lovely creature as a pet. So Ram reluctantly went in pursuit of it. Very willy it led him far from their leafy abode in the forest. Unable to catch it alive, he shot an arrow at it, and the *Rakshas* died, crying with a voice imitating that of Ram, "O brother Lakshman, I die!" Hearing this cry, Sita urged Lakshman to go to the help of Ram. Lakshman tried to assure Sita that Ram could not be in danger and that the cry must be the stratagem of some *Rakshas*. But Sita still urged him to go, imputing improper motives for his reluctance. When Lakshman was thus com-

pelled to leave her alone, the *Rakshas* Ravan appeared in the form of a mendicant, and while she was in the act of giving him alms, carried her off. The subject of our frontispiece is Sita taking Lakshman to task.

An Explanation.

We are sorry owing to some irregularity in the delivery or miscarriage of postal articles to or from England, we are unable to publish in the present number the serial we had promised to print, viz., "The Face at the Window" by Mr. Louis Tracy. We shall redeem our promise as soon as "copy" is received from England.

Girls' Education in Boys' Institutions.

Prof. Karve suggested in his presidential address that if girls were admitted in boys' High Schools, the education of girls would be facilitated; and he gave instances of High Schools where girls read in the same class with boys. In provinces, like Bombay and Madras, where no purdah is observed this is a practicable plan: but in Bengal and Bihar and the United Provinces, it is not yet practicable. We are ourselves in favour of it, but there would be opposition from the guardians of the boys and the school authorities, and the guardians of girls, too, would, for obvious reasons, be unwilling to try the experiment.

The Professor also suggests that instead of increasing the number of colleges for women, girls may be sent for higher education to boys' colleges. This would be a practicable plan in provinces where no purdah is observed. In others, too, it may be tried. But if higher education for women is to spread and succeed in the purdah-ridden provinces, there must be separate Colleges for women; for there are few men's Colleges which would admit women students. More than a decade ago a daughter of Dr. P. K. Ray and a daughter of the late Mr. R. N. Ray studied in the Calcutta Presidency College. But when about 5 years ago Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar wanted to place his daughter and his niece there, they were not admitted; they subsequently joined City College.

Classes in boys' colleges are already overcrowded. There can scarcely be any room there for girls.

Prof. Karve's suggestion that there should be more scholarships for girls, we heartily endorse. In fact, whether girls

are to be educated in women's colleges, or in men's colleges with the help of scholarships, what we urge is that both Government and the people should spend as much for the education of girls as for that of boys.

The Home Rule League.

The latest information regarding the proposed Home Rule League, given by the Associated Press, is that at the adjourned meeting of the Home Rule League Conference held at Bombay, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea presiding, Mrs. Besant at the outset made a statement in which she said she would be guided by the elderly members of the Congress Committee and Moslem League members. Mr. Mazharul Haque said that he and his Musalman friends were entirely in favour of forming a Home Rule League. Mr. G. P. Ramsamy proposed an amendment that consideration of the league formation be postponed till the Congress and the Moslem League make their report. Many opposed him, prominently Mr. Jehangir Petit, Dr. Gour and Mr. Rasul. Many Musalmans also were against it. There was a most heated and excited discussion. Mrs. Besant eventually accepted the amendment, which being put to the vote, was carried, nearly 30 representatives of Hindu and Musalman public opinion voting against it.

This means that nothing can be done to form a League before another precious year has passed. And probably at the Lucknow Congress, too, the slackers would muster strong to put off the consideration of the formation of the League for another year, on some pretext or other.

There are some people who seem to think that there is some supreme virtue in delaying. When the war is over, the British Empire constitution is sure to be recast. The Colonies have already made their demands and have their plans ready. But India will be always "cautiously and patiently considering whether a Home Rule League should be established at all." Unbiased foreigners like the late Mr. John Page Hopps, Editor of the *Coming Day*, declared their conviction years ago that Indians were fitter for Home Rule than the Russians were for their Duma; but we are ourselves still unable to believe that we are fit. The poison of subjection has impaired our confidence in

ourselves. We very much require the splendid youthful virtue of self-assurance. We also ought to learn to make up our minds quickly. Time and tide wait for no man.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

Let those who are in favour of Home Rule work for it incessantly, leaving the extremely wise and extremely cautious and extremely level-headed to deliberate as long as they can.

The Urgent Need of Self-rule.

Many people seem to think that self-government, self-rule, or Home Rule is a mere sentimental need. They do not understand that India's poverty, ill-health and ignorance require *immediately* to be attacked with great vigour and earnestness with a view to their ultimate total removal in as short a time as possible. Under bureaucratic rule, India is the poorest, the most unhealthy and the most ignorant among civilised countries, and her poverty and unhealthiness are not diminishing, and education is spreading at a slower pace than that of the snail. The remedy is Home Rule.

Inter-Caste Dinner.

The all-Hindu inter-caste dinner organised by Hindu reformers with the object of doing away with caste differences was held at Bombay on December 28, 450 guests attending. The dinner was a great success in point of its being attended by members of various castes of the Hindu community from the Bombay Presidency as well as from Madras, Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Sind and the Central Provinces. Of the eight hundred invitations issued by the organisers, over four hundred were accepted. About 450 sat down to dine, including about 50 ladies. The guests included many ladies and gentlemen of position and culture. There were 125 Brahmins among them and twenty members of the depressed or "untouchable" classes. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in the course of an after-dinner speech, said the dinner was for the great purpose of bringing about closer social fellowship between caste-divided members of the Hindu community. Sir Narayan concluded by exhorting all present to have the

courage of their convictions and to be firm against any opposition.

Mahomedan Educational Conference.

At the Bombay Mohamedan Educational Conference held at Poona,

Haji Yusuf Sobani, President of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address in Urdu. In the course of his address the Chairman said, so long as the scope of primary education was not widened, the progress of the Mahomedan community was impossible and in order to achieve this object it was necessary that the Government should make primary education not only free, but compulsory. They should congratulate their Hindu fellow-countrymen on receiving the charter of their University. Although the Mahomedans were the first in the field, they had reached the goal before them. But they should remain inactive no longer. It was advisable that they accepted the charter as it was offered. It was said the Mahomedans were disloyal (cries of No No), but this was not the case.

In the course of his address, the President, the Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, referred, in dealing with the education of the masses, to Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and observed :—

I am afraid public opinion, which at the time was not very well instructed, did not express itself with sufficient clearness and definiteness. Since then, however, opinion has in this connection grown with remarkable rapidity, so that at the present day there is an universal demand for free and compulsory education. As practical men we do not expect that such a measure can be applied all at once throughout India. But there can be now no difficulty whatever in accepting the principle and enforcing it in selected areas. A commencement might well be made by empowering the Municipalities in larger cities to levy an educational cess for establishing primary education on a free and compulsory basis. I have no doubt that such a measure will be welcomed by all classes of the people and receive their hearty co-operation. While this experiment is carried on in larger cities, the District Municipalities and the Boards should receive ample grants to maintain primary schools in sufficient numbers to meet the want of every town and village. Here I take the opportunity to invite the especial attention of the Government and the Legislative Council of Bombay to the extreme expediency of placing upon the statute book the measure known as the Sindh Paisa Cess Bill, which was introduced as far back as 1907 for promoting popular education among the Muhammadans of Sindh, whose need in this connection is particularly pronounced. The Muhammadan representatives of this Presidency are, I believe, all agreed as to the need for such a measure and the general consensus of Muhammadan opinion is now strong in its support.

We are very glad that both Hindus and Musalmans now want free and compulsory education.

Regarding the establishment of more Universities Mr. Rahim said :—

"Several proposals for establishing additional

Universities at Dacca, Bankipore and Nagpur have been published. What has happened to them? Lord Hardinge has repeatedly announced that there is need for many more Universities in India and, if I may respectfully say so, never was a truer word said. We not only want more Universities but also many more colleges and schools. Otherwise additional Universities will lose half their significance.

Considering the prominent place which the question of a Mahomedan University has occupied in the mind of the community, the President's observations thereupon are worthy of attention.

Now, what have been the community's expectations? You may remember that from the very outset it has been working for an University which should have the power to affiliate colleges other than the Aligarh College, that is, an University based to that extent on the model of the existing Universities. Aligarh was to be the centre and the Aligarh College would have been the principal and for sometime at least the only affiliated college. All the advantages which a residential and teaching University offers would have been available in their fullest measure at Aligarh. They expected that, when other colleges were ready to be affiliated, conditions relating to residence and teaching similar to those that obtained at Aligarh would, as far as possible, be enforced under the supervision and direction of the University. That is the development which the community had before its eyes when the scheme for an University was launched. Such an University would have partaken of the character of a residential and teaching University more than of the merely examining Universities such as the Government Universities. People of all parts of India enthusiastically contributed to this scheme in the expectation of having an University whose jurisdiction might be extended in suitable circumstances beyond the limits of Aligarh. It is largely believed that the expectation was to a great extent encouraged by the Government. However that may be, the reason does not seem to be clear why the Muhamadans or the Hindus when they came forward to establish Universities at their own expense should be told that they were to have a charter, only if they conformed rigidly to the Oxford and Cambridge type and not to the type hitherto recognised by the Indian Government. I can quite understand that beyond certain limits the affiliation of distant colleges may not be desirable: and it is a reasonable matter for consideration how far the jurisdiction of an University which has its centre at Aligarh should extend. I do not see any good ground why negotiations should not take place with the Government on that basis.

As, if a Muslim University be founded at Aligarh, it will mostly serve Upper India, Mr. Rahim, deriving encouragement from the launching of a scheme for a separate University for Mysore, proceeded to suggest the establishment of a University in Hyderabad.

For many years, the Muhamadans of India have been looking towards Hyderabad for a similar movement and I can think of no other measure which would be so well calculated to advance the educational interests of the community in Hyderabad itself and generally in the south and the west. The matter

should be properly and respectfully impressed upon the attention of His Highness the Nizam's Government.

Omissions in Sir S. P. Sinha's Address.

The Congress Presidential address should not be expected to be an encyclopaedia, and any attempt to deal with all public questions can only make it a dull and lengthy conglomeration of unconnected topics. But the President is naturally expected to have something to say on important current topics which have interested and excited the public mind. Two of these are the Indian Civil Service (temporary provisions) Bill and the non-publication of the Report of the Public Services Commission. But Sir S. P. Sinha did not even mention them. The internments according to the provisions of the Defence of India Act, and the various pieces of Press Legislation and their operation should have called forth some comments. Poverty, epidemic diseases and ignorance are always with us. Familiarity has not bred in us any contempt for them. They are the greatest enemies of India. The president of a people's congress should, therefore, have devoted greater attention to these vital questions than is implied in the more or less casual references that he made to them.

Civic Apprenticeship.

What the president of the Congress said on the subject of local self-government is very important.

If ever we attain our goal of Self-Government, it will not be merely through the expansion of Legislative Councils and their powers, nor yet through the admission of more Indians to Executive Councils or the establishment of a national militia, though all of them have no doubt their proper use and importance in the scheme of our national progress. It will come in a very great measure with the advance and development of local self-government. When people generally so far understand their civic rights and duties as to be able to manage their own communal business, their roads and drains, their tanks and wells, their schools and dispensaries, it will no longer be possible to keep them from controlling the higher work of administration. Indeed, it is not always possible to do the latter satisfactorily without having served a full term of apprenticeship in the former, and I cannot do better than remind you of what was said by Mrs. Besant in her address to the Congress last December, while supporting the resolution on self-government: "The training for Self-Government is of vital import to our nation to-day. For the government of states is at once a science and an art; and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local Self-Government, then in provincial auto-

my, and finally in the Self-Government of the nation, for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth..... What then should you do? You should take part in local government wherever it is possible. As it is, take it and practise it, for you will gain experience and you will gain knowledge; and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils and to make your voice heard over vast areas. So I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own affairs, particularly your water-works. Those are the alphabets of self-government; and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success."

Many of our most prominent men have served this sort of civic apprenticeship, undergone this drudgery. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Munshi Gangaprasad Varma, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, Babu Ambikacharan Mazumdar, Mr. D. E. Wacha, and many others have strenuously worked and made their mark as well in their respective town councils as in wider fields of work. Younger men ought to follow their example.

The State and Industrial Development.

On the question of what the State ought or ought not to be expected to do to develop the industries of a country, Sir S. P. Sinha had this to say:

The first step taken by Japan was to start factories, either financed by Government or with Government control and managed by experts from abroad. In India alone, with the exception of spasmodic efforts, the Government adheres to the exploded *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry are not within the province of the State.

It is high time that this policy were abandoned. The necessity of carrying on demonstration work in agriculture, the greatest industry of the country, on a commercial scale, is admitted by all, and it is only where this principle has been put into practice that agricultural improvements have been taken up by the people. Similar results will follow if the same policy is pursued with regard to other industries and manufactures. They have followed whenever such experiments have been undertaken by the Government, as in the case of aluminium and chrome-tanning in Madras.

The time is singularly opportune. The War has put an end to the enormous imports of German and Austrian goods and Japan is already making great efforts to capture the trade which by right ought to be ours.

Sir S. P. Sinha on the Enlarged Councils.

Though Sir S. P. Sinha declared that it was his "firm belief that the privileges already acquired, if used with industry and moderation and tact, will in no distant future receive considerable enlargement," he did not leave his hearers in any doubt regarding the real character of the enlarged imperial and provincial legislative councils. He remarked:

Well, it does not require much political acumen to discover that we in India are yet a long way off from free institutions and that the reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils.

Revolution in China.

China seems now to be in a very disturbed condition. Yuan-shi-kai, the first president of the Chinese Republic, is said to have consented a few days ago, as the result of voting by representatives of the people, to turn the republic into a monarchy and become the Emperor, the coronation to take place at some suitable future. Whether this was brought about by the manipulation and wire-pulling of Yuan-shi-kai and the monarchists, and, if so, to what extent, cannot be definitely known.

The name is not everything. England is a monarchy and France is a republic. But the French and the English are probably on a par as regards popular liberty. In China Yuan-shi-kai, though styled President of a republic, has wielded almost despotic power. However, in China there seems to be very strong antimonarchical and republican feeling. Hence, it appears, she is on the eve of another revolution.

There is a serious revolutionary movement in China against Yuan-Shih-Kai.—"Reuter."

The military Governor of Yunnan telegraphed to Peking on December 23rd demanding cancellation of the monarchy and execution of its promoters. In a proclamation on the 26th, the Governor declared the Independence of Yunnan.—"Reuter."

A revolutionary leader from Japan says that the other military Governors are expected to join in the revolt which was definitely arranged, a fortnight ago.—"Reuter."

It transpires that the revolutionary movement in China is not confined to Yunnan but has spread to Kwangsi where there is the bitterest anti-monarchist feeling. Prominent revolutionary leaders are hastening to the scene. Yuan-shi-kai has created a crowd of Dukes and other nobles among the Provincial Governors and the Generals, alienating sympathies of powerful personages who have not been so honoured.

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MY REMINISCENCES

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(4) SERVOCRACY.

IN the history of India the regime of the Slave Dynasty was not a happy one. In going back to the reign of the servants in my own life's history I can find nothing glorious or cheerful touching the period. There were frequent changes of king, but never a variation in the code of restraints and punishments with which we were afflicted. We, however, had no opportunity at the time for philosophising on the subject; our backs bore as best they could the blows which befell them; and we accepted as one of the laws of the universe that it is for the Big to hurt and for the Small to be hurt. It has taken me a long time to learn the opposite truth that it is the Big who suffer and the Small who cause suffering.

The quarry does not view virtue and vice from the standpoint of the hunter. That is why the alert bird, whose cry warns its fellows before the shot has sped, gets abused as vicious. We howled when we were beaten, which our chastisers did not consider good manners; it was in fact counted sedition against the servocracy. I cannot forget how, in order to effectively suppress such sedition, our heads used to be crammed into the huge water-jars then in use; distasteful, doubtless, was this outcry to those who caused it; moreover, it was likely to have unpleasant consequences.

I now sometimes wonder why such cruel treatment was meted out to us by the servants. I cannot admit that there was on the whole anything in our behaviour or demeanour to have put us beyond the

pale of human kindness. The real reason must have been that the whole of our burden was thrown on the servants, and the whole burden is a thing difficult to bear even for those who are nearest and dearest. If children are only allowed to be children, to run and play about and satisfy their curiosity, it becomes quite simple. Insoluble problems are only created if you try to confine them inside, keep them still or hamper their play. Then does the burden of the child, so lightly borne by its own childishness, fall heavily on the guardian—like that of the horse in the fable which was carried instead of being allowed to trot on its own legs; and though money procured bearers even for such a burden it could not prevent them taking it out of the unlucky beast at every step.

Of most of these tyrants of our childhood I remember only their cuffings and boxings, and nothing more. Only one personality stands out in my memory.

His name was Iswar. He had been a village school-master before. He was a prim, proper and sedately dignified personage. The Earth seemed too earthy for him, with too little water to keep it sufficiently clean; so that he had to be in a constant state of warfare with its chronic soiled state. He would shoot his water-pot into the tank with a lightning movement so as to get his supply from an uncontaminated depth. It was he who, when bathing in the tank, would be continually thrusting away the surface impurities till he took a sudden plunge expecting, as it were, to catch the water unawares. When walking his right arm stood out at an angle from his body, as if, so it seemed to us, he could

not trust the cleanliness even of his own garments. His whole bearing had the appearance of an effort to keep clear of the imperfections which, through unguarded avenues, find entrance into earth, water and air, and into the ways of men. Unfathomable was the depth of his gravity. With head slightly tilted he would mince his carefully selected words in a deep voice. His literary diction would give food for merriment to our elders behind his back, some of his high-flown phrases finding a permanent place in our family repertoire of witticisms. But I doubt whether the expressions he used would sound as remarkable to-day; showing how the literary and spoken languages, which used to be as sky from earth asunder, are now coming nearer each other.

This erstwhile schoolmaster had discovered a way of keeping us quiet in the evenings. Every evening he would gather us round the cracked castor-oil lamp and read out to us stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Some of the other servants would also come and join the audience. The lamp would be throwing huge shadows right up to the beams of the roof, the little house lizards catching insects on the walls, the bats doing a mad dervish dance round and round the verandahs outside, and we listening in silent open-mouthed wonder. I still remember, on the evening we came to the story of Kusha and Lava, and those two valiant lads were threatening to humble to the dust the renown of their father and uncles, how the tense silence of that dimly lighted room was bursting with eager anticipation. It was getting late, our prescribed period of wakefulness was drawing to a close, and yet the denouement was far off. At this critical juncture my father's old follower Kishori came to the rescue, and finished the episode for us, at express speed, to the quick-step of Dasuraya's jingling verses. The impression of the soft slow chant of Krattivasa's * fourteen-syllabled measure was swept clean away and we were left overwhelmed by a flood of rhymes and alliterations.

On some occasions these readings would give rise to shastric discussions, which would at length be settled by the depth of Iswar's wise pronouncements. Though, as

one of the children's servants, his rank in our domestic society was below that of many, yet, as with old Grandfather Bhisma in the Mahabharata, his supremacy would assert itself from his seat below his juniors.

Our grave and reverend servitor had one weakness to which, for the sake of historical accuracy, I feel bound to allude. He used to take opium. This created a craving for rich food. So that when he brought us our morning goblets of milk the forces of attraction in his mind would be greater than those of repulsion. If we gave the least expression to our natural repugnance for this meal, no sense of responsibility for our health could prompt him to press it on us a second time. Iswar also held somewhat narrow views as to our capacity for solid nourishment. We would sit down to our evening repast and a quantity of *luchis* * heaped on a thick round wooden tray would be placed before us. He would begin by gingerly dropping a few on each platter, from a sufficient height to safeguard himself from contamination †—like unwilling favours, wrested from the gods by dint of importunity, did they descend, so dexterously inhospitable was he. Next would come the inquiry whether he should give us any more. I knew the reply which would be most gratifying, and could not bring myself to deprive him by asking for another help. Then again Iswar was entrusted with a daily allowance of money for procuring our afternoon light refreshment. He would ask us every morning what we should like to have. We knew that to mention the cheapest would be accounted the best, so sometimes we ordered a light refecton of puffed rice, and at others an indigestible one of boiled gram or roasted groundnuts. It was evident that Iswar was not as painstakingly punctilious in regard to our diet as with the shastric proprieties.

(5) THE NORMAL SCHOOL.

While at the Oriental Seminary I had discovered a way out of the degradation of being a mere pupil. I had started a class of my own in a corner of our verandah. The wooden bars of the railing were my pupils, and I would act the schoolmaster, cane in hand, seated on a chair in front of

* A kind of crisp unsweetened pancake taken like bread along with the other courses.

† Food while being eaten, and utensils or anything else touched by the hand engaged in conveying food to the mouth, are considered ceremonially unclean.

* There are innumerable renderings of the Ramayana in the Indian languages.

them. I had decided which were the good boys and which the bad—nay, further, I could distinguish clearly the quiet from the naughty, the clever from the stupid. The bad rails had suffered so much from my constant caning that they must have longed to give up the ghost had they been alive. And the more scarred they got with my strokes the worse they angered me, till I knew not how to punish them enough. None remain to bear witness to-day how tremendously I tyrannised over that poor dumb class of mine. My wooden pupils have since been replaced by cast iron railings, nor have any of the new generation taken up their education in the same way—they could never have made the same impression.

I have since realised how much easier it is to acquire the manner than the matter. Without an effort had I assimilated all the impatience, the short temper, the partiality and the injustice displayed by my teachers to the exclusion of the rest of their teaching. My only consolation is that I had not the power of venting these barbarities on any sentient creature. Nevertheless the difference between my wooden pupils and those of the Seminary did not prevent my psychology from being identical with that of its schoolmasters.

I could not have been long at the Oriental Seminary, for I was still of tender age when I joined the Normal School. The only one of its features which I remember is that before the classes began all the boys had to sit in a row in the gallery and go through some kind of singing or chanting of verses—evidently an attempt at introducing an element of cheerfulness into the daily routine. Unfortunately the words were English and the tune quite as foreign, so that we had not the faintest notion what sort of incantation we were practising; neither did the meaningless monotony of the performance tend to make us cheerful. This failed to disturb the serene self-satisfaction of the school authorities at having provided such a treat; they deemed it superfluous to inquire into the practical effect of their bounty; they would probably have counted it a crime for the boys not to be dutifully happy. Anyhow they rested content with taking the song as they found it, words and all, from the self-same English book which had furnished the theory. The language into which this English resolved itself in our mouths cannot but be

edifying to philologists. I can recall only one line:

Kallokee pullokee singill mellaling mellaling mellaling.

After much thought I have been able to guess at the original of a part of it. Of what words *kallokee* is the transformation still baffles me. The rest I think was:

... full of glee, singing merrily, merrily, merrily!

As my memories of the Normal School emerge from haziness and become clearer they are not the least sweet in any particular. Had I been able to associate with the other boys, the woes of learning might not have seemed so intolerable. But that turned out to be impossible—so nasty were most of the boys in their manners and habits. So, in the intervals of the classes, I would go up to the second storey and while away the time sitting near a window overlooking the street. I would count: one year—two years—three years—; wondering how many such would have to be got through like this.

Of the teachers I remember only one, whose language was so foul that, out of sheer contempt for him, I steadily refused to answer any one of his questions. Thus I sat silent throughout the year at the bottom of his class, and while the rest of the class was busy I would be left alone to attempt the solution of many an intricate problem. One of these, I remember, on which I used to cogitate profoundly, was how to defeat an enemy without having arms. My preoccupation with this question, amidst the hum of the boys reciting their lessons, comes back to me even now. If I could properly train up a number of dogs, tigers and other ferocious beasts, and put a few lines of these on the field of battle, that, I thought, would serve very well as an inspiring prelude. With our personal prowess let loose thereafter, victory should by no means be out of reach. And, as the picture of this wonderfully simple strategy waxed vivid in my imagination, the victory of my side became assured beyond doubt. While work had not yet come into my life I always found it easy to devise short cuts to achievement; since I have been working I find that what is hard is hard indeed, and what is difficult remains difficult. This, of course, is less comforting; but nowhere near so bad as the discomfort of trying to take shortcuts.

When at length a year of that class

had passed, we were examined in Bengali by Pandit Mañhusudan Vachaspati. I got the largest number of marks of all the boys. The teacher complained to the school authorities that there had been favouritism in my case. So I was examined a second time, with the superintendent of the school seated beside the examiner. This time, also, I got a top place.

(6) VERIFICATION.

I could not have been more than eight years old at the time. Jyoti, a son of a niece of my father's, was considerably older than I. He had just gained an entrance into English Literature, and would recite Hamlet's soliloquy with great gusto. Why he should have taken it into his head to get a child, as I was, to write poetry I cannot tell. One afternoon he sent for me to his room, and asked me to try and make up a verse; with which he explained to me the construction of the *payar* metre of fourteen syllables.

I had up to then only seen poems in printed books—no mistakes penned through, no sign to the eye of doubt or trouble or any human weakness. I could not have dared even to imagine that any effort of mine could produce such poetry. One day a thief had been caught in our house. Overpowered by curiosity, yet in fear and trembling, I ventured to the spot to take a peep at him. I found he was just an ordinary man! And when he was somewhat roughly handled by our doorkeeper I felt a great pity. I had a similar experience with poetry. When, after stringing together a few words at my own sweet will, I found them turned into a *payar* verse I felt I had no illusions left about the glories of poetising. So when poor Poetry is mishandled, even now I feel as unhappy as I did about the thief. Many a time have I been moved to pity and yet unable to restrain impatient hands itching for the assault. Thieves have scarcely suffered so much, and from so many.

The first feeling of awe once overcome there was no holding me back. I managed to get hold of a blue-paper manuscript book by the favour of one of the officers of our estate. With my own hands I ruled it with pencil lines, at not very regular intervals, and thereon I began to write verses in a large childish scrawl.

Like a young deer which butts here, there and everywhere with its newly sprouting horns, I made myself a nuisance with my

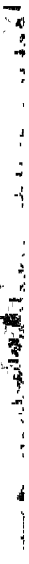
budding poetry. More so my elder* brother, whose pride in my performance impelled him to hunt about the house for an audience. I recollect how, as the pair of us, one day, were coming out of the estate offices on the ground floor, after a conquering expedition against the officers, we came across the editor of "The National Paper," Nabagopal Mitter, who had just stepped into the house. My brother tackled him without further ado: "Look here, Nabagopal Babu! won't you listen to a poem which Rabi has written?" The reading forthwith followed. My works had not as yet become voluminous. The poet could carry all his effusions about in his pockets. I was writer, printer and publisher, all in one; my brother, as advertiser, being my only colleague. I had composed some verses on The Lotus which I recited to Nabagopal Babu then and there, at the foot of the stairs, in a voice pitched as high as my enthusiasm. "Well done!" said he with a smile. "But what is a *dwirepha*?" How I had got hold of this word I do not remember. The ordinary name would have fitted the metre quite as well. But this was the one word in the whole poem on which I had pinned my hopes. It had doubtless duly impressed our officers. But curiously enough Nabagopal Babu did not succumb to it—on the contrary he smiled! He could not be an understanding man, I felt sure. I never read poetry to him again. I have since added many years to my age but have not been able to improve upon my test of what does or does not constitute understanding in my hearer. However Nabagopal Babu might smile, the word *dwirepha*, like a bee drunk with honey, stuck to its place, unmoved.

(7) VARIOUS LEARNING.

One of the teachers of the Normal School also gave us private lessons at home. His body was lean, his features dry, his voice sharp. He looked like a cane incarnate. His hours were from six to half-past-nine in the morning. With him our reading ranged from popular literary and science readers in Bengali to the epic of Meghnad-vadha. My third brother was very keen on imparting to us a variety of knowledge. So at home we had to go through much

* The writer is the youngest of seven brothers. The sixth brother is here meant.

† Obsolete word meaning bee.



more than what was required by the school course. We had to get up before dawn and, clad in loin-cloths, begin with a bout or two with a blind wrestler. Without a pause we donned our tunics on our dusty bodies, and started on our courses of literature, mathematics, geography and history. On our return from school our drawing and gymnastic masters would be ready for us. In the evening Aghore Babu came for our English lessons. It was only after nine that we were free.

On Sunday morning we had singing lessons with Vishnu. Then, almost every Sunday, came Sitanath Datta to give us demonstrations in physical science. The last were of great interest to me. I remember distinctly the feeling of wonder which filled me when he put some water, with sawdust in it, on the fire in a glass vessel, and showed us how the lightened hot water came up, and the cold water went down and how finally the water began to boil. I also felt a great elation the day I learnt that water is a separable part of milk, and that milk thickens when boiled because the water frees itself as vapour from the connexion. Sunday did not feel Sunday-like unless Sitanath Babu turned up.

There was also an hour when we would be told all about human bones by a pupil of the Campbell Medical School, for which purpose a skeleton, with the bones fastened together by wires was hung up in our schoolroom. And finally, time was also found for Pandit Heramba Tatwaratna to come and get us to learn by rote rules of Sanscrit grammar. I am not sure which of them, the names of the bones or the *sutras* of the Grammarian, were more jaw-breaking. I think the latter took the palm.

We began to learn English after we had made considerable progress in learning through the medium of Bengali. Aghore Babu, our English tutor, was attending the Medical College, so he came to teach us in the evening. Books tell us that the discovery of fire was one of the biggest discoveries of man. I do not wish to dispute this. But I cannot help feeling how fortunate the little birds are that their parents cannot light lamps of an evening. They have their language lessons early in the morning and you must have noticed how gleefully they learn them. Of course we

must not forget that they do not have to learn the English language! •

The health of this medical-student tutor of ours was so good that even the fervent and united wishes of his three pupils were not enough to cause his absence even for a day. Only once was he laid up with a broken head when on the occasion of a fight between the Indian and Eurasian students of the Medical College a chair was thrown at him. It was a regrettable occurrence; nevertheless we had not been able to take it as a personal sorrow, and his recovery somehow seemed to us needlessly swift.

It is evening. The rain is pouring in lance-like showers. Our lane is under knee-deep water. The tank has overflowed into the garden, and the bushy tops of the Bael trees are seen standing out over the waters. Our whole being, on this delightful rainy evening, is radiating rapture like the Kadamba flower its fragrant spikes. The time for the arrival of our tutor is over by just a few minutes. Yet there is no certainty. . . . We are sitting on the verandah overlooking the lane watching and watching with a piteous gaze. All of a sudden, with a great big thump, our hearts seem to fall down in a swoon. The familiar black umbrella has turned the corner undefeated even by such weather! Could it not be somebody else? It certainly could not! In the wide wide world there might be found another, his equal in pertinacity, but never in this little lane of ours.

Looking back on his period as a whole, I cannot say that Aghore Babu was a hard man. He did not rule us with a rod. Even his rebukes did not amount to scoldings. But whatever may have been his personal merits, his time was evening, and his subject *English*! I am certain that even an angel would have seemed a veritable messenger of Yamaf to any Bengali boy if he came to him at the end of his miserable day at school, and lighted a dimly dim lamp to teach him English. How well do I remember the day our tutor tried to impress on us the attractiveness of the English language. With this object he recited to us with great unction some lines—prose or poetry we could not tell—out of an English book. It had a most unlooked for

* The Lane, a blind one, leads at right angles to the front verandah, from the public main road to the grounds round the house.

† God of Death

effect on us. We laughed so immoderately that he had to dismiss us for that evening. He must have realised that he held no easy brief that to put us to pronounce in his favour would be a contest ranging over years.

Ashore Babu would sometimes try to bring the zephyr of outside knowledge to play on the arid routine of our schoolroom. One day he brought a paper parcel out of his pocket and said: "I'll show you today a wonderful piece of work of the Creator." With this he untied the paper wrapping and, producing a portion of the vocal organs of a human being, proceeded to expound the marvels of its mechanism. I can still call to mind the shock this gave me at the time. I had always thought the whole man spoke—had never even imagined that the act of speech could be viewed in this detached way. However wonderful the mechanism of a part may be, it is certainly less so than the whole man. Not that I put it to myself in so many words, but that was the cause of my dismay. It was perhaps because the tutor had lost sight of this truth that the pupil could not respond to the enthusiasm with which he was discoursing on the subject. Another day he took us to the dissecting room of the Medical College. The body of an old woman was stretched on the table. This did not disturb me so much. But an amputated leg which was lying on the floor upset me altogether. To view man in this fragmentary way seemed to me so horrid, so absurd that I could not get rid of the impression of that dark, unmeaning leg for many a day.

After getting through Peary Sarkar's first and second English readers we entered

upon McCulloch's Course of Reading. Our bodies were weary at the end of the day, our minds yearning for the inner apartments, the book was black and thick with difficult words, and the subject matter could hardly have been more inviting, for in those days Mother Saraswati's* maternal tenderness was not in evidence. Children's books were not full of pictures then as they are now. Moreover, at the gateway of every reading lesson stood sentinel an array of words, with separated syllables, and forbidding accent marks like fixed bayonets, barring the way to the infant mind. I had repeatedly attacked their serried ranks in vain. Our tutor would try to shame us by recounting the exploits of some other brilliant pupil of his. We felt duly ashamed, and also not well disposed towards that other pupil, but this did not help to dispell the darkness which clung to that black volume.

Providence, out of pity for mankind, has instilled a specific charm into all tedious things. No sooner did our English lessons begin than our heads began to nod. Sprinkling water into our eyes, or taking a run round the verandahs, were palliatives which had no lasting effect. If by any chance my eldest brother happened to be passing that way, and caught a glimpse of our sleep-tormented condition, we would get let off for the rest of the evening. It did not take our drowsiness another moment to get completely cured.

* Goddess of Learning.

(To be continued.)

Translated by
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THE HINDU CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT

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WILLING to discover in the early records of India genealogies of kings, accounts of wars, and chronicles of conquest and plunder, European historians have sometimes criticised the ancient Hindus as lacking in historical sense. Indeed, they have gone so far as to declare

that the people of India are without ancient history.* That these modern critics are essentially materialistic in their views is

Sir Monier Williams is convinced of the "absence of all history in India" because, forsooth, there is no "narrative of common occurrences."—See his *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 205.

evident; for their conception seems to be based on the notion that history, to be worthy of the name, must be made up chiefly of the titles and dates of rulers, accounts of their dynasties, and records of their changing fortunes of war. Thus, they quite overlook the fact that the ancient history of India, unlike that of any other nation of similar antiquity, is essentially spiritual. This history has never concerned itself specially with so-called "historical events," but gives, instead, information about the religion, the laws, and the customs of the Indo-Aryans. It reflects the development of mind, the progress of culture, and the advancement of knowledge. In a word, it is a story of what has been most important in the actual life of the Hindu people; and its sources are the treasure-trove of Indian literature.

The history of the Indo Aryans begins with their settlement on the banks of the Indus in the province of the Panjab. Though the date of their colonization is impossible of exact determination, it has been variously estimated at between 2000 and 1400 B.C. Moreover, modern researches seem to indicate that these early settlers were once a branch of the great Aryan family,* and that their ancestors once had a common religion,† a common tongue,‡ and a common home in the table-lands of Central Asia.§ When the Aryans came to India they brought with them a civilization of their own, which is clearly reflected in the *Vedas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and other ancient writings. From these sources we learn that the Panjab Aryans were chiefly agriculturalists and that they called themselves *Arya*,—a word which comes from a Sanskrit root meaning plough. They knew something of the arts of weaving and carpentry, and they used metals, such as gold, silver, and iron. That they were acquainted with the use of

weapons is evidenced by the fact that swords, helmets, armours, and arrows are mentioned frequently in their ancient literature. "Architecture too had made some advance, and there are allusions to 'mansions with a thousand pillars'".* Ships and chariots were also familiar objects referred to by the composers of early hymns.

With the progress of time the simplicity of Aryan life gave place to a more complex and more elaborate system of civilization. But this civilization was not material: on the contrary, it was essentially intellectual and deeply spiritual. To enter upon a discussion of the various phases of this culture is beyond the scope of the present inquiry—suffice it to say that "there is scarcely any problem in the science of ontology, psychology, metaphysics, logic, or grammar, which the Indian sages have not sounded as deeply, and discussed as elaborately, as the Greeks."‡ Here we are more intimately concerned with those aspects of Indian civilization which bear upon the methods of administration. And since it has been claimed that "the fundamental principle of all Hindu polity is the division of castes,"§ we shall at once begin with an investigation of the caste system as preliminary to a study of the Hindu concept of government.

The early Aryans of the Panjab were total strangers to caste.§ They were a homogeneous people. They had the same aims and purposes in life. They did not require that division of labor which later became the central factor in the caste system. But as time passed, the Aryans increased in number, spread over a larger area, and came into collision with the dark-skinned aborigines known as Dasyus. A host of new problems now confronted the conquering Aryans. Society had grown larger and more complex: it had outgrown its simpler laws; its numerous functions could only be carried on by a proper distribution of labour. Moreover, the conquered aborigines had become a menace to the Hindu civilization. Hindu society must be kept pure from non-Aryan influences, and at the same time the

* "Though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family." Max Muller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, p. 63.

† Taylor's *The Origin of the Aryans*, pp. 307, 312-323.

‡ For an exhaustive linguistic discussion showing the "unity of descent" of Indo-European languages, see Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 195, 196, 199.

§ Duncker's *The History of Antiquity*, Vol. iv, pp. 11-13.

* Dutt's *Ancient India*, p. 22.

† Rawlinson's *The Origin of Nations*, p. 109.

‡ Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 212.

§ Max Muller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II, p. 305.

non-Aryan peoples must be given sufficient protection.* How could this two-fold purpose be best accomplished?

When the Europeans, in comparatively modern time, colonized America and Australasia, they faced the same problem which confronted the early Aryan settlers in Hindustan hundreds of years before. The policy pursued by the European colonizers led to the gradual extinction of the native population. The Indo-Aryans, on the contrary, appear to have been more humane and just in their treatment of the original inhabitants of India. They did not believe in extermination; they endeavoured to preserve, civilize, Hinduize, and absorb the conquered peoples. To be sure their methods of assimilation sowed the seeds of caste; but whatever may be said of the caste system, it had at least one saving grace: it provided a place for the conquered people in the social scheme of the conquering race.

Caste emphasized the interdependence of social groups. It showed that the Vaisyas (cultivators), though by nature excellent farmers, could not successfully devote themselves to agriculture if their land was not protected against the inroads of the enemy by the Kshatriyas (military men). In the same way it was made clear that religion, the chief factor in a man's life, could not be taught by any and every person. Only those who are "inwardly still," who had gone through severe asceticism, practised self-renunciation, and lived holy lives, were fit to minister unto the souls of others. These spiritual teachers, in order that they might fully consecrate themselves to God's work, unhampered by worldly affairs, were to be supported by the community. They were Brahmins. Thus the three classes, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Brahmins,—represented three great interests; that is, the military, the agricultural, and the religious. There was still need of a fourth class to attend to domestic service; and those who performed this necessary work were known as Sudras. They were mostly the aborigines who had not the power to assimilate the higher elements of the Aryan culture. They were not slaves; they simply occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder. †

* Nivedita's *The Web of Indian Life*, p. 134.

† "The condition of a Sudra, in the Hindu system, was infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the

This four-fold division of the Hindu society was based on *gunas* and *karmas* (qualities and actions). * Each caste (or class, to be more accurate) was formed for the sole purpose of discharging the function for which it had special talent, and each was dependent upon and fired with zeal to serve the other. Thus the caste system in India was simply a logical method of dividing labor with the object of securing a maximum of social efficiency and responsibility with a minimum of social friction.

Caste rules in the early days, unlike what they are at present, were liberal and elastic, admitting of free social intercourse. For instance, intermarriage and interdining were permitted and practised. There was even frequent passage from one caste to another. The Sudras often rose to the ranks of the Brahmins, and the Brahmins were as often degenerated into the Sudras.

The form of government known to the early Aryan Hindus was, of course, monarchical; and the ancient writers often used bold figures to describe the authority of the king. Manu himself describes the chief magistrate as one of the incarnations of the gods. ‡ But this statement, in view of the many restrictions which he laid upon the power of the king, cannot be regarded as anything more than a mere poetic figure introduced to suggest high authority and antiquity. We are no more justified in looking upon the Hindu king as an incarnation of divinity than upon the English king, who calls himself the "Lord's anointed". What the lawgiver sought in calling the king an eight-fold incarnation of the gods was "to idealize into the form of an allegory, the old standard of the rights and duties of kingship". §

The king was by no means a lawless slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems. He was independent, his services were optional; they were not agricultural, but domestic and personal, and claimed adequate compensation". Wilson, note in Mill's *The History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 136.

* The whole philosophy of caste as it was has been summed up by the *Gita*, in the sentence *guna karma bibhagasah* (distinguished according to character and occupation) and by the *Mahabharat* in *karmabhibarnam gatam* (divided into various castes according to occupation).

‡ *Laws of Manu*, V. 96.

§ *The Modern Review*, January, 1910, p. 63,

despot. In the *Mahabharat* we are told that

"One becometh a king in order that he may uphold righteousness, and not that he may conduct himself capriciously. The king is the protector of the world, O Mandhata! If he act righteously he attaineth to the honors of a veritable God upon earth. But if he act unrighteously, he sinketh into hell. All creatures rest upon righteousness; and righteousness, in turn, resteth upon the king. That king alone is a true king who upholds righteousness. If he fail to chastise unrighteousness, the Devas (gods) desert his mansions, and he incurreth obloquy among men."*

Manu is no less emphatic on this point, saying that "he (the king) shall zealously and carefully protect his subjects." "The protection of subjects is the cream of kingly duties." "That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honor who ensures the safety (of his subjects)." Again, "a king who does not afford protection, (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, toll, and duties, daily presents and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell."

The king was enjoined in the discharge of his public duties to be guided by a capable ministry. "Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes, skilled in the use of weapons and descended from (noble) families, and who have been tried."† A learned Brahman was at the head of the ministry, and the King was required not to act without the advice of the Prime Minister. It is significant that the description of the court of King Dasarath, as given in the *Ramayana*, is in strict conformity with the composition of a court laid down by Manu.

"The courtiers of the son of Ikshvaku were richly endowed with good qualities, intelligent, and faithfully devoted to the interests of their royal master. Eight virtuous ministers directed the affairs of the government. The two priests made choice of by him were the illustrious Vasishtha and Vamadeva. To them were added other inferior councillors to the number of six. With these holy sages were associated the ancient priests of the king, discreet, submissive, profoundly skilled in law, and masters of their desires. With the assistance and counsel of such advisers Raja Dasarath governed his kingdom."‡

The *Mahabharat* gives the following well-known description of the ministry:

"Four pure and clever Brahmins well-read in the Vedas, having their teachings fresh in mind; eight strong and armed Kshattariyas; twenty-one Vai-

shyas; three mild and pious Sudras, regular in their daily prayers; and one truly qualified Suta, well-read in the Puranas—these should be engaged as Ministers. The ministers should be of the age of fifty, clever, void of jealousy and avarice, well-read in the Shrutis and Smritis (there were three Shudras among them), humble, impartial, capable of settling disputes, and not addicted to hunting, gambling, and the kindred vices. Of these Ministers, the King himself should deliberate with a subcommittee of eight Ministers and settle rules. Then these rules should be proclaimed in the kingdom, and shown to all citizens. By such means you should always look after the well-being of your subjects."

*As a rule the eldest son succeeded to the throne of the father, and on the failure of the issue the king could adopt a son. The successor was expected to be worthy of the great trust imposed on him, and his succession must be approved by the people. The ancient Hindu literature abounds in instances where the claims of the eldest son were set aside because he lacked kingly qualities and because there was popular opposition to his rules. Yayati disregarded the claims of his eldest sons and chose Puru, the youngest, as his successor, on the ground that Puru was by far the best-fitted man for royal office. The fate of Asamanja was equally tragic. He was driven of the kingdom by his father Sagara because he was an oppressor of the people. Again, when king Dasarath wanted to install his son Rama upon the throne of Ajodhya, he asked for the approval of his subjects. They with their leaders first counselled together, then advised the king to "speedily install thy son, endowed with noble qualities, resembling the God of gods, ever intent upon the welfare of the whole state."

The Hindu books constantly refer to the king as *Dharmavata*r (justice in the flesh). His chief duty was to dispense justice "according to principles drawn from local usages and from the Institutes of the sacred law."* If the king did not wish to try the suits himself, he appointed a learned Brahman to take his place. *Sukra-niti* says:

"If a king cannot decide, he should appoint a man learned in the Vedas, of good family, self-controlled, impartial, pleasing, firm, afraid of the next world, calm, and acting to dharma. If a learned Brahmin could not be obtained, then a Kshatriya should be appointed, or a Vaisya who knows the dharma science, but the Sudra should be avoided with care."†

Thus it will be seen that it was not the Brahman class alone, but the Ksha-

* *Mahabharat*, Santi Parva, XC.

† *Laws of Manu*, VII, 54.

‡ *Ramayana*, I, 107, et. seq.

* *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 3.

† *Sukra-niti*, IV, Sec. 5, 43.

triya and Vaisya also who were eligible to serve as judges.

Manu gives detailed rules to guide the procedure of the court. Whatever may be the sins of omissions or commissions of which our latter-day jurists may accuse Manu, certainly they cannot charge him with hair-splitting in legal procedure. Professor Buhler is right when he says that Manu "pays more attention to the moral side of the duties incumbent on the judge and other persons concerned, than the technicalities."* Again and again the judges are urged to render just decisions.

"But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches, and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by the dart of injustice)."

"Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed."†

Manu also gives elaborate laws on evidence. He points out who are qualified to be witnesses and who are not. He provides punishment for those who refuse to give evidence as well as those who bear false witness.‡

It should also be borne in mind that the Hindu King was not regarded as above the law. Neither was he a law-giver. "Law," says Sankar, "is the King of kings, far more powerful than they." The king had little opportunity to play the tyrant as far as the law was concerned: for the law was made by the Brahmanic leaders of the community and was interpreted by the Brahmins. To be sure the king was charged with the execution of the law; but he administered it with the assistance of legal counsellors. Moreover, the Brahmins exercised great control over the arbitrary powers of the king. They frequently undertook to depose kings who took the law into their own hands.§ Manu indicates that the misgovernment of a tyrant king not only constitutes a default of the ruler's title, but even a forfeit of his life. "That king who through

folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, (will), together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom."** Thus it is clear that though the ancient form of government in India was monarchical, the rulers were limited, in the exercise of their power, the king occupying the position of one who reigned rather than ruled.

The principal source of the king's income was taxation and the royal domain. The taxes, moreover, were moderate, the ratio of taxation varying according to the value of the property taxed. On an average the taxes seem to run from one-tenth to one-sixth of the produce. As most of the taxes were paid in kind and were proportionate to the produce, they worked little hardship on the persons taxed. In lean years when there was no crop there was no tax.

No one who reflects for a moment on the laws of taxation, and upon the other underlying principles of administration already referred to, will fail to be impressed with the fact that the Hindus had a very well developed system of government between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago.† Nor were the laws which are found in the ancient books were "paper laws"; they were enforced both in letter and in spirit. The early foreign travellers such as Megasthenes, Fa Hian, Hsuen Tsang, and others, who visited India from the fourth century B. C. to seventeenth century A. D. have eloquently described India as a country where the people were law-abiding, peaceful, and happy. The records of these ancient historians show that India was prosperous under the Hindu kings; that justice was impartially administered; that the people were God-fearing; and that the taxes were equitably levied. These accounts, it should be observed, do not tally with the pictures of poverty, injustice, and oppression so often unjustly associated with the rule of the Hindu rajas by certain modern European writers on government.

It is, of course, not my intention to maintain the thesis that government in ancient India was a model of what constitutes good government. The wonder is that the system of administration could

* Introduction to the translation of the *Law of Manu* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 23, P. XCIX.

† *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 12, 14.

‡ *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 62-67, 119-126, 257-263.

§ Read the accounts of Vena, Parasurama, and Devapi in *Vishnu Puran*, 99, 401, 453; and the *Mudra Rakshasa* in *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II.

** *Laws of Manu*, VII, 111.

† *Dutt's History of Civilization in Ancient India*, Vol. II, p. 59.

really be brought to such an advanced state in those primitive times. The ancient government of India may appear very crude to us; but we must not forget the changed character of the times in which we are now living. The phenomenon which goes by the name of the modern state is after all of very recent growth. Professor Bluntschli dates its birth from the year seventeen hundred and forty.*

Perhaps the most significant fact concerning the ancient government of India is the discovery that in the village community there existed the true germs of the representative principle. Now the village community of India was an autonomous institution. "The Indian village or township," says Monier-Williams, "meaning thereby not merely a collection of houses forming a village or town, but a division of territory, perhaps three or four miles or more in extent, with its careful distribution of fixed occupations for the common good, with its intertwining and interdependence of individual, family and common interests, with its provisions for political independence and autonomy, is the original type, the first germ, of all divisions of rural and civic society in mediæval and modern Europe. It has existed almost unaltered since the description of its organization in Manu's code."†

According to the account given by Manu, each village was an administrative unit. An officer, appointed by the king, was placed over each village; and under him the Village Panchayat (Council of Five) attended to the administration of the village. The officers of one village reported to the officers of ten villages, forming a district. The area gradually became larger and wider. The officers of ten villages reported to the officers of twenty; and the officers of twenty to officers of a hundred; and they in turn to the officers of a thousand.‡ The mutual subordination of the officers of the general government served as a check upon their powers.§ They were, however, mere tax-collectors.||

Each village was then a self-governing community; and its members were practically free and independent. They voiced their wishes and opinions directly or through their representatives, forming the Panchayat. The only important tie which existed between the central government and the village community was to be found in the tax paid by the village to the national government.

In his Minutes of 1830, Sir Charles Metcalfe (once a member of the Governor-General's Council, and afterwards Acting Governor-General of India) thus speaks in favor of the village communities: •

"The Village Communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Moghal, Maharatta, Sikh, English, are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the country; the village community collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands, will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success."

These "little republics" which have existed down through all ages are now rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The Indian people who have had such immemorial training in self-government are now being practically denied their inherent rights in this ancient institution. The enforced disappearance of village communities is mainly due to two causes: first, the centralization of authority in the

thousand of these villages, that means no more than they were responsible for the collection of taxes, and generally for the good behaviour of these villages. And when, in later times, we hear of circle of eighty-four villages, the so called Chourasees, and of the three hundred and sixty villages, this too seems to refer to fiscal arrangements only.—Max Muller's *India: What Can It Teach Us?* Lecture II, p. 64.

* Bluntschli's *The Theory of the State*, Book I, Chap. V, P. 55.

† Monier-Williams's *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, P. 455.

‡ *Laws of Manu*, VII, 115-117.

§ Dunker's *History of Antiquity*, Vol. IV, p. 215.

|| "When we read in the *Laws of Manu* of officers appointed to rule over ten, twenty, a hundred, or a

English courts, with the consequent withdrawal of powers from the village community; second, the desire of the English rulers for increased revenue, which is being satisfied by making direct settlements with individual tenants instead of a collective settlement with each village community.*

Dutt's Economic History of India, p. 120.

Of all the great losses which India has suffered from English domination, "the virtual extinction of the old forms of self-government, and the disappearance of those ancient village communities of which India was the first home among all countries of the earth" is undoubtedly the most deplorable.

Iowa City.
U. S. A.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

WE propose to give here a short sketch of the arrangements which exist in western countries for juvenile offenders.

It is needless to say that with the increase of interest in Social Sciences all civilized countries have adopted special measures and organised special institutions for the treatment of youthful offenders, whether actual or potential. In most of the countries these measures were taken during the first half of the nineteenth century and in one country, viz., the Netherlands, refuges called "Godshuizen" were founded as early as the 14th century, for the care and shelter of 'neglected youth and indigent old age.' The general features characterising all these institutions are the same, viz., the segregation of youthful offenders from hardened criminals, more humane treatment of juveniles than is offered to the ordinary convict, industrial and moral education, and the predominance of private influence and enterprise over state interference.

It would be sufficient for our purposes to notice at some length the arrangements which exist in England and in the United States of America, it being remembered that in the latter country the subject has been more thoroughly dealt with than anywhere else, and that it has actually set the example to England. The institutions existing in Germany are also deserving of notice as having largely influenced English opinion on the matter. Some other countries will only come in for a passing notice.

The United States owed her first reformatory to the efforts of the great

American philanthropist Edward Livingston. Established in 1825, the institution still continues in its new home in Randall's Island near New York. There are now reformatories in almost all the states of the union, but those at New York and Massachusetts have attracted worldwide attention, both on account of the high standard they have set before themselves as well as for the elaboration of means adopted to reclaim juvenile adults. It is these which deserve special notice.

The state reformatory at Elmira, New York, came into existence in 1889 and was established with the avowed object of compassing the reformation of the criminal by psychological treatment as it were. The principle on which it was worked, was that crime should be attacked in its beginning by other than punitive and prison methods. It was held that the youthful offender was more sinned against than sinning and his crime was due largely to inherited defects and to insalubrious surroundings. Society, therefore, had no business to punish him; he had a claim to be differently treated. Society puts him in a prison and after a hard and mechanical treatment lets him off, no better, and possibly worse, than before. Where was the utility of such treatment? On the contrary, it was the duty of society to regenerate him, to change his nature, improve his physique, and give him a new mental equipment, so that when again at large he might be better able to take care of himself, to earn his living by reputable means and not go back into crime again. These are the principles on which the

great institutions of Elmira, and of Concord in Massachusetts are run. They are like boarding schools in their treatment of the inmates. The education, thorough and carried far, includes languages, music, science and industrial art; diet is plentiful and luxurious, amusements and varied recreation are permitted. There is a well stocked library and a newspaper is conducted by the inmates.

The care taken to reform youths of criminal tendencies, however, goes much further. The minimum period of detention is one year, after which an inmate may be let off on parole, but on an average a period of 22 months is necessary to enable the authorities to complete the treatment. The sentence there is indefinite and not a fixed term as in India. Consequently the treatment can have its course. At his discharge the inmate finds work with good wages ready for him. Reports issued by the manager of Elmira claim that 81% of those on parole have done well. The authorities lay a great stress on the principle that physical degeneracy lies at the bottom of the criminal character and great attention is paid to the development of nervous energy and to the strengthening of the normal functions of the body. So much for adult youths.

There is a similar institution for women at Sherborne, Mass., for women with sentences of more than a year. The majority of women in this institution are convicted of drunkenness, an offence seriously noticed in this state, the ordinary sentence being 2 years. Women convicted of other offences are also sent here by courts with a view to their reform. Thus of the 352 inmates, there were 200 convicted of drunkenness, 63 of offences against chastity and 30 of larceny.

There is yet another remarkable institution at Freeville, New York, known as the "George Junior Republic." It is Utopian in its ideals, but the details are strictly carried out. It has its own laws, legislature, courts and administration, and everything is in the hands of the "citizens." The place has an atmosphere of its own, and children whose antecedents have been hopeless, were known to have developed a strong and independent character after residence here.

Let us now turn to the English system. In olden days the main idea in England was to use the same penal methods for all

criminals, young and old. Boys and girls laughed at imprisonment and there were striplings of 13 and 14 who had been committed ten, twelve, sixteen or seventeen times. The evil assumed such huge proportions that in London alone 200 "flash houses" frequented by 6,000 boys, trained and proficient in thieving and depredation, could be found.

It was due to the protests of Charles Dickens, as every reader of "Oliver Twist" will know, that England realised the situation and the first Reformatory School Act was passed in 1854. Earlier attempts to check the evil had no doubt been made but they proved quite insufficient to meet the evils, so much so that in the year 1854 no less than 14,000 juveniles passed through the prisons, 46% of whom had been committed more than once.

The Reformatory School Act (1854) substituted the school for the gaol and all judicial benches were empowered to send delinquents to schools when they had been guilty of acts punishable by short imprisonment, the limit of which was at first fourteen and became afterwards ten days. There was, however, a serious flaw in the Act inasmuch as it provided that a short period of imprisonment in gaol must precede reception into the reformatory. This was opposed by more enlightened opinion as inflicting an indelible prison taint on the youths and was done away with in the act of 1899.

Existing reformatories or "Senior Home Office Schools," as they are called, numbered 44 in 1907 and receive all juvenile offenders up to the age of sixteen who have been convicted of an offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment. The number of inmates in 1906 was 5586 and must be deemed highly satisfactory when compared with the figures of 1894.

The measures so far adopted, however, left out of account the large number of adolescents between the ages of 17 and 21 who supply about half the number of habitual criminals. The treatment could only be applicable to youths under sixteen as this was the age of criminal majority in England.

This led to the foundation of the Borstal Scheme which borrowed its principles from the great American institutions of Elmira and Concord. A penal establishment under state control, which was a half-way house between the prison and

the reformatory school, was started at Borstal in 1902. A selection was made of juvenile adults sentenced to not less than six months.

"They were divided on arrival into three separate classes, penal, ordinary, special, with promotion by good conduct and industry from the lowest to the highest, in which they enjoyed distinctive privileges. The general system, educational and disciplinary, was intelligent and governed by common sense. Instruction, both manual and educational, was well suited to the recipients; the first embraced field work, market gardening, and a knowledge of useful handicrafts: the second was elementary but sound, aided by well chosen libraries and brightened by the privilege of evening association to play harmless but interesting games. Physical development was guaranteed by gymnastics and regular exercises."

The result was striking. Youths who were 'rough untrained cubs' when they came, soon improved in demeanor and left the prison on the high road to regeneration. Private agencies, however, contribute not a little to the permanent reformation of these youths, by their efforts to find work, etc., for them, when they come out of the prison. The Borstal Association, founded under the patronage of distinguished persons in English public life, has done specially good work in this connection. Experience showed that although originally offenders committed to only six months' imprisonment were eligible for Borstal treatment, thoroughly good results could only be achieved with sentences of a year's duration. The limit has thus been gradually raised and now all adults between 16 and 21, whether convicted to penal servitude or to imprisonment, are admitted.

The Borstal system however did not bring within its scope the class of young criminals who were sentenced to terms of ten days and under for trifling offences. These young offenders, once having had the fear of prison taken away, were found to come back again and again. The Prevention of Crime Act of 1908 remedied this defect in the law and now the Court has power to pass sentence of detention in a Borstal institution for a term of not less than one year nor more than three on those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who by reason of criminal habits or tendencies or association with persons of bad character require such instruction and discipline as appear most conducive to their reformation. The establishment of other Borstal institutions is authorised by the Act, while a very useful provision is the power to

release on licence if there is a reasonable probability that the offender will abstain from crime and lead a useful and industrious life. The licence is issued on condition that he is placed under the supervision or authority of some society or persons willing to take charge of him.

This does not complete the list of measures or of institutions which exist in England for the welfare of offending youth. There is also a class of institutions for the reformation of potential criminals meant to strike at the very root of juvenile criminality. These are the industrial schools. They were founded on the principle that those who had a tendency to lapse into evil ways could be kept on the right path by proper preventive treatment. Consequently in 1856 the Industrial Schools Act was passed but was applied at first to Scotland only. Next year it was extended to England. There were 45 schools in the beginning but in 1907 there were 102 in England and Wales and 31 in Scotland.

These industrial schools are, again, of two sorts, the truant schools and the day industrial schools. The provisions of the Education Act of 1871 and 1876 led to a large increase in the number of children committed for breaches of the law and to the establishment of these two kinds of schools. The truant school is self-explanatory, and the day industrial school is a school where children do not reside but receive their meals, their elementary education and a certain amount of industrial training. The total admission of truant schools in 1907 were 1368 boys and the number actually in the schools on the last day of the year was 1125 with 2568 on licence. The total number who attended the day schools in 1907 was 1951 boys and 1232 girls.

There are certain institutions in France and Germany which should come in for a short notice.

A remarkable institution is the French colony at Mettray. It was founded by M. Demetz, a judge, who aghast at the evils inflicted upon children whom he was compelled by law to imprison, founded a small colony in 1840 called the "Société Paternelle." The motto of the Society was "the moralization of youth by the cultivation of the soil." Gardening, vine dressing, the raising of stock and the breeding of silkworms are the principal employment of the

inmates. The directors keep their charges so fully employed that they are quite tired when they go to bed and have no time to chat or romp about in the dormitory. Many colonies have been founded on this model. In France, the very young, viz., those under 12 years of age, are placed out in the country with families unless they can be again entrusted to their parents or committed to *Maisons Paternelles* containing 20 or 30 with a large staff.

In Germany there are many kinds of correctional institutions. Many private persons have also devoted themselves to the work and a most remarkable institution is the one founded by Dr. Wickern, called the Raube Haus near Hamburg. From a single cottage it has grown into a hamlet of twenty houses, each house having between 12 to 16 inmates. A marked feature of the institution is the number of 'brothers,' young men of good character who qualify for rescue work as superintendents of homes, prison officers and schoolmasters. They keep in touch with the inmates day and night, eat with them, sleep in their dormitories, direct their labour, accompany them to chapel, join in their recreations and sports. The instruction given in trades, in farming operations, gardening and fruit-raising.

This completes our survey of the arrangements which exist in the principal Western countries for the reformation of juvenile offenders. It now remains for us to consider how far they are instructive to us.

One thing stares us in the face at the very outset. It is the paucity of institutions of any kind whatsoever which can undertake the reformation of our erring youths. All the provincial governments have no doubt one reformatory school each in their respective jurisdictions. Some of the provinces have a juvenile jail for adults between the ages of 17-21, but we are not certain that all have one. But when we compare our needs, and our population is some index of our needs, with what we have got, we have to hang our heads in shame.

Compare the cases of England and Bengal. England has a population of about 42 millions, Bengal has 45, and hence the comparison would be a very apt one. In England, we have seen, there were 44 reformatories and 102 industrial schools, besides the reformatory at Borstal which is also a big institution, in the year 1907.

The figures for 1914 are not available but there can be no doubt that they would be higher than those of 1907.

On the other hand what do we find in Bengal? We find that for the whole presidency and the province of Bihar and Orissa there is one reformatory at Hazaribagh and there is a juvenile jail at Alipore which does not accommodate more than 300 at the outside. This shows how grossly negligent the Government have been in the care of the growing manhood of the nation. The injustice will be all the more apparent when we compare the number of boys (juveniles) treated and discharged by the various English institutions with those which received similar treatment here in Bengal. During the three years of 1904, 1905 and 1906, 3573 boys and 480 girls were placed out by the various English reformatories, of whom about 80% found regular employment.

During the same period again, the Industrial Schools had placed out about 8909 boys and 2505 girls, of whom about 87% found regular employment.

We have yet to show what the Borstal Jail did in this direction. It placed out and discharged 12,482 juveniles during the period of three years referred to above and about 50% of them are reported to have done well.

If we strike a total we find that 24,964 juveniles had been treated and discharged from the various institutions in England during the three years of 1905, 1906, and 1907.

Let us now look at Bengal. The Jail Administration Report for 1914 shows that during the year 750 juveniles were received in the Juvenile Jail at Alipore and 665 were discharged. It also shows that during the year 112 youthful offenders under the age of 15 were received under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. We have no figures to show the number of juveniles under 15 who were discharged during the year. Consequently we can add up the figures showing the number received during the year to form some idea of the activity in this line. We find that 862 juveniles in all were received by the two institutions in Bengal during the year 1914.

Now compare these figures with the figures for England already quoted divided by three. And what a striking difference!

It may be argued that criminality is not

so rampant in Bengal as in England. Apart from the soundness or otherwise of this proposition, I say there is much room for improvement even if it be accepted to be true. I know from personal knowledge how shabbily youngsters who are brought to court are treated in India. I give a specific instance. Two boys aged 12 and 14 were hauled up by the police on a charge of theft. The boys had stolen some iron lathes from the Ry. Godown and sold them to a smith. Now it was evident from the evidence that the boys were practically waifs, and in all probability they had been thieving this from before. But the magistrate sentenced them to whipping. They were of course whipped and let off to pursue their career of thieving unobstructed as before. This was done in a provincial capital under the very nose of the government.

This is not a solitary instance either. Anybody who is conversant with the working of the Indian Courts will bear testimony to the fact that juvenile offenders in India are more sinned against than sinning. It cannot therefore be said that in India there is no need for more institutions on the lines of the English reformatories and Industrial Schools.

In comparing the cases of England and Bengal I have not mentioned the recent arrangements made in Calcutta for the trial and detention of juvenile offenders. These institutions are at present rarely a year old, though fraught with great possibilities.

It would be doing injustice to ourselves if we did not refer to non-official efforts in India in this connection. It is no doubt a

sad comment on the public spirit of educated India that while most of the best managed institutions of Europe and America had their origin in and are being run by non-official enterprise, in India there should be none at all of their kind. I know only of one in Calcutta, viz., The Refuge in Bow Bazar Street, which is only a refuge for the waif and stray but is capable of being developed under proper guidance into one of the institutions of the type to be found in Germany or France.

I shall now close with another suggestion. Some non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council should interest himself in the treatment of juvenile offenders in India and should introduce a bill on the lines of the Prevention of Crimes Act (1908) of England. The Courts could then do away with short sentences on juvenile and adult offenders, and could send them to a house of reformation for a period sufficient to mend them. The American method of *indefinite sentences* is obviously unsuited for India where the governing body is not drawn entirely from the people.

Another thing in which the non-official member may interest himself is the arrangements which at present exist in the various juvenile jails in India for imparting industrial and other education to the boys and girls who are confined there. The proposed Jails Commission has been indefinitely postponed and it now entirely depends on us whether we shall remain where we are in the matter of jail administration.

B. CHATTERJI.

THE NOTION OF KINGSHIP IN THE SHUKRANITI

(Compared with the notion prevailing in contemporary Europe.)

BY R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

THE subject of political thought and institutions in Ancient India still awaits the investigation of scholars. It is a subject of absorbing interest, and, of course, it is impossible to overestimate its importance. For lack of thorough in-

vestigation into the subject, there is a good deal of unjustifiable dogmatising about it. Theories are confidently propounded for which there is no sufficient warrant. For instance, the view is generally prevalent, particularly among occi-

dentials, that the ancient Hindus knew only one theory of Kingship, viz., that the King is the representative of God on earth, and rules by Divine Right. The view expressed in the maxim *नारिष्यः दृष्टिवीर्यतः* ("No King but is the representative of God Vishnu"), is the only one that is supposed to have prevailed in Ancient India. It is also generally believed that there was no liberty in Ancient India, that the people never enjoyed the right of self-government, that the numerous governments that ruled over the different parts of the country were all absolute and arbitrary. The people were never consulted in carrying on the administration; there was no government even by law; the will of the monarch was supreme. I am not at present concerned with the question how far, if at all, these views are correct. I want simply to urge that the study of this subject is marked by utter lack of the true historical spirit. Large generalisations are made without a thorough and critical examination of even all the available materials, and preconceived notions enthroned as reasoned conclusions. It may suit statecraft to reiterate views which are not quite in accord with facts, but scholarship ought to have no other aim than that of finding out the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The available materials on the subject are indeed not too numerous, but even such as they are, they have not yet been critically and thoroughly examined with the result that the history of political thought and institutions in Ancient India is still to be written.

I must, however, own with pleasure that within recent years the subject has received a greater measure of attention from scholars. And there seems every reason to think that the commonplace notions on the subject will undergo a good deal of revision in the light of the new knowledge that is being acquired through the assiduity of our eminent scholars. The credit of giving a fresh impetus to this study belongs to Mr. R. Shamashastry B.A., of Mysore, whose publication of *Chanakya's Artha-Shastra* or "Science of Politics" in 1905-06 was a literary event of the greatest importance. The *Arthashastra* throws a flood of light not only on the political condition of Ancient India in the reign of Chandragupta, but also on the political thought and institutions that

were current at the time. The interest aroused by the *Arthashastra* has been kept up, and to a certain extent diffused among laymen by Mr. Narendranath Law's "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity," published last year. His book is based on the *Arthashastra* and gives a good popular account of the government and administration in the reign of the great founder of the Magadha Empire. Probably inspired by the example of Mr. Shamashastry, Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar of the Bengal National Council of Education has published a translation of the *Sukraniti*, and his introductory volume in which he proposes to treat of such important questions as (1) the data of ancient Indian economics, (2) the data of Ancient Indian Polity or Constitution, (3) the data of Ancient Indian Public Finance, (4) the data of Ancient Indian Jurisprudence and (5) the data of Ancient Indian International Law, is awaited with the greatest interest.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar is very enthusiastic in his praise of the *Sukraniti*. He says—

"Strictly speaking, the position of *Sukraniti*..... is unique and unparalleled. It is, in the first place, a manual of guidance to Kings and statesmen, as well as the Bible of the Demos—at once the work of a Machiavelli and a Rousseau. In the second place, it is a handbook of economics, politics, ethics and what not."

I confess, I do not feel the same glowing enthusiasm for the treatise, and, rather think that it is not at all necessary to indulge in such extravagant praise in order to show that, on the whole, it is a remarkable production on ancient Indian Polity. It contains in all five chapters. The first treats of the duties of Kings. The second deals with the functions of the Crown Prince and other state officials. The third gives general rules of morality to be observed by princes and people alike. The fourth chapter, which is a very large one, consists of seven sections and deals with the characteristics of friends, neutrals and enemies, with treasure, arts and sciences, social customs and institutions, the administration of justice, with fortresses and the army. The last chapter is a miscellaneous one, and lays down additional rules of morality calculated to promote the welfare of the state and the people. It is thus a comprehensive treatise and discusses various questions concerning government, administration, the organisation of national

military resources, war and general morality.

The design of this paper is a modest one. It does not seek to attempt an exhaustive review of the *Sukraniti*, but simply aims at considering the notion of Kingship as found in it. After fully setting it forth, I propose to compare and contrast it with the notion of Kingship as it obtained in Europe, in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In order to properly appreciate this comparative study of the notion of Kingship as it obtained in Ancient India in the period represented by the *Sukraniti* and in Europe in the corresponding period, it is necessary to determine the age of the *Sukraniti*. The fact that the *Sukraniti* is highly praised by the *Kamandakiya*, another but less important treatise on polity, and that many verses from it are quoted in the latter, clearly proves that the age of the *Sukraniti* must be anterior to that of the *Kamandakiya*. Now with regard to the age of the *Kamandakiya* Dr. Frederic remarks as follows in a report submitted by him to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the Sanskrit literature of the Island of Bali :

"It appears that the most popular work on the Polity in that island is called *Kamandakiya Nitisara*. The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawford show that the predominance of Buddhism in the island of Java obliged the Hindu inhabitants of that place to retire in the fourth century of the Christian era with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali. It has also been shown by the same authorities that since the period of their exile they had not any religious intercourse with India. It would, therefore, follow that the Sanskrit work now available in Bali, including the *Kamandakiya Niti* are of a date anterior to the 4th century A. D."

It would not, therefore, be wide of the mark if we conclude that the *Sukraniti* must have been written sometime before the 4th century A. D., and that it embodies political thought and institutions and the system of administration that obtained in Ancient India in the early centuries of the Christian era. So when we consider the notion of kingship in the *Sukraniti* it must be borne in mind that we are considering a political notion that prevailed in Ancient India about two thousand years ago.

The important verses bearing on this point are most of them contained in Chapters I & II of the *Sukraniti*. I must quote them here in full, in order that my critics may be able to judge for themselves

how far the inferences I draw from them are correct.

"The prince who is virtuous is a part of the Gods. He who is otherwise, is a part of the demons, an enemy of religion and oppressor of subjects. (139-40)

"The king who is restrained, valorous and skilled in the use of arms and weapons, who is the queller of foes and independent of *Niti*, who is a man of parts and has acquired the arts and sciences, who is not an associate of the lower classes, who has long views, who respects old men and attends to *Niti*, and who is respected by meritorious men is known to be a part of the gods. (667-70)

"The King who is otherwise, is a part of the demons and gets hell. (171)

"Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is the King only, but there are no ministers, well disciplined kinsmen and restrained offerings. (189-90)

"The gods ruin and cast down the King who is not a protector, the Brahman who is not a performer of penances, and the rich man who is not charitable. (239-40)

"Those Kings are like oxen (*i.e.* fools) by whom their army is not increased, by whom princes are not made to pay tribute, and by whom subjects are not well protected. (249-50)

"The King who is much attached to actors, musicians, prostitutes, athletes, oxen and lower castes deserves ignominy and is exposed to enemies. (253-54)

"The king who is inimical to the intelligent, who is pleased with cheats and does not understand his own faults, creates his own destruction. (255-56)

"The subjects desert a king who is uncharitable, who insults men, who practices deceit and uses harsh words, and who is severe in punishment. (277-78)

"People do not take to a king who is very cowardly, procrastinating, very passionate and excessively attached to the enjoyable things through ignorance. (279-80)

"Vena was ruined through vice and Prithu was prosperous through virtue. So the ruler should cultivate his interests by placing virtue in the front. (137-38)

"King Dandakya went to the dogs by taking to one of these six enemies, viz., sensuousness; Janmejaya through anger, Rajarsi Aila through cupidity, Asura Batapi through folly, Rakshasa Paulastya through vanity, and King Dambhodhbhava through passion. But the powerful Jamadagnya and the fortunate Ambarisha ruled the world for a long time by giving up these six enemies. (287-92)

"The King should not oppress the poor people by seeking his own interest. For they, dying through repression, ultimately ruin the King. (319-20)

"The King is honoured, because of these qualities. It is not birth that makes a King. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour. (363-64)

"The ruler has been made by Brahma a servant of the people, getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection. (375)

"The Monarch who follows his own will is the cause of miseries, soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated from his subjects. (Chapter II, Lines 7 & 8)

"The King who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him, is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth. (Chapter II, Lines 515-516)

'One should not do anything that is good to the King but is harmful to the people. (Do. 547)

"If the King be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert him as the ruiner of the state. (549-50)

"In his place for the maintenance of the state the priest with the consent of the ministers should instal one who belongs to his family and is qualified. (551-52)

"The written document with the King's seal is the real king. The king is not a king. (Do. 587)

"When the king is addicted to immoral ways people should terrify him by taking the help of virtuous and powerful enemies. (Chapter IV. Sec. 1, 225-26)

"So long as the man is virtuous, only so long is the king. Otherwise both the king and the people are ruined." (Chapter IV, Sec. 1, 227-28)

I have quoted those verses which bear on the nature of kingship; in other words, those which state what was the position of the author of *Sukraniti*, first, with regard to the source of the king's authority, and, secondly, with regard to the all-important question, viz., what should be the attitude of the people towards a king who is bad, wicked, and oppressive. There are other verses which describe the duties and functions of the king and the manner in which he should rule, and administer justice and generally behave towards his subjects, to some of which I shall have to refer later on. For the present, I want to consider what light the *Sukraniti* throws on the questions mentioned above. Those questions, I need hardly say, are among the most important and basic ones in political philosophy and history, and it is precisely on these and similar questions as affecting Ancient India that erroneous notions prevail.

What then are conclusions warranted by the above verses with regard to these questions?

In the first place, it may be noted that the *Sukraniti* does not lay down the proposition that every King, whether good or bad, is a representative or a part of the gods. It makes a clear distinction between a good king and a bad king, and distinctly maintains that it is only the former who is a part of the gods. The latter it describes as a part of demons, not of gods. Again, it clearly says that kingship does not arise from, nor is it a prerogative of birth. It is virtue alone that makes kingship. A king is a king only as long as he is virtuous. As soon as he deviates from the path of virtue and follows the path of vice he ceases to be a king. The conception is not unlike that of the Chinese

held by them since the time of their great national teacher and philosopher, Confucious. The Chinese conception is that a ruler receives his mandate from Heaven, but that mandate must be held to have been exhausted, if and as soon as he shows signs of mis-government, so that it is no disobedience of God's mandate or will to resist or depose a bad ruler; he has exhausted Heaven's mandate, and it is but right that he should be replaced by another to whom that mandate has been transferred. Thus the theory of the divine right of kings is combined with the equally divine right of the people to resist or depose them in case they take to evil ways, and bring suffering and misery to the country. The theory of the *Sukraniti* does not ascribe divinity to every king; it is not every king that is a part of God, or to speak in the language of Confucious, receives a mandate from Heaven. It is only the good king that receives such a mandate, the bad king being a part of the demons from whom alone he may be said to have received his mandate. In one respect, I may remark incidentally, the Chinese theory appears to me to be superior to that of the *Sukraniti*. The latter cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the position of a king who is good for some time, but for some reason or another, changes his ways, and in the end, turns out a bad and oppressive ruler. Whose part is such a ruler? Of the gods or the demons? He cannot be a part of the gods at one time and of the demons at another. On the other hand, the Chinese theory would maintain of such a ruler, that he, indeed, received his mandate from Heaven, but that mandate was exhausted, when he degenerated and became a bad ruler. This is, however, by the way. What I wish to urge is that the theory of the divine right of kings, as commonly understood, finds only a partial and qualified support from the *Sukraniti*, which applies it to good kings only.

The *Sukraniti* does not explicitly consider the question as to the source of the king's authority. But since it ascribes divinity to a good ruler, it may fairly be inferred that, according to it, such a ruler, at any rate, derives his authority from God. But there is at least one verse which contains the germ of the theory that the ultimate source of political power is the authority of the people. Verse 188

(line 375) of Chapter I, distinctly describes him as a servant of the people, his services as such being remunerated by the revenue he obtains. In other places also, it strongly insists that the king should do nothing that might displease the people. In lines 754 and 755, of Chapter I, it says that in any dispute between his officers and subjects, he should side with the latter, and further it is said that he should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men. It would indeed be too much to maintain that these precepts are inconsistent with the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Nevertheless, I think it is permissible to hold that the idea of the king being the servant of the people whom he ought to do everything in his power to please, and whose side he should take as against his officers, contains the germ out of which the theory of the sovereignty of the people would have fully evolved, if the conditions of Ancient India, which, on account of the existence of numerous independent kingdoms which did not hesitate to war against one another, when it suited their interests or purposes, required all power to be vested in some central authority, had been more favourable to steady and orderly development of political thought.

The next question is, what has *Sukraniti* got to say with regard to the attitude of the people towards a bad ruler who misgoverns the kingdom and sacrifices the good of the people and the State to his own selfish interests? This question it approaches and considers in four different ways, one being negative, and the rest positive. In the first place, it nowhere lays down the duty of unconditional obedience and non-resistance. If the author of the *Sukraniti* had believed in the doctrine of non-resistance, he would certainly have mentioned it in this treatise. But he is not content with merely maintaining a negative position with regard to this question. He strongly denounces a bad king as an ox (i.e. as a fool), as a thief, as an exploiter of the people's wealth and urges (1) that the people should terrify him by taking the help of virtuous and powerful enemies and (2) if this is not found sufficient, even to desert or depose him as the ruiner of the State, and place any other qualified member of the royal family on the throne in his place.

The *Sukraniti* also adopts what may be called the historical method in dealing

with this question. It points out that as a matter of fact, the subjects will rise against a ruler who oppresses them, whether their doing so is or is not morally defensible. The doctrine of non-resistance may or may not be an ethically sound one. But the advocates of this doctrine apparently ignore one fact, viz., that the power of mere abstract theory is never so great as to outweigh all practical considerations. The author of *Sukraniti* has carefully avoided this error to which mere doctrinaire philosophers are liable. He recognises the force of facts and maintains that a bad ruler is always exposed to dangers both from within and without, that the people, when they groan under misery and oppression, cast all abstract theories to the wind, and work for the destruction of the wicked ruler. Lines 319-20 of Chapter I, clearly state that if the king oppresses the people, they, dying through repression, ultimately ruin him. Again, in lines 7 and 8 of Chapter II, it is stated, that the monarch who follows his own will, soon gets estranged from his kingdom, and alienated from his subjects. And the author illustrates these inevitable results by citing historical instances of monarchs, such as Vena and Dandakya who brought ruin upon themselves by their vices and wickedness. He goes even further, and sees divine sanction for this fate of oppressive and vicious rulers. For, in one verse, it is stated that the gods ruin and cast down the king who is not a protector. The destruction of a wicked monarch who neglects his duties and is guilty of misgovernment is not only a popular act, it is a divine act also. Thus the author of the *Sukraniti* maintains both directly and indirectly, that it is no wrong to resist a tyrannous and vicious ruler.

I have thus far considered the position of the *Sukraniti* with regard to (1) the nature of Kingship and (2) the attitude of the people towards a bad ruler. It will be seen from what I have said above that the view generally held that the Ancient Hindus never knew any other theory of kingship than that the king rules by Divine Right, that he is entitled to receive the unconditional obedience of his subjects, and that he should in no case, be resisted, whatever may be his character as a ruler, finds no support from the *Sukraniti*.

I now proceed to consider the notion of kingship as it prevailed in the West in the

early centuries of the Christian era so that we may be in a position to institute a comparison between it, and that in the *Sukraniti*. The subject is exhaustively treated in "A history of Mediæval Political Theory in the West," by R. W. Carlyle and A. T. Carlyle, and the information embodied in this essay is for the most part derived from that book.

The political theory of the Middle Ages with regard to kingship has a double source. In the first place, it is founded upon the theory represented by the Roman Lawyers from the second to the sixth century, and secondly, upon the theory represented by the Christian Fathers from the second to the seventh century.

The Romans were not such keen political theorists as the Greeks, whose contributions to political thought are perhaps unparalleled in the history of political speculation in the ancient world. The notions of the Romans were, however, profoundly influenced by Greek culture and institutions. And the Roman Lawyers, from the second to the sixth century, maintained that there was only one ultimate source of political power, and that was the authority of the people. According to them, even the Emperor owed his authority to the people. Ulpian says that the Emperor's will is law, *but only because the people choose to have it so*. (The italics are mine.) And Ulpian's view sums up the universal theory of the Roman Lawyers. The view is extremely remarkable, because it invests the Emperor with unlimited personal authority, while at the same time maintaining that that authority is based upon the will of the people. It may be compared to Hobbes's theory of the social contract, which maintains that though the sovereign power derives all its authority from a covenant entered into by the people, it has, at the same time, an absolute right to the submission of the subjects, singly as well as collectively.

• A different note is sounded by the Christian Apostles and Fathers and it is interesting to trace the growth of their notion of kingship from the rise of Christianity down to the Middle Ages.

The thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans contains the following important passage bearing on this subject:—

"Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the

powers that be are ordained of G^d. Therefore he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil. And wouldst thou have no fear of the power? Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise from the same; for he is minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore, you must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath but also for conscience' sake."

Here we have the notion clearly and strongly expressed that the king derives his authority from God, that to resist him is to resist God, and that therefore it is a sin to do so. The king is regarded as a minister of God and his duty is to encourage the good and to repress the evil. There is no idea that the king himself might be an evil one, nor as to what should be done in case he is a bad ruler and fails to discharge his duties.

The same view is urged by St. Peter in his first letter. He says:—

"Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme; or unto governors as sent by him for vengeance on evil doers and for praise to them that do well."

This new theory of kingship, from which the theory of the Divine Right of Kings was developed in subsequent ages in all its fulness, owes its origin to Christianity, which at least in its early periods seems to have produced a reactionary effect upon political thought. All new religions and sects are apt to produce a class of fanatics inclined to defy the existing social, political and religious order, and the early Christians formed no exception to the rule. A section of them abused the conception of individual liberty emphasised by Christianity, and betrayed anarchical tendencies. They were suspected of disloyal designs, and some of them went so far as to evince a contempt for all government. St. Paul, St. Peter, and other leaders of the Church had to guard against these undesirable tendencies. But in so doing they went to the other extreme, and expressed views which were subsequently developed into the theory of the Divine Right of Kings.

The Christian Fathers inquire into the origin of government and maintain that the institution of government is not primitive, but was made necessary by the vices of human nature. They hold that God made rational beings in His own image, not to be lords over each other but

to be lords of the irrational creatures, and that, the government of man by man is not part of the natural order of the world. In the state of nature, they say, all men did not require coercive government, because they were all good, and freely and willingly obeyed the wise. But in course of time degeneracy set in, and sin entered the world. And the birth of sin rendered coercive government necessary. Thus, according to the Fathers, government is a Divine institution, and its object is 'to neutralise and remove the evil effects of sin in human society.

If government is a divine institution, the question arises: what is the position of bad rulers? One of the Fathers, Irenæus discusses this question, and his answer is that often God gives men evil rulers to punish their wickedness. The ruler, according to him, is not only the minister of God's remedy for sin, but the instrument of his punishment. Thus in the view of Irenæus, a bad ruler no less than a good one, derives his authority from God and is entitled to obedience.

Another Father, St. Ambrosiaster, describes the king as the "Vicar of God," and says that "the king has the image of God as the Bishop has that of Christ." He also agrees with Irenæus in thinking that the sacred character of the office of kingship cannot be lost owing to any misconduct of the ruler. St. Augustine expresses the same view with a certain added emphasis. He says that even rulers of the worst type such as Nero receive their power through the providence of God, when He judges that a nation may require such rulers. St. Isidore is of the same opinion. He concludes that a wicked ruler is appointed by God just as much as a good ruler. The character of the ruler according to him is adapted to the character of the people: if they are good, God will give them a good ruler; if they are evil, He will give them an evil ruler. Evidently, he ignores the theory that government owes its origin to the entry of sin, as well as the fact that it is not good subjects that require a good ruler so much as bad subjects. St. Gregory the Great goes even further. Referring to the conduct of David towards Saul, he points out how David is said to have refused to lay his hand on him and even to have repented of cutting off the hem of his garment. He takes Saul to stand for a wicked King and David for

a good subject, and concludes that David's attitude shows that "good subjects will not even criticise rashly or violently the conduct even of bad rulers: for, to resist or offend against a ruler is to offend against God, who has set him over men."

Commenting upon the position of St. Gregory the Great the authors of the book 'A history of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West' to which I am indebted for this information, remark:

"There can be no doubt that we have here the doctrine of the sanctity and Divine authority of the ruler in a very strong form: even the seventeenth century apologists of the Divine Right hardly go further in preaching the necessity of obedience and the wickedness of resistance. It is from the doctrine of St. Gregory the Great that the religious theory of the absolute and irresponsible authority of the ruler continually drew its strongest arguments, both in the Middle Ages and later."

Again they remark:

"In St. Gregory the Great, we find in definite and systematic form a theory of the source of authority in Government which is very sharply contrasted with that which we have seen to be characteristic of the legal writers. They trace the source of all authority in the State to its fountainhead in the people. St. Gregory traces the authority of rulers directly to God. The history of Mediaeval political theory is very largely the history of the struggle between these two views, in which, however, for many centuries the combatants change places. For, at least from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, it is the Imperialist Party which defends the theory of the Divine authority of the ruler, it is the ecclesiastical which maintains that his authority is derived from the people."

I have thus traced the rise and growth of the notions which ultimately crystallised into the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Dr. Figgis in his excellent book on "The Divine Right of Kings" has well summed up the theory as fully developed. He says:—

The theory of the Divine Right of Kings in its completest form involves the following propositions:—

- (1) Monarchy is a divinely ordained institution.
- (2) Hereditary right is indefeasible. The succession to monarchy is regulated by the law of primogeniture. The right acquired by birth cannot be forfeited through any act of usurpation, of however long continuance, by any incapacity in the heir or by any act of deposition. So long as the heir lives, he is king by hereditary right, even though the usurping dynasty has reigned for a thousand years.
- (3) Kings are accountable to God alone. Monarchy is pure, the sovereignty being entirely vested in the king whose power is incapable of legal limitation. All law is a mere concession of his will and all constitutional forms and assemblies exist entirely at his pleasure. He cannot limit or divide or alienate the sovereignty, so as in any way to prejudice the right of his successor to its complete exercise. A mixed or limited monarchy is a contradiction in terms.
- (4) Non-resistance and passive obedience are

enjoined by God. Under any circumstances resistance to a king is a sin and ensures damnation."

The theory of the Divine Right of Kings lingered in England till the Revolution of 1688. The first two Stuarts were the strongest advocates of the theory, and James I., wrote books and made speeches in support of it. "Nowhere," says Mr. Gooch in his little book on *Political thought in England from Bacon to Halifax*, "is the Divine Right of Kings . . . more concisely formulated or defended with more unfaltering conviction than in the pages of the British Solomon." In his treatise on the "True Law of Free Monarchies or the mutual duty betwixt a free king and his subjects," James I., says:

"A good king will frame all his actions according to the law; yet he is not bound thereto but of his good will and for good example to his subjects. He is master over every person, having power over life and death. For though a just prince will not take the life of any of his subjects without a clear law yet the same laws whereby he taketh them are made by himself or his predecessors."

James I., held that "a wicked King is sent by God as a plague on people's sins, and it is unlawful to shake off the burden which God has laid upon them." "The wickedness of the king," he says, "can never make them that are ordained to be judged by him to become his judges." "Patience, earnest prayer and amendment of their lives are the only lawful means to move God to relieve them of that heavy curse." In his speech to Parliament in 1689, he declared:

"Kings are justly called gods; for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be accountable to none. And the like power have kings. They make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising up and casting down; of life and death; judges over all their subjects and in all cases, yet accountable to none but God. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things and to make of their subjects like men at chess."

But the doctrine became more and more unpopular; a long struggle ensued between the people and the Crown in which Charles I., lost his head and with the Revolution of 1688, the theory of an original contract was substituted for that of the divinity of kings. "The doctrine of non-resistance," says the historian Gardiner, "was false in itself and hung like a blight for many years over the energies of England. If it had

ever obtained general recognition, it would have cut at the root of all that has made the nation what it is."

We have now enough materials before us to enable us to draw a comparison between the notion of kingship in the *Sukraniti*, and that which prevailed in Europe till the ninth century A.D. and lingered in England so long as the Revolution of 1688. Those materials fully warrant the conclusion that the notion of kingship as found in the *Sukraniti* was much more advanced than that of Europe in the corresponding period. True, the development of our political thought was arrested, and we do not seem to have made further progress until, of course, the establishment of British rule inaugurated altogether a new era in our national history, thought and life. But the political thought of Ancient India as reflected in the *Sukraniti* was undoubtedly superior to that of contemporary European thinkers and writers. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings as first formulated by St. Paul, St. Peter, and other Christian apostles and subsequently developed by St. Gregory the Great and other Christian Fathers finds no counterpart in the *Sukraniti*. The *Sukraniti* does not predicate divinity of every king, it does not say that bad kings derive their authority from God as much as good kings, and are sent by Him as a punishment for men's sins; nor does it advocate the doctrine of unqualified and unconditional non-resistance. According to the European theory, every king, good or evil, is a representative of God; according to the theory of the *Sukraniti*, it is only the good king who is a representative of God, the evil one being a representative of Satan. According to the European theory an evil king is an instrument of God's wrath for men's vices and sins, no such view is maintained by the *Sukraniti*. While the European theory lays down the duty of non-resistance even in the case of oppressive rulers, the *Sukraniti* preaches that such rulers should be resisted and even, if need be, deposed, if less stringent methods of bringing them to book are found to be of no avail. In short, the theory of the *Sukraniti* is a greater approximation to the modern theory of constitutional monarchy except in one particular, viz., that it ascribes divinity to a good and virtuous King.

It would not be amiss if I conclude this essay with a brief reference to a few other salient features of the political thought as found in the *Sukraniti*. The *Sukraniti* is a treatise both on politics and ethics. Like the ancient Greeks, the ancient Hindus did not separate politics from ethics. The two were blended together. Nor can it be said that the modern divorce between them has not had certain evil consequences, in particular, the consequence of lowering the standard of international morality. Dr. Jowett, in his Introduction to Aristotle's Politics, says:

"During the last century, enlightened philosophers have been fond of repeating that the State is only a machinery for the protection of life and property. But the ancients taught a nobler lesson, that ethics and politics are inseparable; that we must not do evil in order to gain power; and that the justice of the State and the justice of the individual are the same. The older lesson has survived; the newer is seen to have only a partial and relative truth."

In the same way, Mr. Earnest Barker in his little book on "Political thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day" says:

"Political philosophy in itself, and apart from other studies is essentially an ethical study, which regards the State as a moral society and inquires into the ways by which it seeks to attain its ultimate moral aim. Assuming a moral ideal for all human institutions, and therefore for the State as one of the greatest of these institutions, political philosophy interprets the State in terms of ethics, and seeks to determine its relation to the moral constitution and development of man."

The author of the *Sukraniti* would have cordially agreed with these authors in the view that the society and the State have both a moral end. Aristotle's phrase that "man desires first to live and afterwards to live well," is well-known. Both he and Plato held that the end and aim of Government is the active promotion of virtue,—of a better and a better life, until it attained as much perfection as is possible in this world. The author of the *Sukraniti* holds the same view, and hence, we find him constantly insisting upon the practice of virtue both by the king and the subjects, and also urging that the king should promulgate not only laws, strictly so called, but moral exhortations also.

The necessity of the State and the government for human evolution is recognised by the author of the *Sukraniti*. In lines 131-32 of Chapter I, it is stated that "without the ruler the subjects do not keep to their own spheres." Again in line 187

of the same Chapter, the *Sukraniti* says, "the subjects, however vicious, must not be without a king."

The *Sukraniti* declares that the Government should not be only moral but also powerful. It does not advocate the doctrine that the State is Force; such a doctrine it would have condemned as immoral, as opposed to the moral aim and purpose of the State. But it does advocate the doctrine that the State is Power and holds that real national prosperity is impossible without both Morality (*Niti*) and Power (*Sakti*). The thirty-fourth line of Chapter I, says that "where there are both *Niti* and *Might*, there flourishes all-round prosperity." This doctrine that success depends both on *Niti* and *Shakti* deserves to be noted. A nation cannot attain to greatness and prosperity, if it acts morally but fails to become powerful. On the other hand, mere power will not bring greatness and prosperity, unless a nation's aims and methods are strictly moral. Power comes to ruin if and when it is divorced from morality.

As the *Sukraniti* regards power as essential to prosperity, it has no sympathy with weak, timid, and pleasure-seeking monarchs who neglect the military resources of their kingdoms. In lines 245-248 of Chapter I, the eight principal functions of the king are mentioned, and two of them are: (1) conversion of princes into tributary chiefs and (2) quelling of enemies. In line 641 of Chapter I, again, it is said that the king should be mindful about strength, prowess and daily preparation for war (*Utthana*). And in lines 15-16 of Section VII, it is declared, that the army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy, and that therefore the king should carefully maintain a formidable army. And in fact, two sections of Chapter IV of the *Sukraniti* are entirely devoted to military topics such as "Fortresses" and the "Army."

There is a general belief that there were no checks on the authority of the king in Ancient India. But this is a mistake. There was indeed no Parliament in the modern sense of the word, and no responsible Government. Nevertheless, the ancient Hindus had evolved a political and social system which in practice left very little scope for the exercise of autocratic powers by the king. In the first place, the greatest care was taken of the education of the

king, who was taught not only logic, economics, the three Vedas, but also in particular, ethics and political science. The *Sukraniti* and other ancient treatises on polity lay the greatest stress on the practice of virtue by the monarch, the object being to develop in him a strong and virtuous character. Secondly the old system as well as tradition required that the king should have a *guru* or preceptor, a man generally of superior intelligence, profound insight and great saintliness. In lines 293-94 of Chapter I, of the *Sukraniti*, it is laid down that, "Augmenting virtue and wealth, which are pursued by the good, and controlling his senses, the king should worship his preceptor." And the *Guru* or preceptor had a recognised and influential position in the Councils of the State. He had a seat in the Council Chamber and was consulted on every important question. And being a *Guru* he expressed his opinions freely and fearlessly, and exercised great personal influence upon the king. And that influence always tended to keep the king on the path of righteousness.

The third check upon the conduct of the King was provided by the institution of ministers. In lines 189-90 of Chapter I, it is stated that "sovereignty in a Kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is the King only, but there are no ministers." Again, in lines 3 and 4 of Chapter II, it is laid down that "even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past master in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers." And in lines 5 and 6 of the same Chapter, it is further said that "the wise ruler should ever abide by the well-thought-out decisions of his ministers—and never by his own opinions."

A still more important and effective check was the institution of a Consultative Assembly—a sort of a Senate composed of the royal kinsmen, friends, ministers, the *guru* and other leading gentlemen specially nominated. Lines 707-8 of Chapter I, of the *Sukraniti* lay down that "the king should discuss royal duties with friends, brothers, sons, relatives, commanders and members in the Council House." The word "members" seems to point to the conclusion that there was in Ancient India a system whereby the king nominated leading citizens as members of his Council—a practice which we find followed in some

Native States even to-day. The *Sukraniti* then lays down rules as to the order in which the members of the Council should be seated in the Council Chamber, and enjoins that "the king should receive in written form the opinions of each separately with all his arguments, compare them with his own opinion, and *then do what is accepted by the many*." (The italics are mine). This shows that according to the *Sukraniti*, the king ought to abide not by his own personal opinion but by the decision of the majority of the Council. And when we remember that in ancient times, custom and Shastric injunctions had all the binding force of law and a written constitution, there can be very little doubt that the adoption of the decision of the majority of the Council was the rule rather than the exception. A strong and intelligent king would no doubt be able to win over the Council to his own views; but if the king was weak-minded and inefficient and still declined to follow the deliberate decision of the majority of this Council, and if his obstinacy in following his own personal predilections resulted in sufferings to the people, they could, as I have pointed out above, bring him to book by threatening to go over to his enemies and if need be, to depose him.

The notion that the Hindu kings in Ancient India lived in semi-divine seclusion, like the *Mikados* of Japan before the Restoration, does not find any support from the *Sukraniti*. The picture which it draws is that of a king mixing freely with his subjects, touring throughout his kingdom with a view to ascertain from personal inquiry their wants and grievances, administering justice in person in the presence of the parties, and participating in popular festivals and enjoyments. The greatest stress is laid upon the proper administration of justice, and Section V of Chapter IV of the *Sukraniti* is devoted to the question, viz.: How and in accordance with what procedure, justice should be administered? It is laid down in lines 9-13 of the section that the king should administer justice according to the dictates of *Dharma-shastras* in the company of the Chief Justice *Amatya*, Brahmins and Priest, but he should never do so singly or in secret. The administration of justice was to be in open Court in the presence of the parties, and the King was always to consult the Chief Justice, the *Amatya*, the Brahmin,

and the Priest before giving his judgment. The duty of personal inspection of villages and towns is laid down in lines 751-52 of Chapter I, which say that

"The king must personally inspect every year the *gramas*, *puras* or cities, and *desas* or districts and provinces and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers and deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people."

In conclusion, it may, I think, be justly maintained that the *Sukraniti* embodies, on the whole, a high conception of kingship, comparing favourably with that prevailing in Europe in the corresponding period. If it does not advocate popular government, it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with political thought of more than two thousand years ago, and that, even now, there are thinkers who have no absolute faith in popular government as the best mode of conducting the affairs of the State. We must not

judge of political thought in Ancient India by the standards of to-day; to do so would mean that Time is no factor in the progress of human thought and institutions. Why our political thought and life was arrested and we failed to attain to the development of political life such as we find in many countries of the West, is, indeed, an interesting question to which we shall have to give our consideration; but obviously this is not the proper place for doing so. Suffice it to say that the political thought as embodied in the *Sukraniti* is such that we have every reason to be proud of it. If the vicissitudes of our national fortune tended to arrest the progress of our political thought and life, the present times are peculiarly favourable to such progress. And I conclude with a fervent hope that the subject of political science and political philosophy will receive increasing attention from our scholars and writers.

THE PLACE OF INDIANS IN THE WORLD'S ATHLETICS

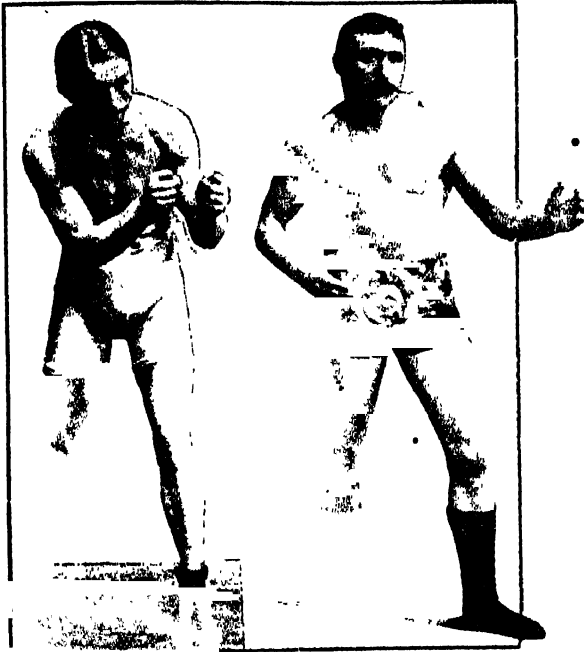
JUST two months ago a wonderful long-distance running record was established at Poona, by S. Y. Dattar, who has run more than the standard Marathan course, almost in an incredibly short space of time. Though he has failed to break the world's running record, he has established at least a record run in the East. We may hope that he will some day lower the world's record established in the last Olympic games, in the near future.

The athletes who are still ahead of Mr. Dattar are three only. In the London Olympiad in 1908 J. J. Hayes, the U. S. A. champion, established the Marathan record by running 26 miles 385 yards in 2 hrs. 55 mts. 18¼ secs. In the last Stockholm Olympic games of 1912 this record of Hayes was broken by K. K. MacArthur and William Gitsham, running 25 miles in 2 hrs. 36 mts. 54¼ secs. and 2 hrs. 37 mts. 52 secs. respectively. Dattar has only these last two redoubtable adversaries to meet, Hayes having retired since. But it will be admitted on all hands that Dattar is the

only man to run 27 miles, and considering the greater length of the course, it is a record by itself. It is a matter of deep regret that we Indians do not find a place in the world's athletics, though no other nation in the whole world is more qualified for that honour. It has been proved again and again that the Indians, as athletes, are far ahead of any other nation. For the Indians are born athletes and not made. This statement has long ago been corroborated by English and American experts. The Indians, they say, do not lack anything in the making of athletes. But it has been now the privilege of the Europeans to recognise or not recognise our athletic supremacy, since they are working heart and soul to prove that "A nation is known by its athletes."

In spite of their maintaining that the Europeans are nations of sportsmen, it has been noticed over and over again that they simply refuse to accept the superiority or even the equality of nations black or brown. As a glaring instance of it, we have

the shameful treatment by the French Boxing Association of Jack Johnson. In 1908 Johnson became the Champion Boxer of the world by defeating Tommy Burns at Sydney and the great Jim Jeffries (who was known as the Emperor of the Boxing



GEORGES CARPENTIER
Squaring up to meet
a scientific boxer

PAT CONNOLLY

ring) at Reno U. S. A. (1909). A few years later Georges Carpentier, the boy champion, became the Heavy-weight Champion Boxer of France at



FRANK GOTCH CHAMPION OF THE WORLD.

the age of 17. He also won the welter weight championship of Europe that very year. Having a great promising boxer on its side the French Boxing Association refused to accept Johnson as champion of the world and declared

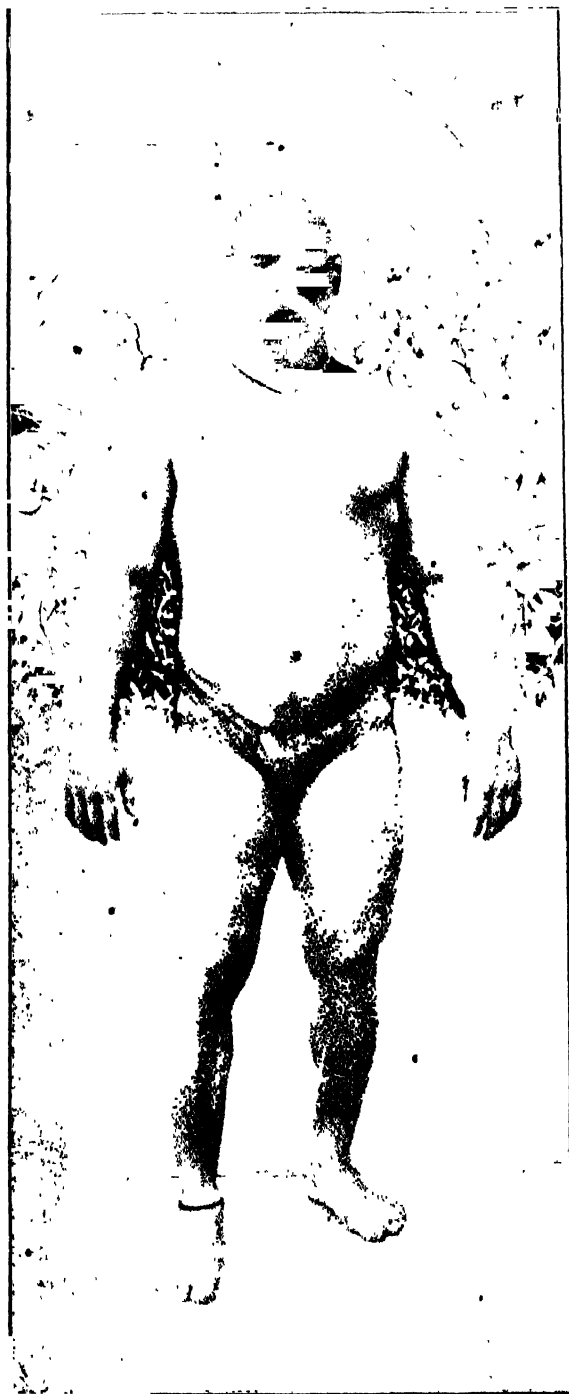


GOBAR.



John Lemm, The Famous
Swiss Wrestler.

•Geo Hackenschmidt
With Championship Belt.



GAMA OF LAHORE

Carpentier as the white heavy-weight Boxing Champion of the world, in spite of there being three most stubborn and great boxers, Jack Johnson, Sam Langford and Joe Jeanette to wit. Carpentier became the recognised champion consequently, which is

perhaps the most shameful presumption, and it places before us a most glaring example of Europe's sporting justice.

It has also become difficult for us to participate in the Olympic games. It was to be held in Berlin this year, and to retrieve her lost honor in the last Olympiad, Britain had started an Olympic Games Fund, to which several famous Indians like Ratan Tata had contributed. The British Olympic Games Committee proposed to take representatives from the British dominions, on the side of England, and South Africa, New Zealand, Canada and Australia were thought fit to participate for Britain. We received information from the offices of *Health and Strength and Sporting Life* that it was still undecided whether the Indians would be given a chance. They returned my letter on this subject saying that it could not be published.

Now we shall review the doings of the Indian athletes in various branches of physical culture.

Gymnastics—It is said, that in the Olympic games held in Athens (1892 or 93) Mr. Krishnalal Bysack had won the Individual Gymnastic Championship of the world. It might be a rumour, but we shall feel greatly obliged if any one will please corroborate the fact.

Boxing—There are many Indians who have established their reputation as good boxers. Mr. Gyanada Prasanna Mukherjee, the famous big-game hunter, of Gobardanga, and Mr. P. Mitra of Calcutta are mentioned as only two of the many. In the Inter-University sports Mr. Promode Lal Ray, (Cambridge Trinity), son of the Calcutta barrister Mr. P. L. Ray, has twice won the Inter University welter-weight Boxing Championship. We should have heard more of his exploits had not the University sports been stopped this year. He received his college full blue—a rare honor to an Indian—and now he is in the front working with the British Red Cross Society. The "Boxing," London, had first introduced Promode Lal as a Gurkha, but afterwards they admitted their mistake. In the opinion of some famous English trainers, Promode Lal promises to be a veritable boxing giant like Carpentier; they say,

"Mr. Ray has the rare fighting qualities like Carpentier, in his time he promises to be a world-famous boxer."

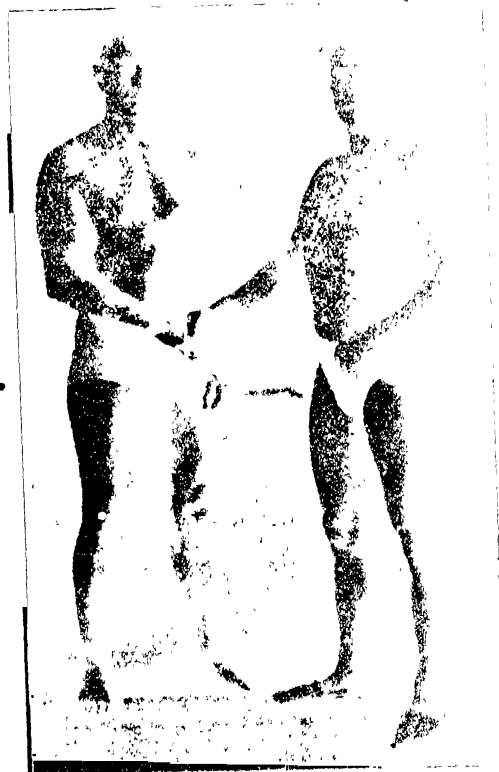
This proves quite clearly that boxing,



Top.—AHMUD BUX WAITING FOR ARMAND CHILPERLOD.

Below.—“DABEE CHOWDRAY, at Benares, a vegetarian, 46 years of age, who is said to have lifted a 960lb weight. Such feats of strength are not, by any means, rare among the tribes of India, as Rama Murti, Buttan Singh, and the Indian wrestlers have proved on their visits to this country. Gobar, for instance, who is in England now, swings clubs that no ordinary Englishman could lift, and carries a stone collar of prodigious weight round his neck.”

though it is the national sport of the Europeans, is not absolutely their own. Some years ago, there was the great All-India Boxing Championship Tournament, held at Calcutta. In spite of there being some prizes awarded by Indians notables like Maharaja Prodyotkumar, Raja Tajhat,



George Hackenschmidt on the right, in his new gymnasium at Shoreham, shaking hand with his trainer, Dr. B. F. Roller.

Sir Rajendra Mukerji and Mr. J. F. Madan, no Indian was allowed to take part in it. The All-India Championship is held every year, but to our great regret, not one Indian has ever been allowed to measure his strength and skill with his white fellow-subjects. Some critic might put forward a question, “What qualification have you to join it? Why should you?” Like the immortal coster we would say, “What qualification haven’t we, why shan’t we join?” and finally “why are we not allowed to join?”

Long distance cycling—In 1911 three Parsee gentlemen rode from Peshwar to Bombay, about 1200 miles, on ordinary bicycles. Though none else had accomplished such a great endurance feat, it has not been accepted as the record long-distance cycle race of India, the Calcutta-Bombay motor-bike race having taken its place.

Weight Lifting—It is considered to



L. H. BANI

be a great health-giving branch of physical culture in Europe and America. Many of our countrymen have begun practising weight lifting, considering it to be western, but they do not perhaps know that it has been practised in India since time immemorial. Of course, the systems and implements of the East and West are different. In the West they use iron Barbells and here in India we use stone "Nals." The champion weight lifter of the world is Arthur Saxon; he can lift 370lbs. in one hand, in the bent press style, while Carl Swoboda and Josef Steinback of Austria can lift 500lbs., two hands clean, style. A. Saxon is the accepted champion. About three years ago the weight lifting championship of India was held at Karachi, in which an English private won the championship (heavy weight) by lifting only 270lbs, and he was accepted as such by the English community. Shortly after the Allahabad Exhibition in 1911, Prof. Himmat Bux and Dr. Ishmatulla lifted weights to decide who deserved the Indian weight lifting championship and the proud title of India's strongest man. This "match" took place at Aurangabad, Deccan. Professor Himmat Bux lifted 985 lbs. 9 times and was declared

as the true champion of India and accepted as such by Indians. One Devi Chowdhry of Benares can lift 960 lbs. 6 times. Considering his 46 years of age, it is an unheard of event and appears to be an un-imaginable matter, but fact is fact. It is evident, therefore, that Devi Chowdhry and Himmat Bux are the real men to be the world's champions. There are associations in England to recognise and record these sports. These associations have power to decide a champion. So the lifelong efforts of athletes are amply rewarded and no one can pose and parade himself as a champion. There in England the National Sporting Club controls boxing, weight lifting is controlled by the British Amateur and Professional Weight-lifting Associations. Wrestlers have to obey the authority of the Wrestlers' Union. Similarly there are associations to control other sports, such as swimming, running, etc. We have no such controlling body in India, excepting the Calcutta Football Association. In spite of the fact that the I. F. A. has no real controlling power outside Calcutta, we know very well to what extent the game of football has improved in this country. The condition of our athletics cannot improve until they are controlled by a committee of experts and until the athletic records are appreciated and recognised and athletes given proper incentives.

Wrestling It is this science in which the Indian physical culturist excels. Wrestling has been practised in India since the earliest times. The study and practice of centuries have resulted in its greatest development. It has been proved more than once that Indian wrestlers are the best in the world. We have taken the front rank in the wrestling world, and we sincerely hope that our honor in this particular branch of "physical culture" will be maintained to the remotest future. Many English experts say that

Nowhere in the world the art of wrestling received so much attention as in India.... wrestlers not to be equalled in any other country. Of no other country can it be said, that wrestling is the national sport, and the Indian professional wrestler has nothing to learn from the exponents of the art in Europe or America. Wrestling has been practised in India since the earliest times...."

Some people have a better opinion of the Japanese Jujitsu experts than the Indian Wrestlers. It is a great mistake, for

"None of the tricks of Jujitsu that might be applied



Maurice Deriaz, as the Sleeping Bacchus, from the painting by Gustave Courtois

in wrestling, are unknown to the Indian wrestler. There is this difference, that the latter has been taught to avoid them as being unfair. The wrestler could apply them in any emergency.

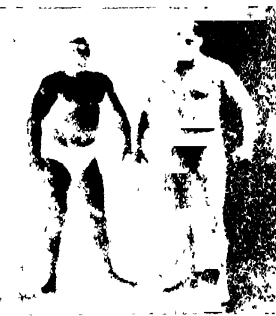
It is not known to many that Jujitsu was practised in Northern India, where it was known as "Binot," but it is much to be regretted that this art is dying out very quickly. There are at present only one

but our present worship of all-that-is-western is killing all our national sports, which any other nation in the world would be proud to possess and excel in by all means. It would not be quite stunning to hear that Jujitsu of Japan and Ghina of Iceland are only branches of Indian wrestling. These arts are now nearly dead, and will be remembered only as things of the remote past with the death of the few experts who are still alive.

It is now our foremost duty to revive these sports, otherwise in another twenty years it would be a difficult proposition. We sincerely hope that there will be a great improvement in the culture of the physique if associations like the I. F. A. are established. Separate associations are to be es-



The signing of the articles at the "Sporting Life" Office. Seated (left to right): Mr. R. B. Benjamin, Ahmed Bux, Maurice Deriaz, Mr. Ernest Delaloye.



Cherpillod Delaloye.

or two Binot experts in Rohilkhand. It should be one of our foremost duties to revive this sport, for many such arts are gradually dying out for want of support and sympathy as no one ever cares to keep them alive. If we neglect the practise and culture of Binot, etc., thinking that by encouraging it we should be promoting and favouring hooliganism, then the result is obvious. These arts had greatly flourished under the patronage of Indian rajahs and aristocrats,

established to control different branches of sport. If such controlling bodies are established there will be a perfect order among their constituents, and championship titles perfectly safe.

A few years ago in the last Paris Exhibition the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru of Allahabad took the famous wrestler Ghulam there. No Indian wrestler had set foot in Europe before Ghulam. In the Paris Exhibition, Ghulam wrestled with the famous Turkish wrestler Ahmad Madrali, and this Indian lowered the colors of the celebrated Turk almost with-



Ch. Mahmoud Ramjan Ahmed Bux Gulam Mohidin Prof. Ramamurti. Karla. Mujeed Teela. Rahim.



Maurice Deria: Ahmed Bux. JIMMY ESSON.

out an effort. Ghulam had no equal in his time, and it can be safely said that even now no wrestler in the whole world has reached the standard of Ghulam. Ghulam is the ideal of wrestlers and great in the opinion of Europeans. India is happy and glorious to have given birth to such a brave son.

In 1909-10 Mr. R. B. Benjamin took Gama, Gamu, Imam Bux and Ahmed Bux to England. After a short while Mr. Benjamin managed to pit Gama against the famous American athlete and wrestler Dr. Roller (Dr. B. F. Roller, B.Sc., M.D.), and Imam Bux, Gama's younger brother, was also matched against John Lemm, the famous Swiss. Both the parties signed their agreements in the office of the "Sporting Life." Lemm and Roller are reputed to be as formidable and strong as Hackenschmidt and Gotch. John Lemm had won the Hengler's Tournament and with it the title

of the "Champion of the World" in 1908. Everyone in England had hoped that the Indians would get a hollow beating. But the table was turned. Roller was defeated by Gama in twenty minutes and Lemm did not take even 12 mts. time to be laid low by Imam Bux. In Europe and America wrestling matches are not decided by the result of a single bout. There 'the best of three falls' system prevails. Astonished Europe named Gama as 'the Lion of the Panjab' and Imam Bux 'the Panther.' Mr. Benjamin had issued challenges on behalf of his wrestlers to every notable wrestler of Europe and America. The world-famous Hackenschmidt was present in England at this time, but the wrestling public could not make him consent to wrestle with the Indian wonder, Gama. Having won the match with Roller, Gama received his (Roller's) deposit of £1000 and 70 per cent. of the gate money, the balance of 30 per cent. going to Roller. Imam Bux also received £500 and 70 per cent. of the gate money. Some promoters were ready to deposit £7000 if Hackenschmidt would only fight, but the 'Russian Lion' never condescended to. After Roller's defeat, the famous Austrian Zbysco, the world's ex-champion, came over to England and signed articles to wrestle with Gama and went for training for the great event with Apollo (Wm. Bankier) and Lemm. After Lemm's defeat, the Gama-Zbysco match came on. Gama had undertaken to pin Zbysco twice in one hour but this he could not succeed in doing. Those who have seen the Gama-Zbysco wrestling in bioscopes, will easily understand why Gama failed in his agreement. It is not much to say that Zbysco is nearly the double of Gama to look at. Their measurements can here be compared:—

	GAMA.	ZBYSKO.
Neck	18 "	22½ "
Chest	48 " (normal)	58 " (normal)
Biceps	18 "	22 "
Fore-arm	14 "	15 "
Thigh	27 "	32 "
	125 "	• 149½ "

In spite of Zbysco's greater weight Gama was the "top dog" all through the time making Zbysco lie on the mat for full 2 hrs. 45 mts. The match was to be fought out on the second day, but meanwhile Zbysco had slipped away from England. The Englishmen accepting Gama as the winner gave him the "John Bull

Wrestling Belt" and Zbysco's deposit of £1000. Hackenschmidt also left England to save his honor. This match is known in England as the Gama-Zbysco fiasco. After this event Mr. Benjamin, with great difficulty, succeeded in 'pitting' Imam Bux, Gama's younger brother, against Pat Connolly. Imam Bux defeated him quite easily.

Many years ago the then world's champion Tom Cannon came to Calcutta while touring all over the world. The late Hon'ble Maharajah Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar arranged a match between Tom Cannon and Rahim, Ghulam's father. The famous English wrestler, being defeated, left Calcutta the next day. Tom Cannon is known in England as the Undefeated Champion of the world, though he was defeated by Rahim in India.

In 1912 Mr. Benjamin returned to India to take a fresh batch of wrestlers and took Prof. Ramamurti with him to England. Of these wrestlers Ahmed Bux, Rahim, Karla, Teela, Ghulam Mohidin are more prominent. Since Gama's visit to England, the English wrestlers were terrorised at the name of the Indians, consequently no one in England came forward to fight Mr. Benjamin's Indians. After waiting a long time Mr. Benjamin matched Ahmed Bux with Maurice Deriaz, the famous Swiss. Ahmed won two falls successively, first in 66 secs., and the second in 9 minutes. Earnest Delaloye, the famous manager of Deriaz brought another Swiss of great fame to England to fight Ahmed Bux. Armand Cherpillod, as the Swiss was called, was defeated by Ahmed Bux in 4 minutes. He did not meet Ahmed the second time, for he said he was hurt in the first bout; he left the stage abusing Ahmed Bux to his heart's content. "Cochon, Cochon, Cochon" (pig, you are breaking my ribs), the agonised cry of Cherpillod, was for a long time the cry of stage humorists.

In 1913 a tournament in Noveau Cirque, Paris, was run by Maurice Deriaz, in which he won the middle weight wrestling championship of the world; in spite of his being defeated by Ahmed Bux, who gave him a start of 6lbs, in weight, Maurice was recognised as the middle weight champion. We can, therefore, see how confusing and unintelligible are these championships of Europe.

Being utterly hopeless to get any match in England Ghulam Mohidin and others went to France, and learning the Græco-Roman style in a short space of time Ghulam Mohidin defeated Maurice Gambier, the Græco-Roman Champion of France and scores of others. The Indians then proceeded to America, but there unfortunately, the Indian heavy-weight Karla, was twice defeated by Zhyseo. Ahmed Bux and Ghulam Mohidin tried their best to fix a match with Frank Gotch, the Champion of the world, but the cunning Gotch did not pay any heed to their challenges or to the newspapers, consequently the Indians had to come back to India.

About two years ago, Mr. Jotindra Charan Guha, alias 'Gobar,' went to England to measure his strength with the European wrestlers. In our boyhood we were classmates in the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta. I am very proud and glad that my late class-fellow is one of the greatest athletes in the world. The English people were struck dumb at his extraordinary strength and the peculiar system of exercise of his own. "Health and Strength" was lavish in its praise of Gobar; according to this paper, no ordinary Englishman can even lift one of his clubs.

"Gobar, for instance who is in England now, swings clubs that no ordinary Englishman could lift, and carried a stone collar of prodigious weight (160lbs) round his neck."

Some details of Gobar are known already to the readers of this magazine and the "Prabasi," so I need not repeat them here. Gobar first met Jimmy Campbell at the Glasgow Coliseum and then Jimmy Esson, the Champion Heavy-weight wrestler of Britain, at the same place. He won both the contests. In his match with Jimmy Esson, Gobar had a bit of trouble with him in the second test. Being defeated in the first 6 bout, Jimmy Esson struck Gobar several times with his fist and in spite of repeated warnings, he continued this. The judges, at this, stopped the match, and awarded the second fall to Gobar. Gobar obtained a purse of £1500. and 70% of the gate money together with the side-stake. Gobar was present in Paris, when the Noveau Cirque Tourney was in full swing, but he did not join it. Having defeated a few westlers of note in Paris, Gobar went over to America to meet Gotch but this hope of Gobar was never realised. Gotch retired from the wrestling world

last year, handing over his title to 'Americus,' who thus became the champion. Pat Connolly, the Irish, whom Imam Bux had defeated, wrestled with Americus who retired injured from the mat, relinquishing his title to Pat. In spite of the fact that Pat Connolly was defeated by many European wrestlers and Imam Bux he is still the champion wrestler of the world and the Indian Imam Bux has never been counted even among the first class wrestlers. Only a few and hitherto unknown Indian wrestlers have set the European and American wrestlers dancing. We do not know what would have been the fun if they had simply seen either Kikar Singh or Kallu. But the result is the same; merit or no merit, Indians are never to be counted in any serious business like the world's championship matches. Even Negroes are allowed to participate in and win championship titles, but Indians, though they are a great deal more qualified, could not find a place in the same rank with first-rate Europeans.

We have many strong men amongst us, too, of whom Ramamurti, Himmat Bux, K. D. Seal, Bhabani Shaw and G. P. Garga. of Mahishadal are of the greatest note. Of these Ramamurti, K. D. Seal, and Bhabani can support a big elephant on the chest. Ramamurti is the originator of the elephant act; no one in the whole world had even dreamt of this feat before. There are few people in this country who have not seen the great Ramamurti, so it would be needless to enter into a description of his feats. By throwing away a huge weight of 8,000lbs, Ramamurti has become the ideal of weightlifters and is accepted as the foremost of them. Before him Mr. Shyama Kanta Bannerji also became famous for similar strength feats and tiger taming. Shaw is known to Bengalees as Bheem Bhabani. He is not more than 25 or 26 years of age now. He began physical culture at the age of 12. He is a professed master of Wrestling. He was with Prof. Ramamurti's troupe for several years. The Chest measurement of Ramamurti is 48" normal and 57 expanded. He can keep his chest inflated for 10 odd minutes. Bhabani runs the tape round his chest at 42" normal and 48" expanded. Ramamurti can support a stone weighing 8,000lbs (about 100 mds.), he can stop a 22 h. p. motor, can break a $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick iron chain by the sheer strength of his biceps muscles and

he is the first "Human Roadway" for two fully loaded bullock carts. Bhabani can also do these wonderful feats.

K. D. Seal has also shown his great strength like Bhabani. Mr. Garga of Mahishadal had challenged Goteh for a wrestling match, which was to take place anywhere on earth; he was also ready to deposit 1,20,000 as side stake, but Goteh had never replied to his challenge.

I have here only endeavoured to show

to my readers, that the Indian athletes do deserve championship honor, and like most others, excuse me for the words, are not "fakes" and side-steppers.

SACHINDRANATH MAZUMDAR,

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A CURIOUS NORTH INDIAN SUPERSTITION AND ITS PERSIAN AND AFRICAN ANALOGUES

THE ancient Romans had a very lively dread of omens and portents such as earthquakes, monstrous births, temples struck by lightning, statues overthrown, wolves entering the city, and so forth. If such an event occurred, the equanimity of their minds was disturbed to such an extent that they reported it to the pontifices from the places where they were supposed to have happened. If the latter thought that these portents, which boded evil to the whole Roman nation, required some expiation or the performance of some sacrificial rites in order to nullify their apprehended evil effect, they were recorded in the pontifical books. It is not only the uneducated ancient Romans who were subject to this superstitious dread of omens and portents, but some of the educated men were also victims of this nervousness. Professor W. W. Fowler has told us* that educated men like Sulla, Cicero, Varro, Cato and Brutus had this strong vein of superstition in their natures. It has been reported of Sulla by Plutarch that he always carried with him a small image of Apollo which he kissed from time to time and to which he prayed silently in times of danger. Those three eminent Romans of philosophical learning—Cicero, Varro and Cato—were thrown into a fit of terror by a prophecy which would have been pooh-poohed by moderns possessed of a similar degree of culture. In this connec-

tion we should recall to our minds how Brutus was frightened by the appearance to him, on the eve of the Battle of Philippi, of a gigantic and terrible apparition which stood silently by his side and which has been transformed by the Bard of Avon into the ghost of Caesar and used to unify his play.

A similar vein of superstitious dread of portents and monstrous births sways the human nature in rural India even at the present day. Among these monstrous births may be mentioned that of a child possessed of a tooth. To the mind of the simple unlettered rustic in Northern India, there cannot be a portent foreboding direr evil, shadowing forth greater calamities, to the family than the ushering into it of a baby possessing a tooth. Should its entry into this world be followed by the death of a few of the paterfamilias's livestock from some—to him mysterious cause, should some member of his family die even from natural causes shortly after the birth of such a child, the unsophisticated paterfamilias of the North Indian countryside immediately sets about to reason in this way:—"Well, this child has been born with a tooth. Is not this uncanny and supernatural? Surely, it must be so, because babies, in the usual course of nature, teeth several months after their birth! Then again, everything up till now had been going on swimmingly with me and mine. But shortly after this beggarly brat had made his entry into my family,

* *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*. By W. Warde Fowler, M. A. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1908. Pp. 344-346.

my cattle began to die off though there was no murrain in my neighbourhood; my so-and-so died though he was hale and hearty. Surely, the baby must be possessed of some sinister influence which is inflicting all these calamities upon me. I am as sure as I am of my own existence that this child with the tooth must be some demon—some *rakshashu*—in human shape."

The next thought that engages his attention is: "How are the coming evils, the impending calamities to be averted? How should the fountain-head of all this evil be prevented from exercising its baleful influence any further?" Thereupon he consults some Brahman priest or astrologer who, with an eye to feathering his own nest well in this business, advises his client to perform some *hom* or sacrificial ceremony for propitiating the wrathful gods who have sent this fiend to torment him. The costly *pūja* or expiatory ceremony is performed; the Brahman priest gets all his perquisites in the shape of his fees, the fruits, the sweets and the rice; the unsophisticated villager goes away with the impression that, with the performance of the *pūja*, the dire calamity impending over him has been averted and he is safe for the rest of his life. But, poor mortal, he is labouring under a mockery and a delusion. Lo and behold! his cattle begin to die off again; very likely he himself—the pater familias—the very performer of the *hom* ceremony—falls ill and lies nigh unto death's door.

Then he again sets about to think and says to himself: "Good gracious! That Brahman—that family-priest of mine—is a downright rogue. He has cheated me out of my money right and left. The money I spent in performing the *hom* ceremony has gone for nothing, for it has not ward off the malignant influence hovering over my head and my house. See! my cattle are again dying off; and what is the unkindest cut of all is that I myself am lying ill and nigh unto death's door. What is to be done now? What should I now do to ward off for good the evil impending over me?" Then he again revolves matters in his mind and, lo and behold! a dark thought flashes across his brain. He murmurs to himself: "What, if I should kill this monstrous child—this fiend in human shape—and bury it in some out-of-the-way place! Who is there to blab out

my secret deed? Dead men tell no tales." Spurred on by this sinister idea, he makes up his mind to kill the baby and bury it secretly. Last and ghastly scene of all that ends this uncanny tragedy is that wherein we find him taking the new-born child with the tooth to some unfrequented outskirts of his village and burying it alive in the belief that he is thereby ridding himself and his family of a dangerous source of evil and calamity.

I have already set forth in my paper on "*The Evolution of Superstition about Unlucky Days and Objects*" * that this is precisely the sort of reasoning which is resorted to not only by people in a low plane of culture but also by civilized men in accounting for the growth of their superstitious beliefs. The psychological doctrine of the Association of Ideas lies at the root of all these beliefs.

That the aforementioned curious North Indian belief was evolved as the result of the process of reasoning set forth above is nowhere more convincingly demonstrated than in the following account of a case wherein an attempt was made to perpetrate the ritual murder of a child supposed to be a monster in human shape, and which happened in the early part of 1914 in the district of Azamgarh in the United Provinces of Northern India:—

"Azamgarh district not long ago became famous through the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Barber as he slept on a charpoy outside his bungalow one night, and the clever piece of detective work by which the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Reynolds, discovered the murderers and brought them to justice. An almost more horrible story now comes from the same district, more tragic in many respects and certainly more strange, a story which might almost make one despair of rustic Indian human nature, did not the thought come to the mind that, in Russia, many people still believe that ritual murder is practised by Jews, and that not so long ago English peasants used to drown unfortunate old women whom they suspected of witchcraft.

"The story is as follows: Not long ago information was brought to the Pawai thana, on the extreme western border of the district, that the partially eaten remains of an infant had been found lying in a jungle. The Thanadar, though an old man, is full of energy, so mounting his tat he galloped off to the place. He viewed the remains, and, in hopes of finding a clue to the mystery, he decided to visit any burial-places there might be round about, to see if there were signs there that hyænas had dug up the body and dragged it away to make their ghastly meal off it. Such an incident would be horrifying enough to people not acquainted with the wild countryside of

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol IX, pp. 225-242.

India; but, as a matter of fact, the child whose body had suffered this degradation plays no part in the story, nor is the explanation on record of how the remains came to be in the jungle. It is merely mentioned because it prompted the Thanadar to pay an unexpected visit to the nearest burial-ground, and that brought him to the discovery of the real tragedy. He was informed that, about a mile and a half away, was a dry pond used by the villagers as a graveyard, and thither he straightway rode. He found there our men standing by the side of a newly filled in grave, and dismounting he went up to chat with them. He had just put one or two searching questions when a sound which he described as "ma-a-a" came from the ground directly under his feet. He jumped, according to his own account, about 14 feet into the air; and then, though shaking as if with the palsy, he had the presence of mind to capture three of the four grave-diggers. Another cry like the bleat of a lamb was heard, so the Thanadar hastily ordered the grave to be opened. It was shallow and the work did not take long, and soon there came to view a month old baby-girl--alive! The Thanadar did his best for it and had it fed on milk. Whether he overfed it or whether it had suffered some fatal injury from the burial alive cannot be said. At any rate the baby soon died. It only remained to discover what had prompted this abominably cruel act. The story which his enquiries elicited is a curious instance of the depths to which superstition will drive ignorant people. The case will doubtless come before the law courts in time, but I give the story as it was told to the police. *The little girl, it seems, had one tooth when she was born, and this fact added to the disgust with which Indian parents greet the birth of a daughter prepared their minds for untoward events.* Unfortunately for the baby, circumstances increased their suspicion of so abnormal an infant. Three days after her birth, six sucking pigs of the village were found dead. They had probably been overlaid by their mother; but in the village it was attributed to the presence of the baby with a tooth. The next day a calf died. There are many causes which may bring about the death of a calf, but the villagers were by now in no mood to seek for rationalistic explanations. The day after, a house in the village was burnt down. That was the last straw. So they called in a Brahman to exorcise the spirit of bad luck. *The soothsayer confirmed the theory that the baby with a tooth was possessed of a rakshasha but volunteered to expel it on the usual terms of liberal hospitality for himself and his party.* So the parents gave him of their best, regardless of expense; and, after reciting some mantras, the holy man and his friends departed. But the curse was not removed. That very night the luckless baby's father fell ill. He had probably finished the remains of the Brahman's feast, and the unaccustomed richness of the food had upset him. But of course, he jumped to the conclusion that the rakshasha in his daughter was too strong for the Brahman's mantras. The expense of the entertainment had been wasted. At all costs, he determined to get rid of the baby. To kill her would be murder; but it occurred to him that if he had her buried alive he would be guiltless of blood. With the same sort of idea the ancient Hellenes exposed their superfluous children on the mountains, leaving them "to the gods." And so the tragedy was enacted, and only the coincidence of another baby's body being eaten by wild beasts enabled the police to prevent the "bloodless" killing being carried right through and

passing into oblivion as one of the unrecorded tragedies of India."†

We should now see whether there is current, in any other part of Northern India, the same superstitious belief about the child born with a tooth, or some other belief akin to it. We find that, though the identically exact form of belief is not current in any other part thereof, there prevails in the districts of Rangpur and Malda in Northern Bengal the superstitious belief that, if a child teething before the performance of his "First Rice Ceremony," he will be short-lived, and that the only way of averting the evil is to marry him to a bitch. The prevalence of this belief has been vouched for by the *Dik Prakash* (a Bengali newspaper published in Rangpur) from which the *Indian Mirror* (of Calcutta) for Saturday, the 25th May 1912, has culled the following extract bearing upon the same:—

"A child in some village of the Rangpur District, writes the *Dik Prakash*, recently married a bitch. There is a superstition among the low class people of the district that dentition before the "First Rice" ceremony, which usually takes place at the age of seven months, is an omen of the child's short life; and the canine union is believed to be a great antidote for the evil."

Now, the above item of intelligence suggests the two following questions:—

- (a) What is a "First Rice Ceremony"?
- (b) Why is the child married to a bitch for warding off the threatened curse of short life?

The "First Rice Ceremony" is otherwise known as the *Annaprashana*. It is generally called by the womenfolk as the "*Bhujno*", that is "*Bhojana*" or the feast. It is the ceremony performed for giving rice for food to an infant for the first time and generally celebrated when the child is seven months old. The goddess Shashthi, who presides over child-birth and is the protecting deity of children, is, first of all, worshipped; and then the child is fed with rice, the whole ceremony winding up with a feast to which relatives and friends are treated. The readers of Rev. Lalbihari De's *Bengal Peasant Life* will recall to their mind the way as to how Badan celebrated the *Annaprashana* ceremony of his son Govinda Chandra Samanta, the details thereof and of the feast that followed thereafter.

† Vide the article entitled "*Buried Alive—Auzner Azamgarh Tragedy*" in the *Pioneer* for Wednesday, the 18th March 1914.

Then I come to the next point. In Bengal when the first-born child dies in infancy, or two or more children die successively during their babyhood, the mother pretends to sell her next-born child to the *dhatrī* or midwife in exchange for 9, 7, 5, 3, 2, or 1 cowries in the belief that she is thereby transferring it from her own family to that of the latter and that, by this device, the malignant spirit will be cheated out of his intended victim. Many other expedients are resorted to, as, for instance, the child is called by an opprobrious name; or, if it is a male, it is dressed up as a girl and *vice versa*; or its nose or ears are bored and rings put in therein. By doing all these, it is believed that the Devil will pass over the child in contempt and think it beneath his dignity to make a victim of it. To my mind, the Rangpur custom of marrying the child to a bitch has the same root-idea underlying it as that whereon the practice of selling the child to the midwife is based, namely, that of deluding Old Nick and cheating him out of his intended prey.

The variants of the belief from Azamgarh in U. P. and from Rangpur in Northern Bengal, which have been discussed *supra*, are current among the Hindus only. We have, now, to see whether either of them or any modified form thereof is prevalent among a non-Hindu people. In the course of a rapid survey of the folklore literature of the world, I have found that a variant of this superstitious belief exists among the Persians who are all Moslems of the Shiah sect. Major P. M. Sykes—an acknowledged authority on the customs of Persia—has told us that "Persian mothers nurse their children for two years and the first tooth is watched for even more anxiously than with us, for should a tooth in the upper jaw appear first, the parents will suffer terrible bad luck and even die unless, to avert the evil, the child is thrown from the roof. To avoid this remedy being worse than the disease, four

men catch the falling infant in a blanket."* The custom of killing children born with their teeth also prevails among the Negroes of Africa.†

If we compare the three variants, we find that those from Azamgarh and Persia agree with each other in this respect, namely, that the evil apprehended from the child's teething is supposed to overtake its parents; whereas the modified form current in Rangpur presupposes that the evil will only affect the child itself and shorten its life. The device employed by the believers in the two former variants, for averting the apprehended calamity is the killing of the child either actually or symbolically; whereas the expedient adopted by those who believe in the Rangpur form of the superstition consists of the harmless and magical practice of marrying the child to a bitch. The Persians adopt the make-believe of killing the child by throwing it from the roof; but its life is saved by four men catching the falling infant in a blanket. Whereas the superstitious rustic of Azamgarh sought to kill the child outright by burying it alive. It is only the intervention of the police that saved its life—and alas! that only temporarily, for it died shortly afterwards of some injury it had sustained. Would to God that the unsophisticated villagers of the countryside in the U.P. may wake up and see the absurdity of their superstitious belief and, in order to fulfil the requirements of custom, adopt some make-believe whereby they would be enabled, while pretending to kill the child, to actually save its life!

* Hutchinson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II., page 629.

† *The World of Today*. By A. R. Hope Moncrieff. Vol. III. London: The Gresham Publishing Company. (No date). pp. 120-122.

AHALYA

(Ahalya, sinning against the purity of married love, incurred her husband's curse, turning into a stone to be restored to her humanity by the touch of Ramchandra).

Struck with the curse in midwave of your tumultuous passion your life stilled
 into a stone, clean, cool and impassive.
 You took your sacred bath of dust, plunging deep into the primitive peace
 of the earth.
 You lay down in the dumb immense where faded days drop,
 like dead flowers with seeds, to sprout again into new dawns.
 You felt the thrill of the sun's kiss with the roots of grass and trees
 that are like infant's fingers clasping at mother's breast.
 In the night, when the tired children of dust came back to the dust, their rhythmic
 breath touched you with the large and placid motherliness of the earth.
 Wild weeds twined round you their bonds of flowering intimacy;
 You were lapped by the sea of life whose ripples are the leaves' flutter, bees' flight,
 grasshoppers' dance and tremor of moth's wings.
 For ages you kept your ear to the ground, counting the footsteps of the unseen
 comer, at whose touch silence flames into music.
 Woman, the sin has stripped you naked, the curse has washed you pure, you have
 risen into a perfect life.
 The dew of that unfathomed night trembles on your eyelids,
 the mosses of ever-green years cling to your hair.
 You have the wonder of new birth and the wonder of old time in your awakening.
 You are young as the newborn flowers and old as the hills.

RAVINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE SHADOW ON THE PATH

BY ANNIE O. TIBBITS,

AUTHOR OF "THE PRIDE OF THE POOR," "LOVE WITHOUT PITY,"

"PAID IN FULL," &c.

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I.
 FOR the fifth time the shadow lay across
 the path, grim and menacing across
 the white snow, a gaunt shadow
 stretching out a ragged arm pointing
 towards the house.

"I don't like it, and that's the truth,"
 Enid Lancaster said, shivering a little.
 "It's silly to be so superstitious, but it is
 just like a finger of Fate pointing to us—
 it's like the shadow of a woman threaten-
 ing me."

She waited a moment or two before she went in, staring with half-fascinated eyes at the queer shadow which fell across the path between the house and the gate. It was no doubt a combination of the doctor's light next door and the street lamp outside, as she explained to Elizabeth, but it was odd enough. They had been in the house six weeks before it appeared. And now this was the fifth time—the fifth time the gaunt shadow of a woman had lain across the path!

"I'll go and get Elizabeth to keep me company till Philip comes," she said to herself. "I feel just stupid to-night. Oh, that horrid tree; I'll have it cut down to-morrow."

As she crossed the room and the light fell on her face she looked very young, but it was the look of youth some women bear into their very old age, and Enid Lancaster had known trouble and sorrow and loneliness, and to-night the wind reminded her of the thirty years of poverty which had ended only a year ago when a legacy gave her competence. She had now plenty for herself and her old servant who lived with her, but not quite enough to keep and educate the little lad who lay smiling in his sleep upstairs; and somehow the wind reminded her unpleasantly of this fact. By adopting the boy she had straitened her means—had put the burden on her shoulders again which she had longed so to throw off. Why had she done it? She could not tell, except that there had been a look in the childish eyes as he lay in the Home for Homeless Children that overwhelmed her. He was a wretched little waif with frightened eyes, who started at sounds and shrank from a touch. He had evidently been half starved and badly treated, for there were ugly bruises on his little body, and had been at last left unconscious on the doorstep of the Home—deserted, abandoned, and Enid had not the heart to resist the look in his eyes when she saw him thus.

She opened the door giving on to the passage, and started a little as a sudden draught of cold air caught her face. She looked out and found the front door open, and the figure of an old woman outlined against the light.

"Elizabeth!" she cried. "What are you looking at?"

The woman turned, and as she did so

the wind rose up and swept round the house with a peculiar cry.

"Just hark at that, miss. That there cry in the wind ain't no more natural than the shadder yonder."

"Oh, what nonsense, Elizabeth," Enid cried. But she shivered still, and going to the door peered out into the cold night. "You know you liked the house," she added.

"Aye, miss, 'tis all right to the look on it, but you don't know a house till you lives in it. There's no truer sayin' than that, and there's no 'countin' for the happenings since we've been here." Her voice sank suddenly. There had been noises, whisperings, sounds of strange footsteps. No one in the town could tell them anything, no one had suspected the little grey house was haunted, but that it was, Elizabeth was convinced. Not only had that mysterious shadow taken to lying across the path, but there had been other things too, and only the night before last the most mysterious thing of all had happened. On the landing she had stopped to strike a light. She struck three matches, and three times in succession they had been blown out sharply by some strange breath. At the third Elizabeth fled to Enid.

"The house is haunted," she declared. "There's ghostes outside and in; whatever for did ye come here, Miss Enid?"

"Well, this house is cheap, and we must manage in it until I marry. Oh, Elizabeth, I used to think I was the most unlucky wretch in the whole world, and now—now how it has changed! Why, isn't it queer, Elizabeth, six months ago I had not met Dr. Manners, nor seen the boy, and if it hadn't been for the boy being ill I should never have met Dr. Manners. Now—oh, it's like a fairy tale. Dr. Manners loves me, and for my sake he's going to love the boy, too. He says I may give all my income to him; in fact, he wishes me to do it.

"He's an onhuman sort o'man," put in Elizabeth stolidly; "too good for this world, I reckon."

"Yes, he is," cried Enid. "He's a good fellow. And oh, Elizabeth, I'm a lucky woman."

"Well, I might think so," said Elizabeth unmoved, "if it weren't for these queer things as happen. And that sadder—I dunna like it, miss, that I don't."

They stood together staring out. On the snow-covered paths the shroud lay immovable.

"It seems to be threatenin' thee," Elizabeth said again in a loud voice.

"Oh, but how can it be?" Enid cried. "There is nothing to threaten."

Nothing! as in reply, almost in defiance of her remark, something stirred amongst the bushes.

"Look you, it moved," cried Elizabeth sharply.

Enid gave a little cry and stared forward.

"Oh, you goose," she cried, "it is only the wind moving the tree. It's—hark!—oh, it isn't anything at all—it isn't the shadow. It's Dr. Manners—coming at last."

A tall figure strode forward out of the darkness and on to the white covering of the path.

"Enid! my darling. At last," he said.

II.

"Philip, it's too silly for words, but I'm afraid."

"Afraid, sweetheart? Of what?"

"Of a shadow."

"A shadow?" he cried. "Well really. Is it your own?"

He was a tall, grave looking man, with a humorous twist to his lips which somehow belied the sadness in his eyes.

"No, but Philip, it unnerves me and frightens Elizabeth to death. It lies across the garden path—oh you might have seen it—just like a human figure. It's been there for five nights now. It comes and goes. Sometimes we look out and see the pathway bare and empty, and at other times—there it is. It's there now to-night."

"Somebody watching the house, evidently," Dr. Manners said, half to himself.

"But there's nothing to watch for," Enid cried. "I've got nothing worth stealing."

"No, but I was wondering if perhaps Percy Hinton—"

"Oh, not he," cried Enid flushing. "Why should he?"

"Well, it was a big blow to him when he found you were engaged to me," Dr. Manners answered. "He never suspected it, of course. I stepped in rather quickly, eh, darling? I couldn't wait—I wanted to be sure of you—and he didn't even

know I knew you. Perhaps he hasn't given up hope yet. But it's no good. Nothing shall ever separate us now, Enid."

He caught her to him with a sudden fierceness in his grip, and as he stared out over her head, as he held it against his breast, his eyes had suddenly in them an odd look of pain or fear.

"Enid, say it. Promise you will never let anything come between us? You will love me always!"

"Love you? Oh, Philip, Philip! As if anything could ever alter me! I'm the luckiest woman in the world. Why, all the town envies me. You could have had your choice—you, the most popular doctor and friend in the place."

He shook his head a little, and again there came to his eyes that odd look of pain.

"Everybody loves you," Enid whispered, "from the rich people down to the very poor, and oh, I love you for that—for all your work amongst the poor."

"Don't," he said with a sudden sharpness in his voice. "I doctor amongst the poor because I like hard work," he broke off abruptly. "But never mind that, let us go and unearth your shadow. I expect it will turn out to be Hinton. I never saw a man more knocked over than he did when I told him. Perhaps you had better stay indoors, darling. I won't be long."

"No, I'll come with you," Enid said. Somehow, at the mention of Percy Hinton an odd fear assailed her. She had never thought of him, but now it seemed only too likely to be the explanation of the shadow, and, perhaps, also of the mysterious footsteps they had heard wandering sometimes about the house at dead of night.

"No, I'm coming out with you," she said.

"I'd rather you didn't."

"No, I'll come. It may be nothing after all. The trees are thick there. It may be only the cast of the light through them. We'll go together."

Snow was beginning to fall now, pattering softly over the leaves, and every now and then eddying violently as the wind caught them and flung them wildly about. The icy cold of the night had deepened.

"We're going to have a bad month of it," Dr. Manners remarked lightly. "Elizabeth told me the new moon came in bad, and declared that we may expect worse

than the worse as it reaches the full; but let's see into this shadow. It is one of the trees, no doubt."

He paused a moment to look down the little path and at the dark figure still stretched across it, a shadow still sinister in the moonlight.

"It's decidedly queer," he said, "but it can probably be quite easily explained. You see Dr. Price's light yonder, no doubt that accounts for it. Let us go and see."

He stepped forward as he spoke, and took a few quick steps down the path, peering up at the trees and bushes which grew thickly, and divided the other doctor's house from Enid's.

Abruptly he stopped. There was a sudden quick movement in the bushes, a quick, sharp, broken cry, and a figure sprang out of them and flew like a hare down the path and out into the road. It was a woman. She flung open the gate violently and disappeared.

Enid gave a cry.

"Oh, Philip, how silly we have been; it was nothing after all, only a poor half-witted creature I gave some work to the other day."

"A poor, half-witted——" His voice was strangely halting and broken. "A woman—you gave work to?"

"Yes. She was a stranger here. I'm afraid she drinks, but anyhow, I couldn't help helping her, and she did seem so grateful. Elizabeth thinks she's half crazy. Why, Philip, Philip, what is the matter?"

He passed a shaking hand across his face.

"God help us!" he cried. "She is my wife!"

III.

Dazed, almost motionless, Enid sat while the minutes ticked wearily by. It seemed like hours since Philip had half led, half dragged her into the house and away from the now empty, shadowless path.

"Yes, go on," she said at last "Tell me."

He roused himself. He had dropped heavily into a chair burying his face in his hands.

"I must seem a scoundrel to you," he said. "I told you she was dead, and until five minutes ago I honestly believed she was. I meant to tell you all about her—some day—some day when I was quite sure of your love for me. But we've

known each other such a short time. It can't be six months since you came here and took this house and called me in to attend the child."

"And that was like fate too," Enid said slowly. "If Dr. Price next door hadn't been out it would have been he who would have attended Dick. Now—oh, go on, tell me what it means."

"I'll go—after her—in a moment," he said hoarsely. "I must find her, of course, but I can't yet—not for a few minutes. My wife! And I thought—I thought I buried her six years ago! Heaven help me—six years ago!"

He got up suddenly and began pacing about the room.

"She was the daughter of a man who befriended me when I was a boy," he said, "and when he lay on his deathbed I promised him I would take care of her and look after her. There seemed to me only one way of doing that. I married her. Six months later I discovered what even her father did not dream of, perhaps, indeed, it had lain dormant in her before—perhaps disappointment and despair developed it, for I found out, too, that she had been jilted by a man she had loved desperately, and that she was secretly drugging and drinking. How long she had been doing it I don't know—ever since our marriage, I think—anyhow she was hopeless. I tried to cure her and thought I had succeeded. For two years she managed to deceive me; then one night I came home to find her gone. She left a note telling me she had had the chance of going on the stage and was going to take it and was leaving me for ever. The next thing I heard before even I had time to take any steps to find her was that she was dead."

He broke off abruptly. His face was convulsed and drawn and grey.

"You can guess what it meant to me," he said, "and, Heaven forgive me, the relief! The news came that she had been lost in the burning of a theatre. I went up North to try to identify her, and I thought I did."

His bitter words died sharply, and for a moment he stood motionless. Then abruptly he turned.

"You see," he said, "she lied even in that. She had never joined that company at all. Evidently she was not there—the bones I buried were the bones of some other poor creature, unidentified, who lost

her life in the fire. As she had lied and deceived me in all the three years of our married life so she deceived me then. All this time she has made no sign—not a word to tell me that she was alive. She has no doubt done it on purpose, and God only knows why she should seek to do me harm, for I did my best for her. I tried to be just to her."

"Oh, Philip! And you must go to her. Your wife!"

Alone! Always alone now—only the child upstairs to comfort her.

That night snow fell heavily. It was the wildest storm that had been known for years, and next morning the thick white seemed to have covered all the world. It lay in great drifts upon the woods and fields. It seemed to have smothered everything, and outside Enid's cottage the path-way was obliterated and the great heap of shrubs and bushes buried under the white.

The shadow had gone! That night when the snow had ceased, the moon, sailing high and full, showed sharp and clear nothing but a broad expanse of snow right down to the gate and beyond. No shadow now; all clear and open.

The garden gate clicked, and Enid's heart gave a jump and grew suddenly warm. She rose to her feet, with the colour coming sharply into her face. If it should be Philip—come back?

Her colour died sharply, and all the cold swept back into her heart as there entered into the room not Philip, but Percy Hinton.

"You!" she exclaimed.

"I had to come," he answered. "Manners has told me—he asked me to come to you. Enid—Enid, I want to take his place. He knows it. I want to help you."

"No one can help me," she said, with a choking sob in her voice. "No one can take his place, only the child—Dick. I've got him to live for, after all."

"Enid, you can't waste your life because—because of Manners' misfortune. Enid, I'm rich, I can give you all you want—you and the child. I can do more for him than you can, and I will. Won't you trust me, Enid?"

For a moment the temptation was almost irresistible, but the next the thought of all she had lost, of the man she loved, and the shadow that had crept between them to wreck their lives, over-

whelmed her. She dropped suddenly to her knees and leaned her face against a chair.

"Oh, Philip, Philip!" she sobbed.

Percy Hinton stood stiff and rigid. A change—a sudden look came over his face. He bit his lips.

"It was his wish," he said in a queer, muffled voice. "He—he sort of gave you to me. He asked me, Enid, because he knows how I love you."

"I can't! I can't!" sobbed Enid. "I love Philip, and no other man can take his place. Oh, leave me, leave me."

"I can't," Percy said. "Have pity on me, Enid. I've loved you longer than he has. I've known you longer, and I'll do all he would—and more. Enid, he couldn't love you as I love you and he ought to have told you before about his wife—he said so himself."

"Oh, no, no, it doesn't matter anyhow," cried Enid wildly. "It doesn't make any difference. She's alive, and—she is his wife as long as she lives."

"And she may live forty years," Percy cried quickly; "there's every likelihood of it. Oh, Enid, marry me and let me take you away where you will forget it all. Let me make you forget."

"I can't!"

"Manners knows I was coming to you to-night. He wished me luck. It would be the best thing for you, he said, and you will never see him again. He hasn't found his wife; he knows she doesn't mean to be found, and he has gone away himself. He has left word where she can find him if she wants to, but he couldn't stay here any longer and he has gone."

"Gone!" Enid cried with white lips.

"Yes. He said he should catch the seven o'clock train, and it's eight now."

"Eight!" Enid gave a cry. "Eight, and at this time last night—oh, Philip, Philip!"

She moved forward towards the window as she spoke.

"This time last night I was waiting for him," she cried, "and, staring at the shadow—the shadow on the path outside. It's clear now, but last night she—his wife was hiding in the bushes, and her shadow fell right across the path. Why did she hide there like that? Did she know Dr. Manners was engaged to me?"

"I daresay," Percy said grimly. "No doubt she had some idea of hurting you."

Perhaps she might have let you marry him before she showed herself. May be she would have waited night after night if you had'n't found her out. She was a malignant woman."

"How do you know?" asked Enid.

"I guessed it," he said slowly.

Enid at the window had pulled aside the curtain, and now suddenly she gave a cry.

"Look! Look! The shadow again! There across the snow! Look!"

The next moment she had flung open the window and was out on the path, leaving the curtain moving in the draught and the bitter cold of the night drifting into the room.

Enid was standing on the path, her hands on the shoulders of a man who stood before her, her face uplifted to his.

Percy drew back, breathing sharply. He went a sudden deathly white.

"Manners!" he said.

The moon drifted slowly, and the light of the lamp in the street outside threw their united shadow right to his feet. He drew back, and out of the silence of the night he heard Manners' voice speaking.

"I can't go without saying good-bye," he cried. "I couldn't go without seeing you once more for the last time. Hinton will have told you what I told him. I'm going back to my old house in London—the place where she and I lived—where I tried in vain to cure her. She may come back to me there—some day. Or—or—she may let me know—something of her. I've been searching all to-day and without any success. No one has seen her. I've left instructions with the police, and I shall set detectives to work in London, but it won't be surprising if we never find her. No doubt she does not mean to be found. But oh, Enid—Enid!"

His voice broke and Percy heard it, and heard Enid's reply with a pain that in all his selfish life he had never felt before.

He waited a moment or two; then suddenly a little ghost staggered in at the window and groped her way into the room.

"He's gone—for ever," she said, "and my heart is broken."

"You'll forget—you'll forget," Percy cried, coming forward towards her quickly, "in time."

She started upright.

"If you don't want to make me hate

you—go," she cried. "Go and don't let me ever see you again. You will remind me of him—oh, Philip! I shall never be able to look at you again without remembering. Oh, go. I wish I were dead—oh, indeed, indeed, I wish I were dead!"

Her voice died in the room, and for what seemed a long time there was no sound but the flapping of the blind and the dull drag of the curtain in the window. Then suddenly out of the silence rose a child's frightened cry, and Enid started to her feet.

"It's Dick—my little Dick," she said running across the room.

Before she got to the door Percy stopped her.

"Let me speak for God's sake," he cried, "or I never shall. Let me speak while I want to or I shall be mad again to-morrow, and then it will be too late. Manners' wife is dead—dead. Don't you hear what I say? She's dead—and her body's in a drift—right down at the bottom of Colcut's Drift—right under the snow, and she won't be found for weeks, if then, but she's there. Listen, Enid. I've been mad—mad over you, and it's no good after all. I can't have you—I might have known it. But last night I was outside your gate, and I heard Manners cry out, and I saw the woman rush away and out into the road. I followed her. She walked very slowly, and every now and then stopped as if she could scarcely get along. I could see she was very ill, but I waited until she got right outside the town, and then I stopped her.

"I was almost too late. She was dying. She could scarcely gasp out what she told me, but she managed it at last, and died there in the snow, then it was the madness seized me. I thought if she could remain hidden I could win you—marry you before the truth came out. I picked her up—she was a mere bundle of skin and bones and rags—and carried her across the fields to Colcut's Drift. It's fairly deep and now it is half filled with snow. You can imagine how I watched all night seeing it falling, falling, falling, burying her deeper and ever deeper. I thought I was quite safe. I should have been, but I can't bear to see you unhappy and that child—The cry of the child undid me, Enid—Enid—the boy you have adopted is Manners' son."

"What?"

"Manners' boy. He was born after his wife left him, and that is what brought her here. She had starved and ill-treated him, and she had deserted him, but she was fond of him after all, and she found out about you and where you had taken him, and came here to watch. She used to stand night after night under the bushes, and once or twice she even got into the house to see him. She was the ghost that haunted you—Dick's mother. And now there is only one thing for me to do—to fetch Manners back."

She held out both her hands.
"Oh, God bless you," she cried.

An hour or two later, with Enid held close in his arms, Dr. Manners stood looking down upon his sleeping child.

"It was Fate," he said—"Fate that made you adopt the child and bring him here."

"It was God," Enid said slowly. "Oh, Philip, Philip, he belongs to both of us now!"

GURU GOVIND SINGH

ONE reads in the Upanishads of a small boy, Nachiketa, who, finding that his father was giving away worthless presents as *dakshina* to the priests in a big function, felt ashamed of the meanness and urged feelingly—"To whom will you give me as present, father?" The father replied in anger—"To Death."

To Death he was given and from Death this wonderful boy snatched deathless spiritual teachings for humanity.

A slight variation on the same theme I find in the life-story of Guru Govind Singh. When the Kashmiri pandits, pressed by Aurangzib to relinquish their faith, seek protection and advice from Tegh Bahadur, the Guru says—"Until some virtuous person sacrifices himself at the altar of faith, God's people will find no rest."

At this Govind Singh, the little boy of nine, springs up and says—"Father, who more virtuous than thyself? Give thyself unto Death for their sake."

A spark from the same fire ignites the fire, the father courts death at the court of Delhi and leaves a heritage of deathless nobility to his race.

Besides spiritual knowledge Nachiketa had acquired from death the secrets of lighting a special material fire which are lost to the Indian world. Govind Singh had no material knowledge, but learnt from Death only the art of igniting spiritual fire in the hearts of a people. The fire that digests all physical troubles, all tem-

poral losses, all material discomfort, the fire that impels one to great actions, noble deeds and heroic efforts even unto death—that was the fire he culled from death and that is still stored up for the use of his countrymen in the pages of his life. It was this fire which made him years afterwards as a man, tell his own son of fourteen who, while proceeding to the battlefield, felt thirsty and halted for a cup of water—"Darling! tarry not! Angels are awaiting thee with a cup of the water of immortality; go and take it in the company of thy brother!"

The glow of this fire has spread far and wide over the horizon. Without knowing precisely whence it proceeded, how it proceeded, crowds and crowds of people have admired it. I have been one of the crowd: A decade ago I had placed Gufu Govind Singh in the hierarchy of the heroes of India and taught my brethren in Bengal to offer *pushpanjali* to his memory on the eighth day of heroes in the Dussera Season.

Guru Govind Singh's is not a mere name any more but a spell to raise heroes out of inanities. To read his life is to long for habits of hardihood, for feats of sacrifice, abnegation and martyrdom for a cause,—to embrace a great and noble cause as life's companion and to subordinate all petty things to it.

These two boys of Indian soil—Nachiketa and Govind Singh, are harping in the

ears of every Indian householder: "Father give *me*, your most valuable possession, up in a big cause: father give *thysself* up for a great cause."

But alas for the property of disintegration in things Indian century after century reformers have risen and tried to make Indians one and failed! From Buddha downwards every attempt to preach fellow-feeling and to break down the hard walls of caste between man and man has resulted in adding one more caste to the many existing already. Time after time several drops out of the ocean have separated from the ocean and combined to form a new group distinct from other groups similarly formed before, and stood in martial array against each part as well as the whole.

The opposition of the hill-chiefs to Guru Govind Singh's propaganda is a break-out of the same old disease of India. Guru Govind Singh's dream was

Turk Hindka jhagra mitaun,
Sagal srishtik varna banaun.

He wanted, that is to say, to put an end to Hindu-Musalman disputes and to make all men of one caste.

But his countrymen, including his own followers, are far lagging behind in the way of helping his dream to be realised. *Sagal varnas* have not become one. India has not become one, only a new body of men calling themselves Sikhs or the Khalsa have sprung to fight and be fought against by others of different denomination.

The ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur is said to have prophesied the coming of a white race from the south.

That white race has indeed come, and come to stay—till when?—Till the reason of its being here shall be no more, till we have learnt to do those things which we have been hitherto unable to do. When Indian minds have changed, when India has learnt the art of true fellow-feeling, when all the *varnas* of India have agreed to become one, then and then only will the conscious or unconscious mission of the white race be ended and not before.

The white race has to be instrumental in changing the soul of India by processes known to the Great Alchemist alone, before it can leave India.

SARALA DEVI.

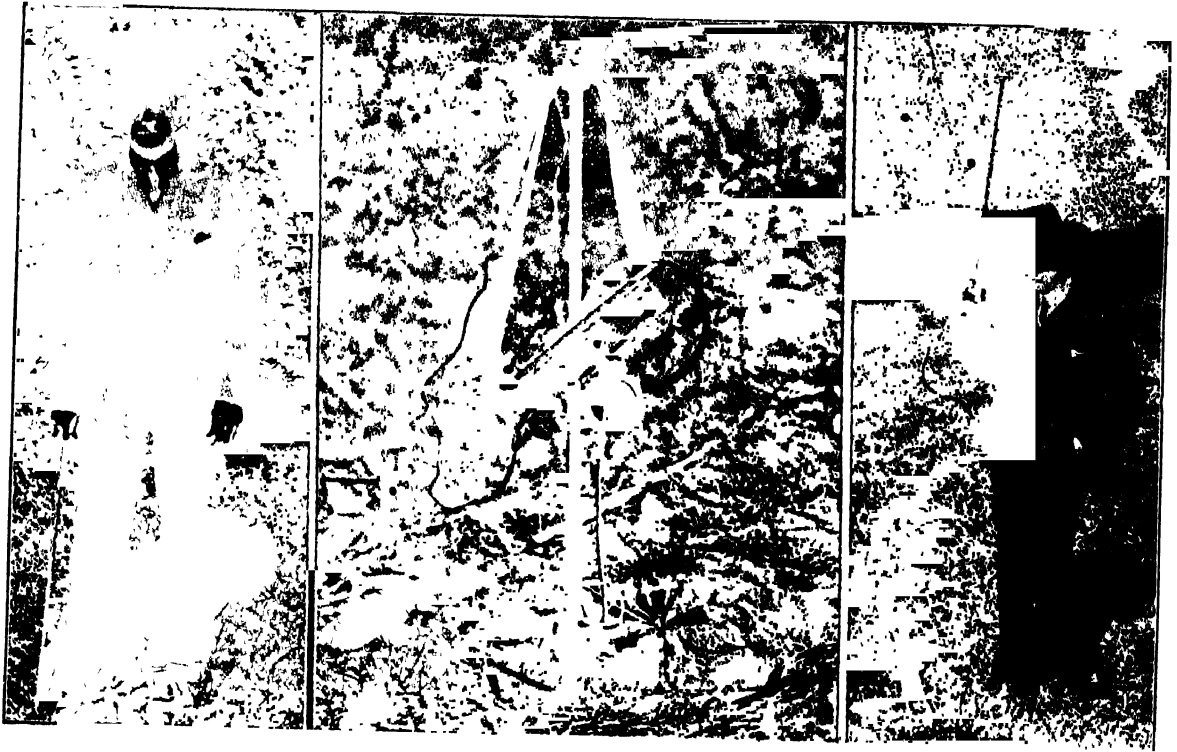
GLEANINGS

A Wireless Telephone Message Across the Sea.

Since Babel fell, it may be said, no stranger thing has happened to human speech than that it should be heard 4,600 miles, as were the words of President Theodore N. Vail, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, on September 29, over a whole continent and half an ocean, with absolutely no visible medium of transmission. "It does not matter if for the present such a result is possible only under ideal conditions," declares William Marconi—whose own plans for telephoning without wires across the Atlantic were thwarted by the war—and he forthwith predicts "a fairly perfect service" in the near future. Even more optimistic is Dr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, whose inventions helped to make Mr. Vail's feat possible. "The time is close at hand," he says, "when it will be possible to talk half around the world." And when there is added to these hearty indorsements of the achievement of the Bell system the assurance of Prof. Michael I. Pupin, of Columbia University, that he has discovered a successful method of removing static disturbances and obstructions to wireless telephony, the importance of the New York-Hawaii message is

manifest. This recent achievement, we are told, is the out-growth of tests made only this last spring, when the Bell telephone-system arranged its first aerial conversation between Montauk, L. I., and Wilmington, Del., a distance of but 250 miles. The decision to try for a transcontinental wireless was reached when a talk without wires from Montauk to St. Simon's Island, Me., convinced the engineers of the company that long-distance wireless telephony was indeed practicable. They set to work at once, under the direction of Engineers J. J. Carty and Lloyd Espenchied, and the first news of their success that the public received came with the announcement of the one-sided talk of President Vail to Engineer Carty, from the former's office in New York City by wire to Washington and thence by wireless to the latter at Mare Island Navy Yard, in San Francisco Bay. Then, to quote the *New York Times*' story:

"While over all the world was being flashed the news that the human voice had been sent by wireless telephony 2,500 miles through the air—from Washington to California—a lone operator in a frame hut at the foot of a towering mast on the shore of Pearl



DR. H. BARRINGTON COX AND HIS 'WALKING WIRELESS.'

In the first picture Dr. Cox is equipped with his wireless-telegraph machine, but might easily pass unsuspected. The machine can be hidden away as easily in a business suit. In the last picture the apparently aimless stroller is receiving messages from a "walking sending-station" at some distance away. This method is not a new one, we are told, but its possibilities are still undeveloped.

Harbor, Hawaii, knew the human voice had been heard almost twice that distance, for he had listened to words spoken in Washington, 4,600 miles away.

"That man was Lloyd Espenchied, an engineer for the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who had been sent to the far-off Pacific island by President Theodore N. Vail to await the test, which came as a climax of more than a year's preparation. Espenchied carried with him only a receiving-instrument, and was therefore unable to talk back to the United States naval wireless station at Arlington, Va. It was hours before he could get wireless-telegraph connection with Mare Island, Cal., and tell J. J. Carty, chief engineer of the telephone company, that a miracle had been wrought."

The public announcement by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company of the success of its experiment, continuing from the formal statement of the actual conversation, explains that—

"The distance over which this wireless communication was held is greater than the distance from New York to London, New York to Paris, or from New York to many other important points, such as Rome, Vienna, and Berlin.

"That transatlantic wireless communication is assured as soon as the disturbed conditions in Europe will permit of tests from this country is obvious when it is remembered that it is much more difficult to send wireless-telephone communication across land than across water. This wonderful wireless message from Washington to Hawaii had to pass over the width of the entire United States

before it encountered the more simple wireless conditions of sending over water."

The actual mechanical details are not yet made public, but President Vail gives us an idea of the nature of the work :

"So far as the perfection of the wireless-telephone goes, there has been no new basic invention; merely a perfection of the sending and receiving-instruments. Of course, in the perfection of these delicate machines there have been minor inventions. But the principle is the transmission of sound by waves in the ether. In this the wireless telephone differs from the wireless telegraph. In the latter electric currents pass through the ether to the destination.

"In the wireless telephone nothing more or less has been done than to send messages precisely as they are sent over telephone-wires without the wires. By a powerful current, the most important factor, the vibrations at the sending-station are greatly magnified. The electric-telephone message that left Arlington was strong enough to run an engine; when it was received it was probably so weak that it could be recorded only by the sensitive receiving-instrument, which magnified the sound-waves precipitated through the ether so that they could make a record at Hawaii. To show that the wireless part of the message was analogous to the wire part, the message I sent to Mare Island was carried to Washington by wire, there thrown out by wireless, and picked up again on a wire at Mare Island before it was heard by Mr. Carty."

The scope of the wireless telephone is apparently

limited, and will always be so. Chief Engineer Carty explains that—

"At certain times of the year, particularly in the summer, static conditions will make it uncertain. Static interference is one of the things we know very little about, and is one of the big problems to be solved. We are going after it.

"The number of calls that can be handled simultaneously on the wireless telephone is limited, but for emergency-use on long distances it will be invaluable, and for use in limited areas it should prove a great boon."

The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, rivals of the successful company in the attempt to perfect a wireless telephone, share the belief of the engineers of the Bell system that wireless telephony will never displace the present instrument. As their Vice-President, Edward J. Nally, remarks:

"My engineers have gone deeply into the question of replacing wire lines with the wireless, and they have decided that will not be done. In the first place, it is not conceived that the wire system of a city could be replaced by wireless, but the theory has been advanced that the trunk lines could be done away with, and that each city would have a great wireless station connecting with another great wireless station in another city. I do not believe this will be done. In the second place, the wireless telephone will not prove reliable, as the wireless telegraph has not always proved reliable.

"But the wireless telephone will render service where wires could never reach. Ships can talk to one another, places which could never be reached by wires for physical reasons will be put within range of easy communication. The wireless telephone adds to the wire telephone, but does not take its place."—*The Literary Digest*.

The War's Greatest Cartoonist.

Every Great Crisis has produced a great cartoonist—one who has given voice to the soul-thoughts of the people. By almost common consent the genius of the present war in the field here mentioned is the Dutch artist, Louis Raemaekers, of *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam). "He is irrepressible in the force and fervor with which he charges the enemy." Necessarily "the Dutch newspapers must be extremely cautious in giving expression to their views," yet Holland is so placed as to see nearest at hand the terribleness of modern warfare. "*De Telegraaf*, for which Mr. Raemaekers makes most of his drawings, is probably the finest and most outspoken journal in Holland, yet, it probably would hesitate to express in type what a Raemaekers cartoon will plainly say in a picture." It is evidently not regarded a breach of neutrality in Holland, "for an artist publicly to express his horror and detestation of war, or to point with unerring exactitude and bitter scorn to those responsible for the high crimes against humanity that have been committed on sea and shore in the name of military necessity.

"You feel that his heart, like that of the master caricaturist of France [Daumier], breaks under the sufferings of war's innocent victims. Almost uncanny are impressions he leaves us—impressions of pallid faces, eyes dilated with horror, ashes and white walls, the silence and coldness of death. Throughout all these phantasmagoric pictures there is no ray of hope, no hint of a partly obscured sun. Death itself stalks through the pages of his album, drinking from a cup of blood. Raemaekers is the portrayer of insanity, of famine, of

despair. There is almost the touch of the madman in his work. It is like laughter in hell. The ghosts themselves might have stepped from the grave and swept the crayon in cold lines across his drawing-board.

"Civilization as a wan, emaciated woman—she is almost Daumier's Spirit of Liberty—is bound and gagged. No touch of color lightens up her face. It is ashen. It is gray and dead. German Militarism,



The Mothers.

—By Louis Raemaekers.

a coarse, half-drunken brute, holds an automatic revolver to her head. 'Am I not a fine fellow?' he demands.

"To the outskirts of the Belgian village comes a workingman, a tiny, home-made coffin in his arms. They are digging trenches for the dead. Within the coffin lies the still form of his 'little Tincke,' who has been shot as a *franc-tireur*.

"Another nightmare glimpse into the heart of devastated Belgium. The picture is revealed to us as if it were cut out by a lightning-flash at night. Amid the ghostly ruins is a family group. Two old people, wasted by hunger and fatigue, lie half dead on the ground. A mother with the devil in her eyes—she is raving, insane—chafes the skeleton-like limbs of a little boy. Ah, but it is a jolly sort of war!

"But if you would know the real meaning of war, study his series of three—the mothers, the widows, and the children. Here are faces that will haunt one in his dreams. The mothers, in deep mourning, kneel before the altar in the flickering candle-light. They can bear the burden no longer. They have



The Orphans.

—By Louis Raemaekers.



The Mothers.

By Louis Raemaekers.

laid it at the Master's feet. The widows, pallid against the dark background, advance holding each other's hands. Here are the young wives, still in the May of love. Here are the older wives, whose love has ripened with the mellowing years. Then come the children down a line of wooden crosses. 'Father, where is your grave?' they ask. It is no more than a fleeting vision, this procession, the dim forms merging into the blur of crosses. But from the silence comes the voice of the artist: 'Krenzland, Krenzland, aber Alles!'

The Dutch Government's request for a strict neutrality observed by the press has resulted in a "timid and hesitating tone" from the papers, but Belgium's woes brought forth a phalanx of artists "who had none of the timidity or faltering spirit that imposed silence on their brothers."

"In perfect harmony with the independent newspaper, *De Telegraaf*, for which he works, Raemaekers has continued his crusade for justice unafraid of menaces or attacks. Thus he has succeeded in showing his fellow citizens that one may remain neutral and even a pacifist without imposing on his convictions a cowardly silence as so many of his contemporaries have done. In doing so he has unsurprisingly wielded the whip of his biting satire. I refer particularly to one of his cartoons which is before me constantly. It represents a sleek, pot-bellied man of the bourgeois type, well satisfied with himself, and therefore respectable, dressed in the height of fashion, cane in hand, his eyes directed upward as if he were expecting bounties from heaven. Behind this personage, who is Mynheer Pieterse, is to be seen an

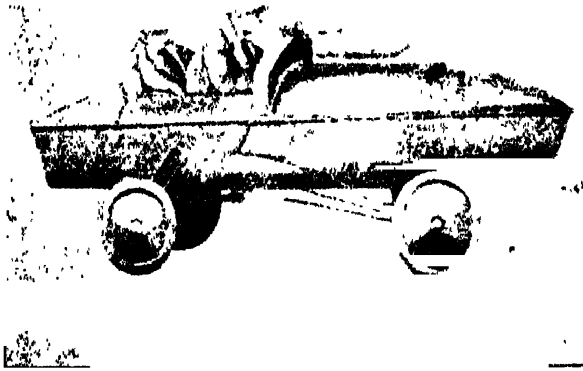
Apache, holding in his hand a knife that drips with blood—the blood of a woman lying murdered and denuded on the street. Under this bloody satire one may read the thoughts of Mynheer Pieterse, as interpreted by the artist: 'That fellow has only robbed and murdered his neighbour. Shall I call him a bandit? No. I'll greet him politely. That's more neutral.'

"In thus playing the poltroons and egoists, Raemaekers has rendered his country a great moral service, for he has helped to clear the national atmosphere, and has brought timid, hesitating, and troubled minds to a better comprehension of what is humane."

The Bellman gives us these personal details:

"Louis Raemaekers was born in Roermond in the Province of Limburg, Holland, on June 4, 1869. He studied art in Amsterdam, Brussels, and Paris, and is not only a cartoonist but a painter of portraits and landscapes. For eight years he has made illustrations for various newspapers and magazines. He is a member of every important art society in Amsterdam and The Hague, and his pictures have appeared in many art exhibitions in Holland and other countries of Europe.

"Since the beginning of the war he has concerned himself with nothing but the subjects it suggests; all else appears to him of no importance in comparison with it. Personally, Mr. Raemaekers is a gentleman of charming manners, who is highly educated. He has traveled in many countries and speaks several languages very fluently. Comparatively unknown except in Holland until this war began, the fame of Raemaekers has rapidly spread throughout all



ON THE ROAD.

AN AMPHIBIOUS AUTO

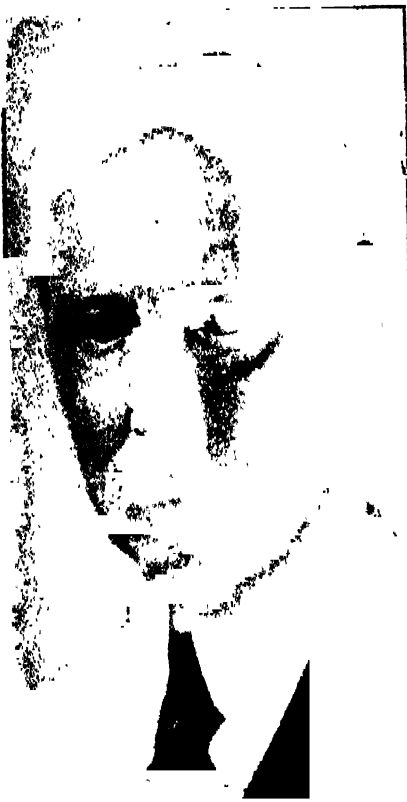
An Amphibious Auto.

A number of people have been working of late years to solve the problem of constructing a vehicle capable of traveling upon both land and water. More than one has had some degree of success, but none is better, perhaps, than that invented by a Viennese engineer named L. Zeiner. This "water automobile" or "land-motor-boat," resembles an ordinary touring car in appearance, except that the body is rather higher. But besides its wheels, it is provided with a propeller placed at the rear (not visible in the illustrations). The power of the motor can be switched from the running-gear to the propeller-screw, and vice versa. It is built so as to take quite steep grades with ease. Hence one may ride down the sloping bank of a river, plunge into the current, switch the power to the propeller, and cross the stream in a practicable motor-boat. Arriving at the other side, the engine is switched to put the wheels in commission once more, the bank is easily climbed, and the journey continued without more ado!

The vehicle has made good under practical tests, and is expected to be particularly valuable for military use. It is so built as to go well in swampy and muddy country. In shallow water, wheels and propeller may be used simultaneously; this is a particular advantage when a sand-bank is accidentally encountered in a stream, since it removes the danger of "getting stuck."

"The power is supplied by a 16-horse-power, 4-cylinder motor which gives a speed on land of 45 miles per hour. This speed is diminished in water to about 12 miles per hour."

This car is expected to be peculiarly valuable for military purposes, obviating the delays caused by bridge-building, finding suitable fords, making detours round marshy land, etc. But there are many of the pursuits of peace where it will be permanently useful as well.—*The Literary Digest*.



LOUIS RAEMAEKERS.

Holland's cartoonist, whose heart, like that of Daumier, "breaks under the suffering of war's innocent victims."

Europe, and is now growing in America."—*The Literary Digest*.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

BY A DISCIPLE OF PROF. J. C. BOSE.

II.

WE are now established in London, with the laboratory fitted up at Maida Vale and the plants safely housed in the Victoria Regia House at Regent's Park. But the real difficulty lay in convincing the scientific public of the altogether unforeseen results of the new investigations carried out in India, and which were to modify so profoundly many of the accepted views concerning the phenomenon of life and its various manifestations. The outside world knows very little how my Master was led from the study of the physics of inorganic substances to the vast field of Response of Matter, Inorganic and Living; that is a story which will form a very important chapter in the scientific advance of the present age.

INFLUENCE IN EARLY LIFE.

Equally interesting it is to trace the influences which moulded his early life and which determined later the trend of his scientific activities. Much of this material I have been able to gather from the older members of my Master's family. The greatest influence in his life was his father, the late Bhagaban Chunder Bose, whose activities were many-sided and who had a remarkably strong personality. He was the Sub-divisional Officer at Faridpore. This place was at the time notorious for its gang of reckless dacoits. He, single-handed, arrested the leader and sentenced him to a term of imprisonment. After serving his term the dacoit appeared before him and spoke of the impossibility of returning to his old life, while any honest occupation was denied him on account of his imprisonment. Touched by this appeal he took the unusual course of taking him into his own service, and this ex-leader of dacoits used to carry my Master to the school. On the way he used to tell him of his bold adventures and of numerous fights, of the pursuit, and the death of his

companions, and his own narrow escapes. He showed him the marks of numerous wounds that covered his body,—how the wound in his thigh was due to a spear-thrust, and the other ugly mark on his breast was caused by an arrow.

The Master was sent to the village vernacular school, while his father's subordinates used to send their sons to the more fashionable English school. His father despised snobbishness of all kinds, and no snobbishness was more distasteful to him than that which kept the fortunate few separate from the people. In this school his comrades were the hardy sons of those who toiled. From the fisherman's son he used to hear wonderful tales of strange creatures that lived in lakes, fens, and rivers. There used to be inundations of the river which left many queer creatures stranded in the fields opposite to my Master's house. The child was full of curiosity and when his father came home, tired with the day's work, he had to answer his son's inquiries about the reasons of things. And the father showed great patience, though his son kept him awake with questions till late at night. The grandmother had then to come with a stick to make the child desist and allow *her* son to have some rest!

This was the beginning of that passionate love for Nature which possessed him so completely. Later in life he used to go out of beaten paths to watch the wild wolves hunting black antelopes in the plains of Central India, or follow the track left by monster pythons on the yielding grass of the Himalayan Terai, or watch from tree-tops bisons, rhinoceros and tigers in the wild jungles of Assam.

His early love for his own village culminated in a longing to know the whole of India and there is hardly any place of historical importance, between the snowy peaks of Kedarnath in the North and Rameswaram in the South, that he has not visited. The rock-cut temples of the earliest Buddhistic period, the Inscriptions

of Asoka, the ruins of the ancient Universities, the Himalayan glaciers, the Stupa at Sarnih, the excavations at Taxila, the ruins of Rajgir, to these and many other places he came in the after time till he realised India, made one by linked history, from the dawn of civilisation to the present day.

Through the vernacular literature he had early access to the great epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, and the hero he worshipped was not the one who had achieved great success, but Karna, the Disowned, who, in the last encounter which was to determine for him victory or defeat, life or death, rejected the divine weapon that would have decided the day in his favour. For he would use no strength that was not his own nor would he follow any path that was not straight. This must be the law for all who are Disinherited, to win by strength and righteousness that which has been forfeited by decrees of fate.

The dominant influences that impressed my Master's life are then, a spirit of adventure into the unknown, an indifference to success or failure, a passionate love of Nature, an insatiable longing to find out the reasons of things, a devotion to the highest ideals that have been embodied in the national epics, and a living belief in the coming epoch of intellectual revival in his country.

RESEARCH AT THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

I shall now refer to the second phase of his life after return from his first visit to England, when he was offered the Chair of Experimental Physics at the Presidency College, in 1885. There was at that time no laboratory; experiments were, generally speaking, exhibited by drawings on black boards. It was while preparing his lectures on the history of different discoveries that he realised that while the different countries in the world,—England, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, America and even Russia,—had contributed to the advance of modern science, his own country had no place in that glorious record of human effort. The idea that India should ever make any contribution in science was then regarded as beyond the dream of a visionary. How could this be possible, when there was no proper Laboratory, no Scientific Instrument Makers for the manufacture of new and special appliances, by which alone the

hitherto undetected phenomena of Nature could be revealed? My Master accepted all these limitations and by training Indian mechanics he was able to manufacture some of the most important appliances for scientific work. And it was only after ten years of persistent labour that in November 1894 he found himself free to devote his thoughts to pure research. After this in the course of three months he was able to invent special apparatus for investigations on Electro-magnetic Radiation and discover the Polarisation of Electric Ray by Double Refracting Crystals. These results were regarded as of such importance that they filled Lord Kelvin "literally with wonder and admiration." His next work on Determination of Indices of Refraction of various Opaque Substances to Invisible Radiation was accepted and published by the Royal Society, who showed their high appreciation by offering a Parliamentary Grant at the disposal of the Society. This was in 1895, and the next year he was sent by the Government on his first scientific deputation to Europe, where his success at the Royal Society in London and the Academy of Science in Paris and the University of Berlin are well known.

In the course of his investigation on the construction of the most sensitive detectors for electric waves, he found that the uncertainty of the early type of receivers was brought on by fatigue, and that the fatigue of his instruments resembled closely the fatigue of animal muscle. He was soon able to remove the 'tiredness' of his receiver; the application of certain drugs again stimulated the sensitiveness of his detectors to an extraordinary degree. Other drugs depressed the sensitiveness or abolished it altogether. It was to communicate these remarkable results that he was sent to the Paris Congress in his second scientific deputation to the West. His communication evoked very keen interest. As a *speculation* it was accepted as very illuminating; his results were, however, not considered quite convincing, since his methods were quite new. Physiologists were accustomed to detect excitability of animal nerves and muscles by a different method where living tissues under excitation gave rise to an electrical current, this electric current being regarded as a token of life. For at the death of the tissue there is a total



cessation of this electric currents. My Master now took up the method accepted by physiologists and by its means showed that metals gave electric response, this response being exalted under stimulants and abolished under the action of poisons. In his memorable address before the Royal Institution on the 10th May 1901 he exhibited side by side the autographic records of response of the Living and Non-living and said:

"How similar are the writings? So similar indeed that you cannot tell one from the other apart. We have watched the responsive pulses wax and wane in the one as in the other. We have seen response sinking under fatigue, becoming exalted under stimulants, and being killed by poisons, in the non-living as in the living. Amongst such phenomena how can we draw a line of demarcation and say here the physical process ends and there the physiological begins? No such barriers exist."

"Do not the two sets of records tell us of some property of matter common and persistent? Do they not show us that the responsive processes seen in life, have been foreshadowed in non-life?—that the physiological is, after all, but an expression of the physical?—that there is no abrupt break but one uniform and continuous march of law? If it be so, we shall but turn with renewed courage to the investigation of mysteries which have long eluded us. For every step of science has been made by the inclusion of what seemed contradictory or capricious in a new and harmonious simplicity. Her advance has been always towards a clearer perception of underlying unity in apparent diversity."

Between the inorganic substances and the animal creation was the plant world. My Master was also able to establish an absolute continuity by his discovery that the ordinary and so-called insensitive plants were fully sensitive, and gave an electrical reply identical with that given by animals. The experimental demonstration of this he gave before the Royal Society on 6th June, 1901. This result completely negatived the contentions of Sir John Burden-Sanderson, the leading physiologist, who insisted that ordinary plants were quite insensitive, being incapable of giving any electric response and, secondly, that even in the few sensitive plants, such as *Dionaea*, the electric response was of an *opposite* sign to that given by animals, thus establishing a *discontinuity* in plant and animal reactions. As my Master's results completely upset Burden-Sanderson's theories, his communication was looked on with prejudice by him and his followers. Physiologists, moreover, objected to a physicist 'straying into the preserve' that had been specially reserved for the physiologist. In

consequence of this opposition his Paper, which was already in print, was not published. But eight months after the reading of the paper, another communication found publication in the Journal of a different Society which was practically the same as my Master's but without any acknowledgment. The plagiarism was subsequently discovered and led to much unpleasantness.

It was the original intention of my Master, after making over these new results to the physiologists, to return to the many new lines of electrical investigations which were waiting for completion. In fact some of these were of great practical importance, such as the discovery of his extremely sensitive crystal detectors for the reception of wireless signals. Moreover by the action of several stimulants he could exalt their sensitiveness to an extraordinary degree. In practice this meant a great extension to the range of signalling through space. Indeed a very influential syndicate was anxious to secure patents from him. Thus on one side, in physics, was assured success and high recognition, while in the region of physiology he was alone and an intruder, challenging the accepted leaders. In making his choice it was not the assurance of Success that had any attraction for him, it was rather the daring needed of a single man to stand against odds that decided him. And it was thus that he entered into a phase of activity which, for many years, was to test his utmost strength.

The physiologists in general were, as stated before, ranged against him. Moreover there was a feeling that one who was an Eastern was more likely to be led away by the fervour of his warm imagination into the realms of speculation than facts warranted. And Master's greatest difficulty, on reaching England, was to remove this feeling of distrust, and find a place which would enable him to address the leaders of biological science. He had many warm admirers amongst physicists but as a result of excessive specialisation they had no voice in matters relating to life.

But, to resume the narrative of the present tour.

OXFORD.

The late Sir John Burden-Sanderson and his followers were the leaders of biological thought at Oxford and it was my Master's

strong desire to meet his opponents at their stronghold in Oxford. Fortunately the Sherardian Professor to the University was for fair play and invited my Master to give a Discourse at the Botanical Laboratory, where the leading physiologists of the place were asked to attend and take an active part in the subsequent discussion.

The date of the lecture was fixed for the 20th of May 1914. Unfortunately for us the day turned out to be wintry cold. Our great anxiety was for the plants which had to be taken out of the Regent's Park hot-house and bear two hours' cold journey in the train before reaching Oxford. As we neared Oxford the temperature fell still lower and we had great fear that the plants would not revive from the benumbing effect of excessive cold. As soon as we reached the Botanical Laboratory we placed the plants in a hot chamber, hoping that they would be roused from torpidity by the lecture time.

The lecture Hall soon became crowded with advanced scholars, dons and professors. There were also specialists, who had been carrying on very important researches in the famous Physiological Laboratory of Oxford.

The Master began by saying how numerous and contradictory had been the theories that were held as regards the fundamental reactions of life. In the world

of plants no evidence could be more decisive than that afforded by the plant itself. How then are we to make the plant itself record the experience of its inner life? The instrument which rendered this possible was the Resonant Recorder, and by optical projection, every part of this wonderful instrument was projected before the astonished audience. The instrument then began to tick time and measured the perception time of the plant to the thousandth part of a second and also the speed of its nervous impulse. Another apparatus, the Oscillating Recorder, was now put to action with the leaf of our telegraph plant which fortunately had by this time revived from its torpor. And when Our Indian plant recorded its automatic throbbings before the whole audience—pulsations which were practically replicas of the heart-beats of the animal, then the enthusiasm of the audience knew no bounds. And when the same drugs which arrested the human heart-beat and the antidote which revived it were shown to produce identical effects on the throbbing leaflets of the telegraph plant, then there rose a shout and above that was heard the voice of even the most sceptical that 'All life was one.'

Thus was victory won, and those who were the other day our opponents became from that time our staunchest friends.

(To be continued)

POLITICAL IDEALS *

HISTORY, according to the author, is of four kinds. Mere date and fact history is a kind of journalism. Then there is the Carlylean method of the biography of heroes or great men. Another kind of history consists of the records of the habits and customs of the people. The operation of the influence of climate and other natural forces is another method of which Buckle was the leading exponent.

But the best method, in the opinion of the author, is to treat history as the biography of the various ideals which have inspired mankind in different ages.

First the author takes up the Athenian ideal of Liberty.

'Not only is liberty the basis of civilised life, but the progress of civilisation depends on a development of personal independence and local autonomy? Liberty of the group (nation) is regarded as the basis for all natural development of the country or the race. We take this for granted. For no civilised race will endure foreign domination, however admirable its governors may be.' ... 'Not seldom a group

* Political Ideals: Their nature and development: An Essay, by C. Delisle Burs. Oxford University Press. 1915. 26d net. Svo. Pp. 311.

which demands liberty for itself denies it to others.' 'We all agree that the adult individual should not be treated as a child, and that he should not be governed against his own will even for his own good. Thus liberty is still opposed to tyranny or caste government. ... A beneficent tyranny is not to be compared even with an unsuccessful government that is in our own hands.'

But there was much of evil mixed up with the good.

'Athens at her best was full of slaves. There was no political freedom for women.' 'The fall of Athens, in 404 B. C., was directly due, not to the liberty she had attained, but to the attempts she made to limit the ideal to herself. There may be no moral in history; yet one more than half agrees with the Thucydidean conception of a Nemesis overtaking all who refuse to others what they believe to be most necessary for themselves.'

The author then deals with the Roman ideals of law and order, which is the principle of permanence, as Liberty is that of change, both being equally necessary for civilised life.

'But order may be paid for too dearly if it is at the expense of liberty. Obviously in giving order to Europe, Rome had taken away all local vitality ... for order cannot imply the limitation of the natural development of what is set in order. If it were so, life would not be orderly, but only death; an order which is inflexible is tyranny,—or in the words of a keen Roman critic, 'we make a desert and call it peace?' ... as liberty tends to degenerate into license, so order tends to be corrupted into unnatural fixity of the *status quo* ... the order which sacrifices originality, and therefore growth, destroys itself.'

The next subject to be discussed is cosmopolitan equality, which involves the belief in a common humanity and equal capacity for development, irrespective of all distinctions of race or social status. To this idea is due the fact that civilised men of every European race are regarded as political equals. It arose out of a perception of the evils of slavery and of racial exclusiveness involved in such words as 'barbarian' [cf. 'the chosen people' of the Jews, the 'Mlecchas' of the Hindus, the 'Kafirs' of the Moslems], and also from the observance of the cosmopolitan power of Rome and the Christian stoic conception of the brotherhood of man.

The idea of an European concert, of a special sense of unity among European nations, is derived from the Holy Roman Empire and therefore a mediæval conception.

'Mr. Kipling declares that 'Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat.' He is perhaps unaware that such sentiments are a survival of the Middle Ages, when

Western Europe regarded itself as civilised humanity and the outer world as only 'the rest.' " 'There is more than a tendency to regard European war as almost civil war whereas other warfare is regarded as only 'civilising.' "

But the mediæval conception of a single suzerain or a single 'state' in Europe must be discarded in favour of an unity of co-operating parts, and the ideal "must be guarded against possible corruptions which might arise if the contrast of European with other civilisations led us western nations to make an arrogant and insolent claim to domination over all humanity."

The Renaissance saw the birth of distinct 'sovereign' states regarded as equals, in place of the unity of Europe under an overlord. International Law and the theory of Balance of Power now came into being. The State was however conceived to be an organisation of officials of the governing body as opposed to the people or the nation. But this theory of independent local sovereignty made it possible for the later ideal of nationalism to arise. In England, the national sentiment was gradually formed, by warlike opposition to foreigners, under Edward III and Henry V. In Spain, the alien race and government of the Moors was the precursor of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Then came the French Revolution with its Rights of Man

"It is a custom among apologists to say that the Christian Church introduced or at least made popular the idea of the equality of man. Nothing could be more glaringly untrue. Official Christianity made no attempt to correct the narrowness of caste prejudice. It accepted first the ranks of the Roman Empire and afterwards the castes of the feudal system; and it employed itself rather in finding justification for a political situation which already existed than in correcting the deficiencies of the system. ... The fact remains that it is to the Pagan Renaissance and not to the Mediæval Church that we must look for the sources of that 'Liberty, Fraternity and Equality' which made the soul of the French Revolution."

The whole effort of the Revolutionists was to realise equality of political rights among all the inhabitants of France, and this equality was to be extended by the destruction of privilege and caste in every country. 'Man is born free and he is everywhere in chains'—these first words of the *contrat social* are, as it were, the cry of pain from which the revolutionary enthusiasm arose. The ideal as it appears to Rousseau is the production and development of individuals who may have the freest possible play for all their faculties.

It involves the proposition that no human being is to be sacrificed to the development of any other. Man has certain 'national' rights, such as that of life, liberty, and the necessities of existence, which, as Blackstone said, 'no human legislation has power to abridge or destroy.' Rousseau fully recognised the inequality of worth among men, but as society is founded on the agreement of all alike, all are entitled to an equal share in political rights. The fundamental likeness in all men underlying all distinctions was emphasised by him and direct government by the 'sovereign people' was considered to be the only safe method. But the revolutionists dreamt of an abstract cosmopolitanism and neglected the fundamental distinctions of race or nationality. Their advocacy of political equality has however fructified in the equal political rights of all sane adults among European nations.

On modern Nationalism the author has much to say which is likely to be specially appreciated in Bengal. The ideal of Nationalism is reflected most clearly in the writings of Mazzini, who is the last great prophet of Nationalism, and

"We may perhaps count this ideal as a contribution made by Italy to the political tradition. Italy has indeed suffered more than any other land from foreigners, and perhaps it is the extremity of the evil there which produced the finest form of the ideal."

Nationalism is the conception that every group of sufficient permanence and with enough of a distinct tradition to have a 'national' character should have an opportunity for developing its own form of law and Government. National differences may be supposed to be due to heredity and environment. As Le Bon says, 'Century after century of our departed ancestors have fashioned our ideas and sentiments.' The existence of national characteristics in features, habits of mind or body, language and even dress, is an instance of the past living in the present. If man had no history, then we could begin without any difficulty to arrange the world upon the best plan conceivable; but each of us individually and each group of us collectively is a result of the past. We are burdened or we are benefited by our descent. But no characteristic can be supposed to be permanent in any nation.

"Not even if Buckle was right and the character of human inhabitants is completely moulded by geographical and climatic conditions—not even so is it possible to speak as though any special virtue were the special possession of any one race of men"

Distinct national characteristics are due not only to natural and human surroundings, but also to difference in tradition.

"Those who live in continuous contact develop and sometimes even produce a special conception of what is admirable in character or valuable in life, or of the place which law and government should have. Such conceptions are embodied in institutions supported by custom and expressed in literature and the other arts. A common memory and a common ideal—these, more than a common blood—make a nation."

The grounds on which the conscious nationalist of modern times would promote and develop the divergent traditions of different nations are as follow :

"In the first place, the destruction of individuality may destroy genius, so the attempt to make all groups of men exactly alike in their customs or creeds may destroy some special character of endurance or wit which may be developed even in a small nation. There is some special quality in every group which it would be well for the sake of the whole of humanity to preserve. But this can only be preserved if the group has an opportunity for characteristic development of its own laws and institutions. The evidence of the past shows that when a race is deprived of its own political life its work is less valuable, and that when a race wins political independence its art and science contribute to the general progress of civilisation "

Each group with a civilised tradition has a right to independent development in view of what it may produce for humanity at large. Secondly, states should vary in their methods of law and government, reflecting in their variety the distinctions of human groups. If each nation is to develop its characteristics, humanity at large is benefited by the preservation of as many distinct types.

"For the human race is not at its best when every man or every group is a copy of every other. Civilisation progresses by differentiation as well by assimilation of interests and character, and we cannot afford to neglect a policy which may develop differences in a world in which communication and cheap manufactures may gradually level out all the variety of the race."

Thirdly, the ideal would not imply the absolute segregation of each group, for a group, like an individual, cannot develop in complete isolation. Nationalism would imply close relation between different groups; but not for the elimination of differences. That close relationship (alliance or federation) would be for the more

civilised development of those very differences. The author's remark about imitation deserves our serious consideration. 'Imitation is in one sense the conservative force.' 'One imitates the foe for the purpose of overcoming him.' [cf. the Japanese policy of protection through imitation] Out of the confused unity of the Middle Ages came the separate states of the Renaissance, and men first began to feel what we now call their nationality. The Renaissance, however, divided Europe rather into a collection of states than into nations. And it was not until the Revolution had come and gone that the long slumbering national consciousness came to birth as a new ideal. It is one of the greatest forces in modern politics. Bengal which has been reunited after going through the throes of a partition will be interested to read the following:

"Nationalism also implied that divisions of the same national group should be removed. A nation with a united consciousness and the same tradition should not be divided into a number of separate states. Thus the Italian Kingdom and the German Empire were formed through the conception that peoples of the same speech or like customs should have the same state system..... Nationalism progressed by the appeal to common sentiments among peoples who had been divided by arbitrary Governments." "The evils out of which Nationalism arises are dynastic and obsolete Governmental systems, causing the majority to feel that their interest or their character is not represented by the administration under which they live. Foreigners in possession give the most tangible form to the evil....."

The defects of Nationalism are (1) A narrowing of the political outlook: local development tends to become village-politics.

"Under this name dying languages [as in Ireland] have been revived and proved obstacles to human intercourse. Small groups in the Austrian empire have gained in peace and civilisation by not having their own institutions and in Switzerland we have an example of distinct racial groups being better for being united in one state."

(2) Group-jealousy: nationalism in a small group becomes Imperialism when the group becomes powerful. When the greater number of each nation can regard other nations as co-operating and not as conflicting, then the best nationalism will be realised.

Modern Imperialism implies a vast territory or many races under one Government and with one dominant partner.

"Cosmopolitanism or Humanitarianism, 'The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world' is too ineffective an ideal at present..... Its strength may

be greater in the near future, but at present it is not a political force."

Imperialism is a sort of halfway house between provincialism and cosmopolitanism. It expands the mind and gives greater scope to the individual than nationalism; so it is not altogether a word for ignoble ambitions, and is a step onwards in civilisation. But a bombastic provincialism, full of local prejudice and an unwarrantable assumption of superiority over 'foriegners' often passes for Imperialism. It differs from village-politics only in the universalism of its impertinence.

"The egregious insolence of a Kipling may impress the unthinking." "The small group or nation which is forced to give up, in the name of Imperialism, its custom, its language, its law, and its forms of Government, may well object that such an empire is an unwarrantable insolence."

The author's views on the British Empire, and on India in particular, are quite liberal, and the same in substance as those expressed by Sir Henry Cotton in his *NEW INDIA*.

"...it is no longer possible to consider that vast number of men, for example, inhabiting Australia, Canada, England and Ireland, not to mention Egypt and India, as united in groups one of which must dominate all the others. That would involve insolence, provincialism and the suppression of local vitality. The only possible way, therefore, of regarding the whole vast group as one is by supposing that each component group is united as an equal with the others in a Federation."

Lord Milner, the author of *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, is aware that the empire must rest on one of two bases, —an extensive military occupation or the principle of nationality. 'And few Englishmen would be willing to contemplate a purely military Empire.' Coming particularly to India, our author observes:

"India is no more one than is Europe; and although there is growing up a general Indian sentiment, self-government based upon an identity of interests between all the inhabitants of a continent is absurdly impracticable. The end proposed, which might take years to realise, would undoubtedly be the self-government of the distinct parts of India; and this would mean the equality of right in deciding even to maintain any union with England. So extreme a conception of Federation is naturally opposed by those who, like Lord Cromer, still speak of 'our Indian possessions'... 'At bottom,' says Seeley, 'it implies the idea of an estate' to be worked for our benefit; and that confession, he confesses, is 'barbaric and immoral.' Compromise will always be the political excuse for incompetence and illogical thinking; but I see no way out of the difficulty which does not imply either the complete dissolution of the connection between England and the constituent 'dependent' nations of the present Empire or an

admission of these nations sooner or later to political equality... Imperialism, if it is to develop, must be reconciled with Nationalism, and there seems no possibility of this except through Federalism."

"As the Revolutionary classic is French, the Nationalist gospel Italian, and the Socialist programme German, so the first expression of individualism is English. Spencer, Mill and Sidgwick are its greatest exponents, and the German philosopher Nietzsche carries the theory to extravagant lengths in his doctrine of the superman. Individualism is an appeal in the interests of the whole community for special consideration for the exceptional. It is a protest against the modern tendency towards mediocrity and assimilation. The whole race grows in the development of its exceptional men. The last words of Mill's *Liberty* are true for all time: 'The worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a state which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill.....a state which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.'

Philosophical anarchism, represented by Prince Kropotkin and others, is a sort of Utopian Individualism. It implies a community of free and fully developed human beings where no external regulation is necessary. Individualism, however, tends to neglect the social environments of man.

"The chief basis of the self-development of a human being is social contact with others; and the development of one is dependent on the development of those with whom he is in contact. Therefore a society in which a few are fully developed is a contradiction in terms. The under-development even of a few will permeate and obstruct the development of all the others of the same group. The under-development of that group will affect the development of other groups, and so from a small evil the whole race will be affected."

If, again, "the present tendency of society is towards selfishness and unenlightened egoism, Individualism should be opposed as giving strength to the very evil which needs most to be eradicated.

Indeed, the individualistic writers, like Mill and Sidgwick, do not really understand the egoism of the average man; their own egoism is so enlightened, their action is so intelligently governed, that they may indeed do good to the community by pursuing what they know to be the highest good."

The Socialist ideal is generally considered to be a sort of mechanical Utopia in which every man has been given a number and registered by his thumb mark in exchange for having sold his soul to the state. But it is to be found, not in any particular organisation, but in the developed social sense which now animates all classes of society. Social causes and social results should be better arranged. Nature

cannot be left to herself. The fittest to survive in the eyes of brute force are not the fittest in the eyes of a civilised man. Thus while admitting development, Socialism deliberately advocated a modification by human foresight of the 'natural' course of development. Mr. Wells and others advocate an organised State system with equal opportunities for all. It is nowhere supposed that all are equal, for opportunity is only made equal in order to discover by trial which of us are better than others. Its weakness is its tendency to an abstract cosmopolitanism, its proneness to treat individuals of entirely different groups as more similar than they are. But it is effective quite outside the ranks of professed socialists. Society is an organic whole, whose health requires the fullest individual development compatible with the just interdependence of its component parts, so that both individualism and socialism are necessary. Socialism and individualism, like nationalism and imperialism, are therefore complementary conceptions and not mutually exclusive.

The author concludes with some very pregnant general observations:

"...Vast natural forces are always at work with which the historian of society and the practical politician have to deal...Man is not isolated, and at every step he is influenced by the mass of different realities around him. And if for general purposes we consider man without reference to the rest of the Universe, we need always to remind ourselves that innumerable forces which we have not noticed have worked and are working to transform man himself... when we have managed to direct such forces as we desire, our realised desire becomes a natural force and is to be reckoned among the other forces which transform us according to laws quite independent of our will." "There is a tendency to stability which even the revolutionary man can do very little to oppose. If he speaks all day against the established order, nevertheless he cannot eat or move or clothe himself without adding his support to things as they are. Therefore there is no danger of complete overturning of the present structure of society." On the other hand, there is a tendency to change which even the conservative cannot resist. If he copies his forefathers most exactly, yet house and clothes decay and his food is always a little different, and the very language in which he praises the good old times, by the use of which he hopes to keep things as they are, insensibly changes its meaning even when he uses it. Therefore there is no danger that we shall ever be troubled for long by the same difficulties. The natural tendencies to stability and to change exist quite independently of the efforts of reformers or conservatives."

After giving a brief *resume* of the main points dealt with by the author, it only remains for us to say a few words regarding the book as a whole. It is pleasant to think how much wisdom often lies

concealed within the pages of an unpretentious little volume which it is within everybody's means to acquire. The book is replete with thoughtful observations, and the wide sweep of the author's study is apparent in every page. It is a book to ponder and digest, and not merely to glance over, and should be a *vade mecum* for all students of politics in our country. Both as a preparation for a more extensive study of the subject, as well as a gathering together of the threads of such study, the book will prove highly useful. That a

book of this kind can be written and published at a time when England is in the throes of the greatest war in recorded history shows the devotion to high thinking which prevails in that country. In the preface, the war has been referred to as an 'ephemeral interest.' Hegel writing philosophy within earshot of Napoleon's guns at Jena could hardly have afforded a better example of the placid atmosphere of detachment in which all high thinking must necessarily be performed.

POLITICUS.

HOME RULE AMONG SAVAGES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THERE is an extensive archipelago in the mid-western Pacific Ocean belonging to Great Britain called the Gilbert (Kingsmill) Islands. In spite of adverse conditions of environment and complete barbarism, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the population of these islands is exceedingly dense, in strong contradistinction to that of many other more favoured islands. The land area of the group is only 166 square miles, yet the population is about 30,000. The Gilbert islanders are a dark and coarse type of the Polynesian race, and show signs of much crossing. They are tall and stout, with an average height of five feet eight inches, and are of a vigorous and energetic temperament. They are nearly always naked, but wear a conical hat of pandanus leaf. In war they have an armour of plaited cocoanut fibres. They are fierce fighters, their chief weapon being a sword armed with shark's teeth. Their canoes are well made of cocoanut wood boards sewn neatly together and fastened on frames. The large population led to the introduction of natives from these islands into Hawaii as labourers in 1878-1881, but they were not found satisfactory. These islands were taken under British protection in 1892.

The Ellice Islands, situated nearly midway between Fiji and Gilbert, were also taken under protection in 1892. Their total area is 14 square miles, and the population is about 2400. Some of them

speak the language of the Gilbert islanders, and have a tradition that they came some generations ago from that group. All the others are of Samoan speech.

Mr. E. C. Eliot, Resident Commissioner in these islands, has contributed an article on them to the December number of *United Empire*, the Royal Colonial Institute Journal, in which he calls them a model protectorate. He says that by an Order in Council gazetted November 12, 1915, the native Governments of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, which were proclaimed as British Protectorates in 1892, have been, at their own desire, annexed to His Majesty's Dominions. They are to be known as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. This Colony, of which the population is, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in a state of "complete barbarism," enjoys the natural right of Home Rule. We will quote the exact words of Mr. Eliot: "To-day a state of 'Home Rule' exists which is probably unique among native races under the protection of the British Crown. With their own code of native laws, revised and amended by a King's Regulation, the people are wisely and justly ruled by their own councils of Chiefs and Elders under the advice and guidance of the few European officials who assist the Resident Commissioner as administrative officers in charge of a number of islands." We take a few more details from Mr. Eliot's interesting article.

The following constitute the native

courts :—The Native Magistrate, the Chief of Kaubere, members of Kaubere, the Scribe, the Island Police; other native officials being the prison warder and warden and hospital orderly.

The "Kaubere" (in the Ellice Islands "Kaupoli") is composed of Chiefs and Elders, the number varying according to the size and population of the island, from about thirty-five to six or seven. The meetings of the Kaubere are called the "Bowi," and are held monthly, though special meetings may be convened more often should necessity arise.

These meetings of the "Bowi" are divided into two sittings. The first comprises the criminal jurisdiction at which the Native Magistrate presides and passes sentence; the Kaubere acting as his advisers. The Magistrate must take the opinion of all members of Kaubere who may be present, and he then decides on the punishment by the guidance of his Book of the Laws, which is printed in the vernacular.

After the criminal cases are disposed of, it is usual for the Chief of Kaubere to relieve the Magistrate as spokesman. All complaints are then heard, reports received from Kaubere in charge of villages and from individuals. Land disputes are looked into and adjusted, and all matters affecting the welfare of the community are brought up for discussion. The Gilbert islander is a born orator, and though his tones may be raucous to our ears, his graceful and expressive movements at once command attention.

Every island is equipped with a well appointed hospital, and gaols for males and females; unfortunately, in many instances, a leper station has also to be included.

From end to end of each island excellent roads extend which are kept up by free labour. The inhabitants take much pride in their roads, so much so that it is a criminal offence for a native to pass without removing a branch, or any obstruction which may be lying in the path. This system of free communal work is not abused; though a relic of former years, it is freely given, and has the great advantage of permitting the imposition of far lighter taxation than would otherwise be necessary.

The revenue of the Protectorate is derived from a light Land Tax, payable in

copra, and graded according to the size, population, and prosperity of each island. In times of drought, to which the Central Gilbert Islands are especially subject, this tax is reduced or wholly remitted. Import duties are charged only on wines, malt liquor, and spirits (which does not affect the native population, since the sale or consumption of all intoxicating liquor is forbidden to them by law), tobacco, scents, and kerosene.

In addition to the Island Police, who are directly responsible to the Native Governments, there is a Protectorate Police Force of about fifty men, who are divided between Ocean Island and Tarawa in the Gilberts, which latter island was at one time the seat of Government. The members of the Protectorate Police Force were originally enrolled from Fiji; but these men are now being replaced by Gilbert and Ellice natives, who have proved themselves both willing and competent to deal with brother delinquents. It is regarded as a special honour to belong to the Protectorate Force, and the pick of the islands can therefore be obtained.

Small retaining fees are paid to Native Island Magistrates, Chiefs of Kaubere, Scribes, Island Police, warders, and hospital orderlies; in the cases of the Native Magistrates and Chiefs of Kaubere, these small payments can only be regarded as sufficient to meet "out of pocket" travelling expenses, and in no way detract from the credit of the good work which these officials willingly give for the welfare of their people. The Chief of Kaubere is generally, but not necessarily, the hereditary Chief of the Island. He patrols the island, and sees that the village Kaubere and Police attend to their duties. There is one Kaubere at least to every village, and in a large island, such as Tabiteuea in the Gilbert Group—which is over fifty miles in length—there are about thirty villages. The members of the Kaubere are unpaid.

The Island Native Scribe deserves a special word of praise. Though he is the clerk to the Native Government, and the custodian of the purse, he is generally a man of substance and position. Since the year 1892, when the Flag was hoisted in these Protectorates, there has been but one case recorded of embezzlement by a Scribe, and although many months may pass without the possibility of a visit from

a Protectorate official, it is seldom that the cash is wrong by so much as a penny. Even to-day comparatively few islands can boast the possession of a safe, but the Island funds are as secure in an old box with the flimsiest of locks, as they could be at home in the latest "burglar-proof" safe.

To what should be attributed the present law-abiding, moral, and happy existence of these children of nature? In years gone by, they were great warriors; but cannibalism has never been proved, and it is doubtful if it ever existed in these islands of the Pacific. The earlier traders and settlers did their best to ruin the natives by inflaming their passions with drink and, in those bad days, the only restraining influence was that of the Missions.

With the advent of the Flag, and drastic regulations forbidding the sale of liquor and the use of firearms, peace was soon restored, and to-day it is difficult to realise that not many years have passed since the time of R. L. Stevenson, when drunken orgies were prolonged into weeks, when the crews of trading vessels were attacked and murdered, and when the daily occupation of the old chief of Butaritari was to sit on the beach with his rifle across his knees, picking off any of his labourers toiling at the construction of his sea wall whose movements did not please him. The sea wall stands in spite of the heavy westerly gales to which it is exposed, testifying to the accuracy of the aim of the Chief in picking off defaulters, and three of his grandsons are members of the Butaritari brass band which provides a large volume

of sound under the guiding baton of a father of the Sacred Heart Mission.

The answer may be that these islanders are, at heart, nature's gentlemen: the spirit of lying and deceit is not in them. They have been scotched, but not spoilt, by contact with some of the worst evils of civilisation, during which time the unselfish devotion of the white missionary checked, to a great extent, the damage which must otherwise have been done.

Another important factor is believed to be the continuance of the system of communal work. This has without doubt had the effect not only of combatting that inertia which is generally found among tropical races for whose maintenance the soil provides with the minimum expenditure of labour, but further of fostering a pride in taking a part in the social well-being of the community. From the Magistrate and Chief of Kaubere to the ordinary labourer, every male between the ages of sixteen and sixty takes his share in the upkeep of his island. There is friendly rivalry as to which island can build the largest and finest "maueaba" or meeting-house: and should it become necessary to infuse energy into road-cleaning, &c., it is sufficient for the inspecting official to contrast the state of the work on one island with that of the last visited.

A perusal of Mr. Eliot's article raises the question whether it is barbarism or civilisation which unfits men for Home Rule. Whatever Anglo-Indians may think, Indians should not be so servile as not to have the courage to believe that they are fit for Home Rule.

17-1-1916.

FACTS ABOUT INDENTURED LABOUR

I have so frequently written on the general aspects of the indentured labour system, that I now desire to confine myself to concrete instances within my knowledge which will illustrate my general remarks.

I am personally cognisant of two instances at least, where a woman whose connection with a man was registered by our law and who therefore was a "marri-

ed" woman, was prosecuted for the crime of not residing (sleeping) in the coolie lines on Saturdays and Sundays (after completing her week's tasks), when she lived with her husband, who was "a free man" outside the pale of the educational institution known as the Coolie lines. The majority of the "marriages" (it may interest Indians in India to learn) in our Colony, would not

be considered valid according to the law and custom prevalent in India, (a great many would be found out to be crimes of bigamy by women), as these are not between members of the same caste nor of the same religion nor always with virgins nor with old maids. The only sanctity attaching to them is the payment of five shillings to the European Magistrate, who writes to the Agent-General of Immigration, who is authorised by law to perform the marriage by making some entries in his books.

An Indian girl who was hardly ten years old was betrothed by her parents to the son of a "free" Indian. The "free" Indian was prosecuted by the estate for harbouring his son's future wife, who being the child of parents under indenture, ought, according to our law, have lived on the estate, though her own parents preferred otherwise.

The law governing the relations between indentured labourers and their employers is certainly far from perfect; even as it is, it can to a very great extent protect the labourers; but does it do so in practice? The law supposes that coolies of all castes, classes, sexes and ages (sometimes even boys of tender years are illegally recruited) have each studied not only the Indian Immigration Ordinance, but also the fine points of relevancy and irrelevancy and that European Magistrates are only machines for manufacturing just sentences or judgments on evidence mechanically and accurately translated to them by their interpreters. The law also seems to take it for granted that every district is efficiently and sufficiently equipped with policemen, Inspectors of Immigrants, Clerks of the Peace and Magistrates and that all these functionaries thoroughly know and do their duties on all occasions without fear or favour; and perhaps it is also taken for granted that every real complaint or grievance that an Indian immigrant may have must always be founded on facts within the knowledge of some willing and courageous (they must not be afraid of the Sahib or the Sirdar) witnesses or others, who must under cross examination by learned counsel or impatient questions from the Bench give such intelligent answers, as would, when translated, by the type of interpreters we have here, be so perfect as to satisfy the most fastidious of examiners for consistency. Unfortunately

we are living in a world where such ideal conditions do not obtain; and most of the provisions of the Indian Immigration Ordinance, which appear to secure protection to indentured immigrants against wrongs from their employers fail in their effect.

I know of districts where there were only Fijian policemen at the station (Civil) who were neither authorised nor fit to deal with grievances of Indians, where Magistrates have to be away for days and even weeks on other than Magisterial duties, where the visits of the Inspector of Immigrants are "few and far between," and where the means of travelling, transit or communication are dilatory, irregular, inconvenient, difficult, and even dangerous, if not impracticable. How are Indian indentured labourers to seek redress of their complaints against such obstacles, as appear almost insuperable, considering their condition, means and intelligence?

I know a concrete case where indentured Indians had to spend about £40 or Rs. 600 to secure a shadow of justice against their white overseer; and even then no lawyer would have advocated their cause on that fee purely from a business point of view, as the district is so inaccessible that many days and even weeks must elapse before one returns to one's proper district. I may add that Magistrates would not often like to adjourn the hearing of cases indefinitely to enable people residing in such districts to secure the services of a lawyer, who would require such a convenient date, as would not interfere with his settled practice in another district; add to this the facts that labourers must not leave their plantations (to see a lawyer) without permission, nor absent themselves from work for any length of time, and that most of the means of traffic are controlled and influenced by people who are likely to have little or no sympathy for the troubles of indentured labourers, who in many cases are allowed to travel, if at all, only on sufferance.

The most unsatisfactory feature of the indenture system appears to be that people cannot buy themselves out of its meshes even by offering fancy prices for their redemption. I have known a Rajput pair—the wife was certainly handsome enough to be a dangerous temptation—who alleged that the white employer was persecuting them from improper

motives. These people had to spend some £30 on lawyer's fees, fines, etc., before they could obtain the approval of the Agent-General of Immigration to their proposal for commuting their indenture, and even then, because the employer was not amenable to the moral suasion of the Immigration Office, this poor couple had to wait for nearly 10 months going backwards and forwards between the estate and the Court House, their lawyer's office and the Agent-General's Office, until finally their employer decided to volunteer for the front (War) and allowed these poor wretches to redeem their liberty. It is reported that this employer was killed in action instantaneously on the borders of France; and it is needless to say that he is not at all regretted by the couple I have referred to.

I may also point out that "agricultural labour during the day" for which strictly speaking labourers are recruited in India, is here made to include work in the sugar mills at night, and even work on farms where cattle are slaughtered on estates for the butcher's trade, not to mention dairy farming or the rearing of horses. Men without any distinction of caste or creed can be required to slaughter for beef and pork, and I am told people other than bhangis or mehtars may be required to do sanitary service on the estates.

MANUAL M. DOCTOR.

FIJI ISLANDS,
Australasia.

HOW TO FIGHT MALARIA IN OUR VILLAGES

THAT malaria is a deadly scourge in Bengal is admitted on all hands, and Government is as keen as the people affected as to the pressing necessity of devising some remedial measures of relief.

2. It is claimed that good drainage, good water, good food and clearance of jungles around habitations of men are among the approved factors contributory to a reduction and prevention of the malarial evil. If one could have these all, that would no doubt be ideal. But, all these cannot be had where they do not exist, for the mere asking, all at once, and we must face the situation as it is and can at least do something to minimise the people's sufferings and the deaths by thousands, by medical aid.

3. There is no doubt that quinine is one of the principal medical remedies for malaria. But can simple quinine alone stop malarial mortality?

Last year, Rs. 25000 to Rs. 30000 was spent in this District of Birbhum in quinine distribution: yet, the deaths from malaria amounted to the appalling figure of 40 per mille, which is the highest malarial death rate for the province, as against 27 for the year previous. Tipperah was the best in the list with only 3 per 1000.

This fact reveals a situation which calls for a moment's serious reflection. In spite of quinine distribution, the deaths were so excessive and unprecedented in a district like Birbhum so well drained naturally and otherwise so good.

4. Simple quinine is efficacious as a prophylactic remedy in simple malarial fever attended with enlargement of spleen. But, when complications such as pneumonia, dysentery, heart trouble or brain congestion, &c., are present, as usually happens in virulent or old malarial fever, other medicines are needed and they have got to be prescribed by competent doctors, and the sick poor must get the medicines at their very doors, free if possible, or, at nominal price, or, we must let them die before our eyes by the thousand.

5. As in agricultural reform, so in public health, what is wanting in our country is 'intensive' treatment, rather than 'extensive'. The energy, attention, time and money spent in desultory endeavours and half-hearted measures, scattered over an unmanageably large area, if focussed and concentrated in selected and typical areas would undoubtedly lead to more tangible results. Control and supervision will be better and more personal and we will get a continuous record of the efficacy of a

particular line of treatment. At least, we shall have some definite programme and definite results which cannot but be useful as an experiment. If the result be satisfactory, we can extend our scheme to other parts of the country gradually.

6. When it is a matter of life and death to a vast population and the people of the villages are either apathetic or helpless it is our duty to do something for them. Large sums of money are often spent on experiments of a doubtful value. Much time, thought and money are spent over prevention of cruelty to animals. When human lives are concerned, a sum of Rs. 10000 or 12000 be it over a mere experiment, would perhaps not be money spent on a bad cause.

In Dinajpur, the Government, of E. B. & Assam, spent Rs. 32000 on kerosening tanks, cleaning jungles and killing mosquitoes, etc., a propaganda which seemed to laymen no better than a mere wild goose chase, yet, the worst critic going through the report on Dr. Bentley's anti-malarial operations cannot but be struck with the amount of useful information brought to light. Even the futility or unsuitability to Indian conditions, of measures found suitable in Mauritius, Panama Canal or Ismailia, have got to be demonstrated before we condemn them.

7. The Japanese Government resorted to the following method in the Formosa Islands:—

To quote from an official report on the subject—

"They set about doing this in a very business-like and thorough-going manner. By way of experiment, certain districts were selected and on a certain day all the inhabitants were summoned to appear at an appointed place to have their blood examined microscopically with a view to finding out if they were 'malaria carriers'. Those in whom the malaria parasites were found, were placed under treatment for 30 days during 2 months in order that the parasites may be exterminated. It is stated that altogether 396621 persons were examined of whom 11396 were proved to be carriers and were treated accordingly. It is now possible to estimate the results printed in a report which has been issued. It is stated that in two districts the mortality from malaria has been reduced to nothing, although in the year before the experiment was initiated, it was at the rate of 15 per one thousand in one of these districts, and 5 per thousand in the other. In another district for which figures were given, it has been reduced from 11.60 per one thousand to 3.39 per one thousand. These results are noted after the system has been in operation for 2 years."

8. Nearer home, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra (ex-judge, High Court) got good

results by confining his work of anti-malarial reclamation to a selected locality round about his native village, Panishchala, in Hoogly. This also supports my plea for a concentrated line of work or 'intensive' policy.

9. My scheme therefore would be as follows:—

(i) During Malaria epidemics moving dispensaries (in carts specially designed) in charge of sub-assistant surgeons, to march from place to place and treat malaria patients on the spot. Details can be considered hereafter.

(ii) Throughout one whole year (experimentally for the present) operations similar to that described for Formosa to be carried on in typical areas, new areas being taken up after one area has been thoroughly treated.

Spleen census as done in the Dinajpur Operations and blood examination being, of course, the leading lines. Medical experts can decide the details.

10. Floating dispensaries were found useful in Faridpur. The credit for this original idea and its practical success belongs to the personal zeal and guidance of Mr. K. C. De, I.C.S., I believe (I speak from memory).

I quote from the Bengal Administration Report, 1902-03.

"At Faridpur an interesting experiment was made by District Board who started a floating dispensary which regularly visited markets and villages on the Kumar river and afforded a large amount of medical relief to the sick poor" (page 118).

1903-04:—

"The floating dispensary established in the Faridpur District in 1902 is continuing to do good work and is an undoubted advance: the example might well be followed in some of the other water-logged districts. Medicine chests have been supplied to the headmen of outlying villages in a few districts but it is doubtful whether much benefit results. On the other hand, the visits of dispensary medical officers to local markets and fairs have been found useful in a number of instances and is undoubtedly desirable in the remoter districts such as the Chittagong Hill tracts" (page 128).

In Baroda, there are even moving Libraries for popular education.

Moving dispensaries in Bengal may look like an European innovation. But what we are concerned with immediately is the possibility of its practical application to our villages and we must judge the scheme on its merits.

For better supervision and control, fullest use should be made of the executive

gazetted officers—the technical side (medical) being in the hands of the Civil Surgeon. Details can be worked out later on.

11. My proposal now is for grant of money in each district as follows:—

A staff of one sub-assistant surgeon and one compounder with necessary medicines and appliances for one selected centre Rs. 150 per month.

For 4 centres (tostart with) Rs. 600

An Assistant Surgeon
as supervisor Rs. 200

TOTAL 800

or, say, Rs. 1000 a month, to be employed for one year.

Epidemics will be specially dealt with by sepearte special staff and that also on the principle of moving hospitals.

12. A word may be added in this connection as to reclaiming and then reserving village tanks, some of which were magnificent reservoirs of drinking water in their day, but are now over-grown with weeds and rank vegetation, the veritable hot-beds of malarial poison.

I plead for a more flexible, less rigid, in a word, "personal" line of work. Rs. 2000 a piece can be given to a number of officers, say, as follows:—

	Rs.	
Sub Divisional Officers.....	2000	each
Circle Officers.....	2000	"
Selected Dy. Magistrates...	2000	"

Total Rs 12000 to 15000

absolute discretion being given to the officers to spend the money supplemented by local contributions in money and kind, i. e., day-labourers of the village contributing by labour, &c., as best and profitably as they can and according to their own ideas, initiative, local influence and tact. A fixed local area is to be allotted to each such officer. More visible and definite results can be achieved in this way in one season than has been actually done in the last several years.

13. This perhaps is not a very large order—Rs 12000 for the Formosa scheme and Rs. 10000 to 15000 for tanks, considering the vast interests at stake in each district. In fact, a substantial sum is being spent in many districts every year on mere quinine distribution with no visible effect. The malaria doctors generally are on quick march over this district—not being

allowed to stay more than a day (so I hear) in one place.

Can we expect any definite results from such indefinite and random lines of work? That is the point for us to solve. Rs. 30,000 spent in one small district on anti-malarial work of the kind hitherto practised may look quite a respectable success on paper. But in reality is it worth repeating from year to year? It is making little or no impression upon malaria, which is rampant as ever and it behoves us, the Government and the people, to try a more definite and more localised line of work, if we are for definite results.

14. I submit my scheme for consideration by all concerned for whatever it may be worth. We Indian officers are of the people and of the Government. Our opportunities for knowing the exact needs of the people and doing good to them are unique and many a good thing is missed if we forbear to speak out the right word at the right moment. Good thoughts, like true needs, are bound to fructify some day in some congenial soil.

15. The anti-malarial campaign will comprise:—

(1) Combined Formosa and Dinajpur scheme, namely, blood examination and spleen census—followed by a regular and systematic course of treatment—not merely making the patients swallow quinine tabloids—as at present—irrespective of the attendant complications of the individual cases.

(2) Reclaiming old tanks and reserving at least one in each village for drinking purposes,

(Jungle clearance and improved drainage around habitations of men can be undertaken as far as possible with the voluntary aid and co-operation of the people concerned. Anything very definite may not be possible at once)

The processes (1) and (2) will go on hand in hand in the selected area.

16 The unit, experimentally, may be a group of 10 or 15 villages or about the size of a chaukidari union. The village in India from ancient times has been an indispensable unit in the social fabric and the starting point of public life. In all matters of vital reform of a wide-spread and far reaching character, it is, therefore, but the natural process in India, to build from the village unit upwards.

Given distinct funds, a definite programme

of work in a definite area and a capable organiser with a free hand at expenditure (however humble the allotment may be)—a definite advance is bound to follow much quicker than by the reverse process of beginning from the top downwards.

It is time that a definite practical move, however humble, in right earnest, were made to demonstrate the potentialities of the true ideal of local self-government—so much written and talked about, which we are pledged to let our people participate in.

17. There is no end of the subjects, which, to carry local self-government to its natural logical sequence, could be taken up by a local union in due course. Its possibilities are immense. As an experimental measure, along with anti-malarial treatment on the Formosa *cum* Dinajpur plan and reclamation of tanks, we can take up the following work in hand :—

(1) Introduction of new crops, better seeds, improved cultivation, manuring and irrigation—in practical compliance with the recommendations of the Agricultural Department (only known results of the Department, not mere experiments).

(2) Establishing seed, manure and implement depots.

(3) Forming Co-operative Credit Societies and organisations such as purchase and supply societies—thereby fostering the practical application of the co-operative principle to Agriculture.

(4) Expansion of primary education.

(5) *Salish Sabha* (Arbitration Board) for amicable settlement of petty disputes.

18. These items will furnish enough material for a continuous constructive programme of useful work for a number of years to come. The ideal as thus outlined will appear to be sufficiently inspiring and stimulating to any zealous Government Official or public-spirited man of the country who is for real substantial progress. But, it is very different from that of the union committees that are being started here and there, which are only miniature rural editions of the town municipalities with the necessary evil of fresh taxation and the harassments due to bye-laws and regulations as to latrines, jungle clearing, ditch filling, &c., without any tangible extra benefit felt by the people in the matter of agricultural and co-operative progress, drinking water, medical aid or education.

19. For the present, i.e., during the

experimental stage, the control and direction of the operations will rest with a Gazetted Executive Officer assisted by the local panchayet. In fact the success of the scheme will virtually depend upon his power of initiative, control and organisation—in a word, his personal magnetism. He will have to be inspired by a love for the cause himself and to instil enthusiasm and confidence in the people among whom he will work. He will have to work in hope and faith and with the fervour of a religious conviction to make the scheme a success and not mechanically as in ordinary office routine business.

A beginning, however modest, can be made in every district with one typical area to start with, and any one of the Deputy or Sub-deputy Collectors on the ordinary district staff can supervise the work in addition to his duties under the supervision of the collector.

A spirit of emulation and healthy rivalry will spring up between district and district as to which can show, at the end of a year, better results as to the number of malaria cases thoroughly treated on the Formosa *Cum* Dinajpur plan, tanks reclaimed and reserved, co-operative societies organised, crops, manures and implements newly introduced, primary schools started, cases amicably settled and so on.

20. At present, Executive and Revenue officers generally, and District officers particularly, suffer from want of a definite scheme of work or a sufficiently inspiring and attractive ideal before them mixed up with true and real popular good which they can work for, live for, strive for; and, there is no fixed index of progress by which to judge of the comparative results of different district administrations and thereby weigh the comparative merits of different officers.

The number of cases disposed of, witnesses examined or the volume of correspondence dealt with, processes served, &c., are of course a testimony of hard and good work, but these touch but the fringe of the real administration which is concerned with the promotion of real beneficent measures affecting the mass of the people, and in this respect, something like a positive turn in the angle of vision would not be unwelcome.

21. The scheme can be named, with His Excellency's kind permission, "The Carmichael Scheme of village reform in

Bengal" and it would be a marked event in Bengal's history if the first seeds of true local self-government as sketched out in Lord Ripon's memorable Resolution of 1882—were to be sown broad cast (may be but one tiny seed in one district) by the hand of the first Governor of the Province.

22. As for malaria in Birbhum, a Sanatorium at one time, but now so bad, in fact, the worst in Bengal to judge by mortality, the Sanitary report for the District is a melancholy reading. 38000 people died of malaria alone in this small District, last year, or 40 per mille as against 26000 of the year previous, or 27 per mille; and over 33000 people have already fallen victims in the 11 months from 1st January last to November. In other words, in these three years, a lakh of people out of 9 have been carried away by malaria alone.

23. Malaria deaths are not like those from cholera or plague, the work of a few hours. There may be sudden and quick deaths due to the special virulence of an attack, particularly among infants. But the usual course of the malady is a process of slow torture and death by degrees. The malarial parasite enters the system, and establishes a comfortable abode there. There is none to molest it. There is no blood examination and no thorough dose of quinine treatment within a certain stated period (I believe, it is 80 grains for an adult in 48 hours time or something like that). If that were done at the early stage, the parasite would be killed and the person would have a fresh lease of life. Perhaps, with careful living and a regular mild prophylactic dose of quinine twice a week or so he would altogether be immune for the rest of his life. But, no, that is not to be. He is but a poor, though sturdy, rustic toiling in the fields in the nook of a hamlet 20 miles away in the interior. None to examine his blood, or, to wait, halt and see to his taking the quinine for 2 days in the prescribed dose. A flying doctor comes but he is on quick march and can not and does not tarry.

24. The parasite starts its work, fever every now and then, want of digestion, languor, &c. The man becomes half useless in one season. The parasite goes on developing unchecked, and what was benign tertian becomes 'malignant' the following season. Enlargement of the spleen, derangement of the liver, anæmia,

&c., now set in, besides fever as usual, oftener and more and more virulent in its attack. The man by this time has become more dead than alive, a miserable distortion of his former robust self. He is now oftener in bed than upon his legs. By this time, he has lost all self-help and self-confidence and has resigned himself to the worst. Not to speak of proper nursing, even if there were proper medicines (mere quinine tabloids will no more do) at his door and the medicines dispensed to him, there and then, free or at cost price where one has the means to pay, his life would be saved. That would also serve as an inspiration to others to try to live and fight malaria, not resigning oneself to fate, as is happening now-a-days.

The simple malarial attacks of this year will develop into malignant cases next year and it is these latter which swell the death roll unless we can nip them in the bud this year. Not that a sudden virulent type of malaria or an epidemic wave has come over the land. The malaria poison is there, as perhaps in every other country. It becomes more or less pronounced before public notice, according as remedial treatment is resorted to or not by the people. This accounts for the fact that malaria is not confined to one particular locality or any particular class of people. The localities which showed most deaths last year or the year before are not the ones showing the same this year.

25. Our new line of work can be as follows:—

Blood examination and spleen census will show which are "early" or "first stage" cases, and which are 'ripe' or "advanced" cases. The two classes of cases will be sorted apart and will be separately registered and treated. For the first, quinine tabloids in proper doses and for the other class, which are the cases usually turning fatal, a regular course of treatment must be arranged and the medicines dispensed at convenient centres.

26. Any how, for want of a systematic course of medical examination and medicine supply, costing Rs 12000 or Rs 15000, we lost 38000 of our men last year and about the same number this year. The majority of them would have survived with proper treatment. In other words, human lives went so cheap as 3 for a rupee, and the same is

arouse some definite activity on better lines this year and in the years to come.

Suri, Birbhum. Deputy Magistrate

THE CYCLE OF SPRING

VAIRAGYA-SADHANA.

Dramatis Personae

CHANDRAMAS The favorite of the party who represents the charm of life.

DADA Elder Brother) The wise man of the party. He checks and controls and is the spirit of prudence.

A FERRYMAN, A WATCHMAN, and others.

WINTER and his party.

Musical Prelude to Scene I.

The Bamboo sings :—

I stand a-tiptoe, watching by the
wayside

to be startled by your first whisper,

by the music of your foot-steps,
a flutter of joy running through my
leaves, betraying my secret.

PHALGUNI:

A play, in which it is conclusively proved to the satisfaction of all and sundry that the New is the repetition of the Old; the first scene of which is named Outburst, the second Search, the third Doubt, and the last Discovery. Each scene is approached through a musical prelude.

The Bird sings :—

The sky pours light into my heart,
 my heart repays the sky in songs.
 I pelt the South wind with my notes.
 O blossoming *palash* (flame of the
 forest),
 the air is a-fire with your passion,
 you have dyed my songs red with
 your madness.
 O *Sirish* you have cast your perfume-
 nets wide in the sky,
 bringing up my heart into my
 throat.

The blossoming Champak sings :—

My shadow dances in your waves,
 everflowing river.
I, the blossoming Champak, stand
 unmoved on the bank
with my vigil of flowers.
My movement dwells in the stillness
 of my depth,
in the delicious birth of new leaves,
in flood of flowers,
in unseen urge of life towards the
 light ;
its stirring thrills the sky, and the
silence of the dawn is moved.

SCENE I.

A band of youths have come out seeking adventure. The Wise Man of the party must have listeners for his quatrains full of sound advice. But the good words are lost on these wild spirits, and laughter and recklessness prevail. Then enters their leader, of undying youthfulness, who shall be nameless in this play. He laughs at them when they make mention to him of The Old Man. They accept his challenge to bring The Old Man captive for their spring festival.

Musical Prelude to Scene II.

Spring's heralds try to rob winter of his outfit of age.

They sing :—

We are out seeking our play-mates,
waking them up from every
corner before it is morning.

We call them in bird-songs, beckon
 them in trembling branches,
 we spread our enchantment for
 them in the sky.
 You shall never escape us, O Winter !
 You shall find our lamp burning even
 in the heart of the darkness you
 seek.

Winter sings :—

Leave me, Oh, let me go.
I am ready to sail across the South
Sea for the frozen shore.
Your laughter is untimely, my
friends.—

you weave with my farewell tunes
your song of the new arrival.

Spring's heralds sing :—

Life's spies are we, lurking in all places.

We have been waiting to rob you of
your last savings of dead leaves,
scattering them in the South
Winds.

We shall bind you in flower-chains
where Spring keeps his captives,
for we know you carry your
jewels hidden in your grey rags.

SCENE II.

The band of youths gaily set forth seeking the Old Man. They question the Ferryman about him, but he only knows of the way and not of the wayfarers. They question the Watchman and he says his watch is at night and passers-by are shadows to him. He warns them against their fools' errand. All the information they get is that the Old Man is seen only from behind and never in front. In the meantime the Ferryman and the Watchman are happy in the company of the quatrainer. They take him to be profoundly wise, his verses being supremely trite.

Musical Prelude to Scene III.

Winter is being unmasked, his hidden youth about to be disclosed.

Spring's heralds sing :—

How grave he looks, how laughably old,
how seriously busy with the pre-
parations of death!

But before he reaches home we will
change his dress and his face shall
change.

We will confound his calculations,
snatch away his bag, bulging
out with dead things,
and there shall be unveiled the
reckless and the young in him.

They tease him and sing :—

O the time comes, it has come,
when he shall know that he is our
own,
when the mad torrent shall be un-
loosed from the miserly grip of
the ice,
and the north wind in its ring-
dance shall turn round.
O the time comes, it has come,
when the magic drum shall be
sounded,
when the sun shall smile at the
change of your grey into green.

*There enter a troupe of young things
and they introduce themselves in a song as
follows :—*

Again and again we had said, "Good
bye,"

never hoping to return.
Again and again we come back at
the gate.

"O who are you?"—
"I am *Vakul*!"

"And who are you?"—
"I am *Parul*."

"And who are these others?"—
"We are mango-blossoms landed on
the shore of light."

We shall smile and leave when our
time comes,
for we know that we throw our-
selves into the arms of the
Never-ending.

"O, who are you?"—
"I am *Shimul*."

"And who are you?"—
"I am *Kamini*."

"And who are these others?"—
"We are the jostling crowd of new
leaves in the *Sal* forest!"

SCENE III.

The day wanes. The young travellers are tired, their faith in the Leader wavering. They fear they cannot trust what is before them, that they can lean only upon what is behind. They are almost in that desperate mood when men sit down to compose quatrains full of wise maxims. There comes Chandrabas, the favourite of the party, with a blind singer to direct him in his pursuit. The singer can see with his all, not having the distraction of eyesight. Chandrabas makes ready to enter the cave to capture The Old Man.

Musical Prelude to Scene IV.

Winter is revealed as Spring. Thus follows his confession to his tormentors:—

"Do you own defeat at last at the
hand of youth?"

"Yes!"

"Have you in the end met the Old
who ever grows new?"

"Yes!"

"Have you come out of the walls
that crumble?"

"Yes!"

"Do you own defeat at last at the
hand of the hidden life?"

"Yes!"

"Have you in the end met the Death-
less in death?"

"Yes!"

"Is the Dust driven away that steals
your City of the Immortal?"

"Yes!"

SCENE IV.

Chandrabas has disappeared in the cave. His party are deep in doubt and despondency. Chandrabas suddenly re-appears from the cave and his friends are happy again. They ask him of his quest. He bids them wait for the Captive who is to follow him soon: When to their astonishment the Leader himself comes out of the cave fresh and young and the Old Man is nowhere.

Spring's followers surround him and sing :—

Long have we waited for you, beloved,
watching the road and counting
days.

And now April is a flower with joy.
You come as a soldier boy winning
life at death's gate.

O the wonder of it !

We listen amazed at the music of your
young voice.

Your light mantle is blown in the wind
like the odour of spring blossoms.

You have a spray of *Malati* flower in
your ear.

A fire burns through the veil of your
smile,—

O the wonder of it !

And who knows where your arrows
are with which you smite death !

The Wise Man comes with his last
quatrain, which runs as follows :—

The sun stands at the gate of the
east, his drum of victory sounding
in the sky.

The night bows to him with her
hands on her heart and says,

"I am blessed, my death is bliss."

The Darkness receives his alms of gold,
filling his wallet, and departs."

They all sing :—

• Come and rejoice !

for April is awake.

Fling yourselves into the flood of
being,

bursting the bondage of the past.

April is awake.

Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the
sun before you.

All the losses are lost and death is
drowned in its waves.

Plunge into the deep without fear
with the gladness of April in
your blood.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—A NEW CHAPTER

"THE last was the first Congress of the New Era, of the New India,—the India of the young, of the hopeful, of the energetic." This is how Mrs. Annie Besant has described the 30th session of the Indian National Congress which met in Bombay less than five weeks ago, and the description truly represents the opinion of the bulk of the delegates who had the pleasure and the privilege of attending it. Really the last session of the Congress marks a landmark in the onward and progressive history of the Indian National movement.

During its inception and the first two years, the Indian National Congress flourished under gubernatorial patronage and basked under official sunshine. At the end of the second Congress in Calcutta, a large number of the delegates were treated to an afternoon party at Govern-

ment House, then the winter residence of the Viceroy of India. Next year, fortunately for the Congress, Lord Dufferin fell out with Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, the inspirer and founder of the movement, and we were treated to an exhibition of Viceregal temper in a notorious post-prandial utterance, the memory of which is still lingering this day. This opened a new chapter in the history of the Congress, and from 1888 on to the beginning of the present century, no end of ridicule and banter had been levelled against it. In Parliament, long before the last century came to an end, Mr. Goschen went out of his way to throw a very broad hint that the Congress was being fed and financed practically by the Russian rouble (the German bogey had not yet then come into vogue); and in India, between Sir Auckland Colvin and the late Rajah of

Benares, Sir Syed Ahmed, Odey Pratap Singh of Bhinga, Rajah Siva Prasad and their worthy lieutenants, an impression was widely created in the public and official mind that the Congress was a very disloyal and seditious movement. This attitude of distrust was reflected in the deliberations of the Congress itself and by the secession from it of practically the whole of the Mahomedan community: and as a result, the main attention of this body was for several years concentrated in rebutting official statements, protesting against legislative measures and animadverting upon bureaucratic rule and official high-handedness. The Presidents of the Congress for this period hardly ever looked very much ahead or concerned themselves with any constructive programme of work. They bitterly declaimed against the spirit of the administration and criticised none too mildly all anti-popular legislative enactments. There were, however, exceptions to this, as George Yule (Allahabad, 1888), Ananda Mohan Bose (Madras, 1898), Sir Henry Cotton (Bombay, 1904) and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (Benares, 1905) introduced into their speeches such other matters as will be read with attention and respect by all students of Indian politics for a long time to come. The speech of Mr. Surendranath Benerjea in Poona in 1895 and of Sir Sankaran Nair at Amraoti in 1897 were also very notable utterances, the first for its oratorical flourishes and brilliant delivery and the latter for its quiet strength and incisive criticism. This went on till December, 1906, when Mr. Dadabhi Naoroji laid down *Swaraj* as the ideal of the Congress. Over this word *Swaraj* and the various interpretations that were sought to be put upon this ideal, Congressmen in India split themselves up into the moderate and the extremist wings, and then came to blows at Surat in 1907. This again ushered in a fresh period in the history of this movement.

From 1908 to 1914, the Congress passed through a stage of great depression. The two wings of the Nationalist Party remained separated all this time by internal dissensions, while the Government took advantage of the blazing indiscretions of some of our countrymen to create new fetters for the people. At the top of all this came the *bomb*, which brought to a head the spirit of distrust cherished by a certain class of

our people against British rule and opened the official eye to the realities of the situation and the bitterness of our grievances. While the Administration got nervous over what came to be known as the Indian Unrest, thanks to the intrigues and enterprise of the Northcliffe Press in England and to the literary activity and the personal influence of Sir Valentine Chirol and his friends, Lords Morley and Minto were endeavouring to the best of their light to rally the moderates. The feeling of the rulers and the ruled got again very much strained as the unrest came to be magnified and as the Morley-Minto reforms failed in a large measure to placate the better mind of the people. The address delivered by Pandit Bishen Narayan Dar as the President of the 26th Congress in Calcutta reflected in a very able and pointed manner the disappointment and bitterness of the educated community in India at the new official policy of repression and reaction.

At Bankipur and at Karachi (1912 and 1913), the Congress had very uneventful sessions and went off in a very hum-drum way: and when it met for the 29th session at Madras, the European war had broken out and the attitude of our people appeared to have dispelled distrust and want of confidence. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu availed himself of this opportunity to introduce a healthy departure in the tone of his Presidential address at Madras in December, 1914, and raised a cry for self-government in this country and a satisfactory adjustment of the relation of India with the British Empire. For the first time in the history of the Congress, controversial politics and discussions of administrative and legislative measures were practically avoided in the inaugural address of the President and an altogether higher plane was reached. At this Congress also, the proposals of a compromise between the right and the left wings of the Nationalist Party reached a definite stage and were referred to a Committee, and signs were not wanting of a complete *rapprochement* between the two great communities of the Indian people—the Hindus and the Mahometans. The session of 1914, however, was the close of the period of depression, and it was felt by most Congressmen who attended it that a new chapter of its history would open with its 30th session in Bombay in December, 1915.

The expectations of Congressmen in 1914 have been more than realised in the Congress of 1915. Not only have the two main wings of the Nationalist Party been reconciled to each other by a happy compromise, but for the first time in the history of India have the Hindus and Mahometans met in a common political platform to work out their common destiny, thus giving the Congress a truly representative and national character. And to crown all, there was the unique message of its President which, for boldness of conception, courage of expression, and statesman-like wisdom, will remain for a long time as one of the most remarkable utterances of our day.

I shall now take the liberty to discuss at some length the message conveyed by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha to the last Congress in Bombay. Sir Satyendra sums up our political ideal in one word—'self-government'—but, unlike most of our public men, he keeps us neither in the dark nor in doubt as to what he exactly understands by this word. While there has been a good deal of wobbling over 'self-government' as may be applied to India, Sir Satyendra defines his own idea of it by quoting President Lincoln's famous dictum—"Government of the people, for the people and *by the people*." By 'Government', again, Sir Satyendra does not mean the civil administration and the legislative function of the State only, as is *generally* understood by the bulk of our people, but all the controlling agencies "civil as well as military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative." In Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's scheme of Self-government military control and 'the nationalisation of the army,' enter as effectively as popular control over legislation and administration. The question of enlistment and commissions in the Army, with their logical corollaries of universal volunteering and the removal of the hard provisions of the Arms Act, is as much practical politics to Sir Satyendra as the separation of the judicial and executive-functions. Such an ideal of self-government, I beg leave to point out, has hitherto been never held up to us. In the earlier periods of the Congress, we had prayed and agitated for the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the repeal of this Act and that; latterly, we pressed for the full and satisfactory development of local

self-government and further control and share in the actual administration of the country. In the 30th session of the Congress, our President put forward no detached and isolated claim for this or that privilege, this or that right, the abrogation of this Act or that, but the all-inclusive claim of control, *by the Indians themselves*, "over the civil as well as the military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative" branches of government. That is the highest ideal that the people of India may aspire to and no President of the Congress has put it so frankly and so courageously as Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has done.

Defining his self-government as we have put it above, *government by the people* both civil and military, of course Sir Satyendra Prasanna was obliged to say that the goal was *not yet*. Who is there among us who understands what 'government by the people' really means as would suggest that such a goal is *attainable* in India either to-day or to-morrow? Even assuming the very large proposition that we Indians are to-day *fit for everything*, who would for the matter of that, be handing the government of this country to us *to-day* to be managed by indigenous agency alone? Also assuming that we are fit today to protect ourselves from internal strife and external aggression without having undergone military training of any kind whatever, who would take the risk to ask the English to withdraw from India immediately and leave the whole thing to us as a huge experiment? I really cannot see how any man with a grain of common-sense can ever question the soundness of Sir Satyendra's position in this matter. The sort of self-government that Sir Satyendra wishes and hopes for is, certainly *unattainable to-day*, unless, of course, we are able to expel the British out of this country by a conflict of arms. And "India, freed from England, but without any real power of resistance," says Sir S. P. Sinha, "would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations." Therefore, one must agree with him in thinking that the time for the realisation of the ideal preached by him is *not yet*, and that there is really 'a wide gulf between the desire and the attainment.'

Unfortunately for Sir Satyendra, as well as for the Congress, a large number of Indian publicists have not really compre-

hended his meaning of self-government, confounding it with the power to have greater control over the administration of the country and the establishment of popular control in the various Legislative Councils, and Municipal and District Boards. Then again, they have confounded his words, that the goal is not yet, with the questions of our fitness for self-government. Nowhere in his very closely-reasoned speech has Sir Satyendra ever denied the fitness of his countrymen for self-government. On the contrary, he himself lays stress upon this fitness in two places in his Address. For the edification of the Indian reading public, I will quote below these passages.

"The Bengali is just as anxious to fight under the banner of His Majesty the King-Emperor as the Sikh and the Pathan, and those of them to whom an opportunity has been given to serve either in ambulance, postal or despatch work, have shown as great a disregard of danger and devotion to duty as others employed in the more arduous work of fighting. India has risen to the occasion, and her princes and peoples have vied with each other in rallying round the imperial standard at a time when the enemies of the Empire counted on disaffection and internal troubles. The spectacle affords a striking proof as much of the wisdom of those statesmen who have in recent years guided the destiny of the British Empire in India as of the fitness of the Indian people to grasp the dignity and the responsibilities of citizenship of a world-wide empire."

"I take leave to point out that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms.....If the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Mahrattas, and the Pathans—good and valiant soldiers as they are—are found to be loyal and law-abiding, *there is no reason to think that the case would be otherwise with the other races when admitted to the same status and privileges.*"

I think the above extracts will give an effective quietus to those critics who have been sedulously trying to create the impression that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has proclaimed Indians unfit for self-government. People have confounded, in the first place, his ideal of self-government with only an apology for it in the shape of popular control over the civil administration and the legislative function of the State and then, in the second place, his limitations of time with the question of our fitness. And even on the point of time for the attainment of our goal of self-government, Sir Satyendra is not equivocal or impractical.

"When we ourselves," says Sir S. P. Sinha, "have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own

domestic affairs, but to *secure internal peace and prevent external aggression*, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to *concede the fullest autonomy to India.*"

Then again:—

While we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration."

Be it noted here that Sir Satyendra does not pray for self-government as a part of the policy which a few years ago used to be described as the 'mendicant' one, for he says that self-government as a 'free gift from the British people is *not* worth having,' as nations, like individuals, *'must grow into freedom.'*

This enunciation of our ideal is manly, heroic, and has nothing undignified about it: nor has it anything to do with the 'whining or mendicant policy' with which the Congress used to be taunted at one time by men of the extremist school. Sir Satyendra does not believe in boons or concessions, or in royal roads or short-cuts either. He says how and what he feels, for, in the words of Edmund Burke, he would 'sooner take the risk of displeasing than injuring his countrymen.' He has, therefore, no hesitation whatever in advising his countrymen to *win* self-government by "patient preparation and silent and unobtrusive work in every aspect of our social and political life."

The enunciation of the ideal and the means to attain it, as explained above, show unmistakably a clear head, a courageous heart and an infinite fund of common sense. Sir Satyendra really deserves well of his countrymen for having taken up such a definite and independent stand on behalf of the Congress and bringing such an ideal so close to us.

Having dealt so far with the main argument of Sir Satyendra Prasanna's address—and Sir Satyendra does not concern himself with any other subject but self-government and the things that lead to it, directly and indirectly,—it remains to be seen whether he stops short at the mere enunciation of the ideal and does not proceed further. It has been suggested in some quarters that Sir S. P. Sinha's plea for self-government is academic, halting and hesitating, as he does not suggest any scheme of practical

reform that might pave our way towards the ultimate goal. This is *not* true, as Sir Satyendra goes beyond most of the past Presidents of the Congress in suggesting what the Government might do for us and what we might do for ourselves. Before proceeding to set out Sir Satyendra's suggestions for political and military reforms, it is necessary to point out that he wants a definite impetus to be given to agriculture, to widen the field of co-operation, to develop local self-government, and to see a system of free and compulsory elementary education established in this country. He wants the Government to abandon the *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry is not within the province of the State and desires it to follow in the foot-steps of Japan by pioneering, promoting and protecting Indian industries, *even by sacrificing British interests*. All this may be a very large order, but as the President of the Congress, Sir Satyendra was only voicing the wishes and aspirations of the Indian People and a truer and sincerer spokesman of his people it would be difficult to find in our day.

While urging active measures to fight with ignorance and poverty and anxious to ameliorate by all manner of means the condition of the nation which in the words of John Bright, dwells in the cottage, Sir Satyendra is not behind anybody in insisting upon political reforms which are so near to the heart of every Congressman. Pending the ultimate attainment of our goal, Sir Satyendra puts all our immediate demands in a nutshell:

"I ask that *steps* should be taken to move towards self-government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire."

Lest there may be any mistake as to the *steps* that may commend themselves to the minds of patriotic Indians, Sir Satyendra does not stop short with the mere enunciation of a general proposition. He himself suggests what these *steps* should be:—

"A decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the various Executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the aboli-

tion of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire."

Then, in another place, he returns to the subject and says:—

"We shall continue to urge enlargement of the powers and modifications of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We shall continue to ask for larger and yet larger admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the public services in all its branches and we shall claim these not as mere concessions but as a gradual fulfilment of solemn pledges for the *progressive nationalisation of the government of the country*."

I shall desire all Indian publicists to note the quiet strength of the words I have put in italics in the above extract.

Not content with mere legislative and administrative reforms, Sir Satyendra goes much further and demands the Government to recognise our claims for admission into the army and to throw its commissions open to all our people. He says:—

"1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, subject, however, to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's equal subjects, subject to fair, reasonable, and adequate physical and educational tests, and that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are attempted to be justified on the same ground of political expediency."

It may be noted here, in connection with the above demands, that Sir Satyendra believes that India was never *conquered* by England in the literal sense of the word and therefore he cares precious little for the Anglo-Indian shibboleth of India being 'won by the sword and retained by the sword.' But that's another story.

In the enunciation of our political ideal which at once commends itself to the heart as well as the head of every sensible and patriotic Indian and in pressing for the reforms we badly want, Sir Satyendra, instead of compromising in any way "the rights and best interests, the honour and dignity" of his country, has advanced her cause beyond any reasonable calculation. Montesquieu, De Tocqueville and the French Cyclopaedists have all expatiated upon the necessity and virtue of every

nation having a high political ideal, and I have yet to know the Indian patriot who could put India's political ideal with greater courage and wisdom than was done by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha at the last Congress in Bombay.

Even in incisive criticism, Sir Satyendra yields the palm to none. The following extracts will show beyond doubt that he is as keen-witted in suggesting reforms as in finding fault.

I feel that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect (defence of one's own country).

The reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils.

Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West?

Rich in all the resources of nature, India continues to be the poorest country in the civilised world. And there can never be political contentment without material prosperity shared by all classes of the people.

There can be no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. "If there is trouble, others will quiet it. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it." When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings.

While the humblest European and Eurasian and even the West Indian Negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies even to the most law-abiding and respectable Indian the privilege of possessing or carrying arms of any description except as a matter of special concession and indulgence, often depending on the whim and caprice of unsympathetic officials.

You may get better value for your money by getting as your soldier an Afridi or a Pathan or any non-British subject, but by excluding the Bengali, the Parsi or the Madras, you create a feeling of grievance, if not of actual resentment, which is certain to cause serious embarrassment in the work of general administration. You render it impossible for the excluded classes to consider themselves as equal subjects and citizens responsible for the defence of the country, and you fail to foster that spirit of self-help and that sense of self-respect among these classes which is essential to attain the goal of imperial unity.

We are seeking to regain our lost self-respect, to defend our homes and hearths against possible invaders, should the strong 'protecting arm of England be ever withdrawn from our country. It is no mere sentiment that compels us to demand this

inalienable right of all human beings, though sentiment has its undoubted place in the scheme of every government. Some day or other, our right arm may be called upon to defend all that man holds most precious.

A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes.

I am afraid I have surfeited your readers with extracts from Sir Satyendra Prasanna's Address. But it is difficult to resist the temptation of placing before them the last sentence of it which sums up in very glowing words the creed of the Congress.

"It seems to me that, under the benign dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we shall emerge into a new era of peace and good-will, and our beloved Motherland will occupy an honoured place in the Empire with which her fortunes are indissolubly linked, and we shall be the free and equal citizens of that great Empire, bearing its burdens, sharing its responsibilities and participating in its heritage of freedom and glory as comrades and brethren."

Now, I shall turn to another aspect of the last Congress. Some of us have been crying ourselves hoarse since a long time to give to the Congress a constructive character in addition to its demonstrative and deliberative functions. Our voice was so feeble that at one time we thought it was no good crying in the wilderness. Not that the Congress had always neglected useful propagandist work, but our complaint was that such work was never undertaken in India. The earlier Congressmen were obsessed with the idea of political 'boons,' and so they had set their heart on educating public opinion in England and interesting members of Parliament in the affairs of this country. They had, therefore, established a permanent committee and an organ in England for the purpose of discussing Indian topics and ventilating Indian grievances and had, on several occasions, sent out deputations to England to agitate over some or other important Indian questions. The public mind of India to-day may not have lost faith in our work in England, but it is awakening to the fact that unless we undertake some work ourselves in *this* country, both educative and propagandist, the Congress will have soon outlived its usefulness. The conviction seems to be

gaining ground that unless we can carry the masses with us, no amount of wire-pulling in England will enable us to achieve our object. So we want education and sanitation to be spread very widely among our rural population, and, if the Government will not do it as quickly as we want it to, we must ourselves step into the breach. Sir S. P. Sinha truly observes:

"Primary education, improvement of agriculture and industrial expansion, improvement of rural as well as urban sanitation—there is work enough and to spare for every one of us. And how much could we not do by our own efforts if only we cared to organise ourselves."

He wants the Congress to be converted into a fertilising stream of steady effort and is anxious to work throughout the year. "Let us at this Congress," said its President, "wipe out the reproach that moderate Indian opinion only devotes a few days to public business in order to have the right during the rest of the year not to think any more about it." The Congress in Bombay fully

endorsed this view of its President, and in consequence of it we are to have continuous and constructive work from this year, both in England and in India, and in furtherance of this object Sir Satyendra Prasanna has himself started a fund which, I have no doubt, will not only give a fresh lease of useful life to the Congress but will also carry his name down to a remote generation of Indians as one of the truest and sincerest benefactors of the Motherland.

Truly, as I began by saying in Mrs. Besant's words, the last Congress was the first of the New Era, of the New India,—the India of the young, of the hopeful, of the energetic. Providence willing, I hope it will not take us long to realise the ideal held out before us by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha and to restore our Motherland from her present fallen position to her ancient and natural status among the countries of the world.

PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the course of an article contributed to the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for December, entitled

Communal Representation in Local Bodies,

Ghulam Mahmood Sahib Mahajir Khan Bahadur has done a bit of practical and sane talking which should draw the serious attention of Hindus and Mahomedans alike, in fact of all Indians who are desirous of serving their motherland. For the benefit of our readers we cull the most important portion of the article:

The first thing for consideration in this connection is whether there is any analogy between the work done in a Legislative Chamber and at Local or Municipal Boards. In the former, questions of grave importance involving political and administrative changes and affecting diverse interests are brought up for discussion. This condition certainly necessitates a keen watch on behalf of the Muslim community which has therefore to be adequately represented on it; whereas in Local Boards and Municipal Councils, only topics of local interest are discussed, about which there can hardly be any diversity of views. For instance, in matters such as expansion of medical relief, sanitation, repair of roads and tanks and

the like, Hindus and Mahomedans are not likely to entertain opposite views. As enlightened citizens and patriots, they are both equally interested in preserving the health and promoting the prosperity of the extensive areas under their parochial charge, and in using their best energies and efforts for the achievement of this end. The only plea which may possibly be advanced by the Separatists is that it will give them a free hand and scope in the exercise of their religious rights and observances. This is, however, a matter more easily attainable when there is harmony between the two communities than under other conditions. The unseemly quarrels which we hear of at times are entirely due to personal spite brought on by factious spirit on the part of miscreants on both sides. All this will vanish and evaporate the moment there is perfect understanding between their respective leaders. Toleration, good-will and co-operation are the life and soul of good citizenship and sure road to success, while exclusiveness and isolation always create bad blood and engender mutual hatred and contempt which must necessarily lead to serious results. Moreover there are some parts of India where the percentage of Mohomedan population is too small to warrant the grant of separate representation. This condition prevails to a large extent in the Madras Presidency. In such cases, Mahomedan interests are sure to suffer when the feelings between the two communities are not of a cordial nature. This is a serious

condition which it is the duty of every patriotic Mussalman to guard against. Again, in places like Madras where the Hindus and Mahomedans happily live as members of a joint family, and also in places where the tension between them is by no means acute, insistence on separate representation is hardly expedient and can certainly serve no useful purpose.

In the pages of the *East and West* for January Abdur-Rahman Seoharvi makes us familiar with some of the best specimens of

Modern Servian Poetry.

The article under review provides very interesting reading and contains a deal of information. "The Slav literature is a new and wonderful achievement in the cultural history of the world," so says the writer.

The Servian people are a mixture of blond Russian-Goths and brown Northerners. The beginning of the new Servian literature is marked by the epoch of Slavonier Branko Radicevic (1824-1853). He has left behind him poems, the inspiration of which is drawn direct from life. His epic-drama *The Crown of the Black Mountain* is impressed with the intensity of a personal quality and is free from convention and abstraction. His rival and contemporary was Petrovic Njegos (1813-1851). A feverish and unsatisfied restlessness characterizes his art. Later Jovan Jovanovic won wide-spread popularity as poet and Lazar Lazarevic and Sima Matavulj earned distinction as talented writers of epic-prose.

Modern Poetry all over the world has become lyrical. The realist, the impressionist, the symbolist, the futurist, the imagist, the interiorist and the exteriorist are all agreed on the question of form. The literature of Servia has been no exception and has yielded itself to the tendency of the age, and the Servian master-singers have also found their true self in little pieces and small poems.

They do not follow the official academical intellectual school. Their poetry is unconventional, erotic and instinctive. They are rather careless of technique and delight in surprises.

"The greatest representatives of modern servian poetry are Kostic, Ilic, Ducic and Stefanovic."

Kostic has been the greatest master of the Servian language of his time. In his metrics he is influenced by his favourite author Shakespear. Unlike all the other Servian poets who employ French syllabic meters in the making of their verse, he uses a strongly accentuated iambus quantity. He is careless in his rhymes and abruptly begins or leaves off to pair the ends.

The following lines, a true and sad portrait of the sensation-seeker, are auto-biographical. His life-confession is no tale of the joys of love but a halting narrative of unhappy attachments.

OH! FORGIVE ME.

Oh forgive me
Oppressed with the burden of pain
I bend to thee
My word upon it. Nevermore

Will I hold the pen to write
Or the sword to smite
Never—nevermore
Oh forgive me, forgive my eyes—
My eyes that passionately suck
The light from the sun of thy face
But the light from thy revengeful eyes
Blinds my own. Ah me
I can no more see
Nothing—nothing.

Oh, forgive me forgive me
Forgive I beg of thee
I was drunk when I swore
Restore my pen, my sword
And my eyes.

What passionate looks are these?
Oh spare me, spare me yet.

Or——let it be
Gather me then to thy radiant breast
Stille me in thy embrace
Let me sink in kisses
And drink the cup of sorrow
Till I end——
Then forgive me.

About Ilic we read:

Ilic, though he lacked intensely original talent, was no imitator of his Servian predecessors. He took his suggestions from the Continental masters but did not copy them. His poems always contain something of a story or suggest a situation. He draws well but has no eye for contour or colour. He is more literary than artistic and much of him is lost in translation. His outlook on life is subjective. He was precocious as a child and is premature as a poet.

The ideal of poetry Ilic had set up before himself was one worthy of his brave nation. How well he shows in these lines that poets are the trumpets that sing nations to battle.

THE POET.

The chosen of the gods is he
A votary in the temple of Art
He burns the incense of life
On the altar of the muses
His lyre is resonant of love
And none of the tunes of his music
Can ever be false.

A votary devoted is he
Of the goddess of freedom of nations
His message is justice and right.
As storm from the chimney of God
Doth smoke on a windy day
Rises his music divine.

He will live, the crowned of his nation
When all that is transient has passed
And drowned in the dismal ocean
Of centuries arm in arm,
As waves of the mighty sea,
In his utterance unsurpassable alone
Is immortality.

But weak, constitutionally and temperamentally as he was, he could not soar to the height of his own ideal. His poetry, is delicate. He can paint coy maidens and drooping flowers with effect. In general he describes psychological situations but keeps back from pronouncing his own judgment.

The Guest and Doubt are his two characteristic poems. In the first he appears to be a realist, in the second an impressionist. He is in fact none or both.

THE GUEST.

The midnight hour is struck
And the public house is empty of guests
Only the old land-lord of the inn
Turns over the pages of his guest-book
The rain-drops patter against the window-panes
And darkness shrouds the earth.
What-----is there not a knock at the door?
In the tavern uninvited, unexpected,
Enters a strange guest —
Oh, it is Death himself!
That comes to take his seat at this late hour.
The land-lor l sleeps and snores
With the big book on his knee
Death approaches him on tip-toe
And taking a pen lying on the table
Enters his name in the guest-book.

DOUBT.

I found her fair in early days of youth
She was delicate and pale
I loved her, so.
The night was sweet and dark
Alone were I and she
I knew not how and when
Followed me
Doubt.
"Come my way" said he
"How beautiful is truth,
"Let her disrobe herself to thee"
"I search for truth
My way is war and pain
The days are long, the nights are cold
Before me neons rise and fall
The rise of Greece, the fall of Rome I see
But, Doubt, my guide
Doth lead me on.

Jovan Ducic is the great poet of Modern Servia.

He is alive to the fact that his genius is different to that of his contemporaries. He is also conscious of his own greatness. This is his conception of true art.

MY POETRY.

Silent as marble, as shadow cool
Thou art a dreaming maid
Nervous and pale.
To others is song a woman
That sings in streets, unclean,
Harlotwise.
I deck thee not with pearls of glass;
Put yellow roses in thy dark long hair.
Be proud; give thyself to none
And shun the vulgar crowd; be shy.
Thy nakedness is divine,
Clothe it not
Save with the translucent veil
Of mysteries.

Here are two other pretty pieces from the same pen:

THE GLADIATOR.

In midnight silence of the museum hall
Round granite Mars, nude and drunk,
Dances the bauchante.
In endless pain
Cold tears of marble weeps
Niobe.
Laakoon winds himself in serpent rings
Odius insane with rage and fear
Sits on a heavy stone,
All is still,
I hear the moments fall
But no! hallucination
Rings the midnight knell
And in the darkness long and cold
I hear a sigh
Oh here in this very forsaken hall,
Only two thousand years ago,
With sword fine-edged and bare,
Was the heart of a young gladiator
Run through.

LONELINESS.

In the long wood-end a forgotten spot
Laden with stillness, where at night
The waterfall weeps complainingly
And the empty willows sigh
In eternal silence, stands on a fountain-brink
Loneliness, nervous and pale.
She stands there, since when?
Who knows.
The trees around her sigh and from leaf to leaf
Goes the refrain of pain.

About Stefanovic we are told:

The poetry of Stefanovic is didactic and problematic. His national poetry is full of strength but not harsh and heavy. It is war for the sake of the cause, and not for its own sake, that leads the nation to victory and glory. Stefanovic believes in the sure victory of right over wrong. He does not possess the language of the prophets of the Old Testament but can command words of flame at his bidding.

The following great poem explains more than any possible comment the unbreakable spirit of the Servian nation and its earnest resolve to conquer or to die. In these passages there is nothing which a matter-of-fact mind could not have thought out, but it is the privilege of genius alone to arrange and to know what is pertinent and essential.

THE ACCORD OF IMMORTALITY.

Oh soul, is there a happiness so beautiful and pure
As to be able to say to the world
At the moment of entering the House of the Dead
I gave thee all I had.
The cowards alone are afraid of death
Or bondsmen and slaves
"I am the captain of my soul
I am the master of my fate."
Hamlet-wise, I see the game of life,
Death is the brother of sleep,
He who fears his icy heavy touch
Was dead ere he died.
The rivers in their headlong rush
Fall into the mighty sea.
I go to greet the angel of death
Unhesitatingly.

My approaching end with interest I watch
This world crumbles in my sight,
And another is born
I look in and look on.

The living say of us
"The dead are gone and are no more
Time has reaped the harvest of their lives,
On their knees sleeps desolate transitoriness
And pale and airy phantoms alone
Are left in memories here and there."

We know it but otherwise
And laugh at their mad delusion:
"O living. Reflect but for a moment,
Do you believe you have fallen
Like angels, unborn on earth.
Oh men, look at your muscular arms
Your hands that flash the terrible blade;
Oh women, look at your long wild hair
That inmesh the hearts of your lovers,
We have given you your hands
We have given you your hair
You speak with our mouths stopped with dust,
You see with the empty sockets of our eyes
Our youth lives and blossoms in you."

"Why do you adorn our graves with crosses
And put wreaths of leaves and flowers thereon
We do not live in the graves
We live in you, we are you."

"We are ever with you, in waking and dream
Like your shadows never forsake you
And in the wars you wage on time and space
We are the helpers that lead you to victory."

Here is a description of the Servian sunset by Stefanovic.

THE SUNSET.

The sun sinks in all its purple glory
The rays a kingly host
Flee before the forces of the night.

The sunset bow with shafts of finishing light
Opposes the invading forces of gloom,
But the dark-hooded princess comes.

Death the trumpeter
Heralds her car of victory,
My heart is gripped with fear
I see the approaching end.

The last shimmer of light
Flickers and is gone

The Field of Public Health Work

is the title of a thoughtful contribution to the December number of *Local Self-Government Gazette* by George E. Tucker, which contains much that should make us think. The paper though originally read before the League of California Municipalities could have been as well read before the City fathers of Calcutta.

Says Mr. Tucker:

The health and prosperity of the community are dependent upon the health of the people, and a healthy community is prosperous, attracts people and increases the value of property. Public health is pur-

chasable, and within certain limitations, a community can determine its own death-rate.

Health departments are the direct outcome of the knowledge that disease can be prevented. The general prosperity of the state is dependent upon the general health of the people.

Money put into health and sanitation of any character must be regarded as an investment from which definite returns are to be expected, and must not be considered in any sense an unprofitable expenditure.

It has been noted that in the Canal Zone where such wonderful work has been carried on, the death-rate for 1911 among 10,489 Americans was only 4.48 per thousand. This record is a remarkable one and is probably without rival. And all this, says Colonel Gorgas, has been accomplished at an expense averaging one cent per day for each individual. If this result can be secured at this cost in the centre of a tropical jungle, what would not a similar expenditure do for our cities?

Who should constitute a board of health? The writer opines that

The question as to the necessity of a properly trained physician and an engineer on a board of health is seldom argued.

Health boards are concerned with water supplies, sewage disposal, collection and disposal of garbage, street cleaning, tenement-house sanitation, and the solution of these problems requires the services of engineers and it is for this reason that a municipal board of health should have for at least one of its members, an engineer whose judgment may be accepted as final.

Further, representatives on municipal boards of health should be chosen with the idea of selecting individuals who are intensely interested in the very problems which require the services of an engineer, a physician and a financier to solve. A representation of two successful laymen who are in a position to pass judgment on the expediency of proposed reforms are an invaluable assistance in the conducting of municipal health affairs. Usually, the Mayor of a city, in touch with the popular chord and the public purse, becomes a most excellent member. In municipalities where public school inspection has become a fixed institution, as a fifth member of the board, the selection of the inspector might be justifiable.

And the writer thinks that "public health officials must be full time officers and further they must be adequately paid."

Mr. Tucker rightly holds that

The field of public health work is continually broadening until at the present time its relationship to education, the prevention of crime, insanity, blindness and industrial accidents is well established.

If the spread of tuberculosis is dependent upon a low resistance of the people and if the cure of tuberculosis is to a very great extent dependent upon the factors of rest, fresh air and good food, and if it is true, as it seems, that the application of these therapeutic principles assists in bringing about recovery by increasing resistance, why are they not as applicable to healthy persons to maintain health, as they are to unhealthy persons to bring about healthy conditions?

If the open air school building can be constructed for one fourth to one-half the cost of the so-called closed building, and if the children attending such schools show a fifty per cent. increase in efficiency, as statistics indicate they do, and if our tuberculosis school children improve under such therapeutic pro-

cedure, why should we continue to build monuments of brick and mortar for future generations to destroy because of their unfitness from a health standpoint?

The development of adult criminals is oftentimes the result of preventable pathological conditions which should have been recognized and corrected in early childhood.

Writing in the *Indian Review* for December about

Indian Music

Mr. Kannoomal says:

A Hindu approaches the Goddess of Music as a pious, earnest, and devoted votary caring little for his worldly success and not as an interested professional artist who seeks her secrets to better his material prospects. Sur Das, Tulsi Das, Hari Das are the great exemplars before him. They were the men who, through the instrumentality of music, saw the vision divine and reached the final goal of human evolution.

There are seven primary notes briefly called S, R, G, M, P, D, N., which are the warp and woof of the charming and variegated web of Indian music. At first there are six major tunes called Ragas arising from the combination of these seven notes in a particular manner. Then each of these Ragas produces five sub-tunes called Raginis, which are all dominated with the central notes of their Ragas. By a further combination of the Ragas and Raginis are produced numberless minor tunes—each individual in its expression but dominated by the notes of the Raginis from which they have sprung. It will thus be seen that while the principal Ragas and Raginis are only thirty-six, the number of their offspring is legion. The peculiarity about these Ragas and Raginis is this, that they can be sung only in their prescribed season and time. For each there is a particular season and a particular hour of the day or the night when it would be sung.

In Indian music "each Raga and Ragini has been personified with a wealth of detail and a delicacy of expression."

Bhairavi—one of the sub-tunes of Bheron Raga—is represented to be a young woman with fair complexion and large eyes who is clad in a white *Sari* and a red-coloured corset, with a garland of Champak flowers round her neck. She is conceived as sitting on a crystal seat worshipping Mahadeva and singing with the measures of time well kept.

Similar are the descriptions of other Ragas and Raginis.

The World's Largest Literary Work.

The Chinese are a great people. Their contribution to human advancement and civilisation has not been meagre. Their stupendous activities in the field of literature were very tragically "recalled last year by the appearance in London of two sections of the Chinese Encyclopaedia, lent to the London Library by a man who picked them up for a song in a book shop of the British metropolis."

From the description of the work published in the *Library Miscellany* it will be seen that before it the modern lexicographic enterprises, such as the New English Dictionary, the Encyclopaedia Britannica, etc., pale into insignificance.

We are told that the Chinese work under review "comprised originally no less than 11,100 volumes, but the melancholy fact is that

This huge work, the fruit of years of incessant labor by a whole army of Chinese scholars, was practically wiped out of existence during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, when the rebels set fire to the Han Lin College where the encyclopaedia was housed. A few scattering volumes were rescued from the ruins of the building and have been turning up since then in China and other countries, but there is nothing near enough to give an adequate idea of the amazing scope and completeness of the work as it stood in its entirety.

One of those who visited the ruins of the college after its destruction by the Boxers was Lancelot Giles of the British Consular Service, who picked up one volume of the encyclopaedia. After that his father, Herbert A. Giles succeeded in obtaining five more.

The history of the creation and the completion of the work is thus set forth in the *Library Miscellany*:

It was in the year 1403 that Yung Lo, third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, one of the most energetic rulers that ever held sway in China, decided that he must have a compilation of all known writings. So he commissioned Hsieh Chin, the most eminent scholar of his time, to prepare a great encyclopaedia embodying this immense hoard of material. Hsieh Chin set to work, assisted by a staff of 146 other learned men, and finished his task in one year and four months. It was called the Wen Hsien Ta Cheng, or Complete Record of Literature. Huge as it was, however, it did not anywhere near come up to the Emperor's wishes; his aim was to create something far surpassing what he considered the modest dimensions of Hsieh Chin's production.

So a new Imperial Commission was formed, on which Hsieh Chin was one of three Commissioners, for the compilation of a new and far more formidable work. In addition to the three Commissioners five directors, twenty sub-directors, and 2,141 assistants were employed—a total of 2,169 persons—for the Emperor's idea was to collect together all that had ever been written in the four departments of Confucian, canon, history, philosophy and general literature, including astronomy, geography, cosmogony, Buddhism, Taoism, handicrafts and arts.

After something like four years of unceasing labor the army of scholars submitted the result of their toil to the Emperor and won his august approval. He had reason to feel pleased, for, as a result of his insistence, there stood before him an array of 11,100 volumes, comprising 22,877 sections and an index occupying sixty sections more. Each of these volumes was half an inch thick, and the whole of them, if laid on top of each other, would be 450 feet high—higher than the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Each of the volumes was 1 foot 8 inches long by 1 foot wide, bound in the pasteboard common to

most Chinese books, and ornamented with yellow silk, the imperial color. On each volume two labels were placed, one giving the titles and numbers of the sections contained within, the other the rhyme, according to the Hung Wu Cheng Yun, or rhyming dictionary used in the days of the Ming Dynasty under which all the entries were classified. This curious arrangement was due to the fact that as Chinese is not an alphabetical language, it is impossible to arrange the entries in Chinese encyclopædias, dictionaries and the like alphabetically, as is done in English and other languages of to-day. As a result of this the Chinese have been forced to resort to a variety of methods of classification for easy reference, among them this rhyming scheme adopted in the great encyclopædia of Yung Lo. Another method, by the way, which is frequently used, is to group together words which have similar first syllables.

Each section of the Encyclopædia Maxima has twenty leaves, which makes a total for the entire work of 917,480 pages as against 22,000 in the edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, which was the latest at the time of the destruction of the Chinese work. Each page has 16 columns of characters, averaging 25 characters to a column or a total of 366,992,000 characters. Chinese is written with extraordinary condensation, 100 characters corresponding, according to one authority, to 130 English words. Therefore, it may be said that the total of characters given above corresponds, in reality, to something like 400,000,000 of English words. Now the Encyclopædia Britannica used by Mr. Giles for purposes of comparison had a total of 30,800,000 words. This as much as any one detail, gives a vivid idea of the stupendous nature of Yung Lo's compilation.

In 1410 it was decided to have the vast work printed, and orders were issued by the Emperor to that end. But it was found that the expense would be so tremendous that the project was given up.

In 1421, when the Emperor transferred the seat of government from Nanking to Peking, the encyclopædia was taken along to the latter city and stored in a pavilion of the imperial palace.

In 1562 a body of 100 scholars was ordered to make a copy and a duplicate copy of the work. These they completed in 1567, whereupon the original was sent back to Nanking, the first copy placed in the Peking palace, and the duplicate copy in the Office of Imperial Historiography.

When the Ming dynasty fell, in 1644, the original of the work at Nanking and the second copy at the Historiography Office were destroyed by fire. This left only the first copy at Peking, which was transferred from the palace to the Han-Lin-College, outside the Imperial City, where it remained until its destruction by the Boxers. After the transfer it was found that 2,422 sections, or about 1,000 volumes, were missing.

All the above was duly set down in the great Chinese imperial catalogue, but the figures given were of so amazing a nature that many foreigners questioned their accuracy and even doubted that such a work as the Encyclopædia of Yung Lo had ever been created at all. Nor did the Chinese Government deign to set their doubts at rest, for it resolutely set its face against all endeavors by "foreign devils" to gain access to the Han-Lin College and see for themselves the splendid monument of Yung Lo.

The five volumes secured by Herbert A. Giles deal with poetry, canonization of emperors, arithmetic,

history, and costumes. At the end of each volume is a slip with the name of the official whose duty it was to copy, punctuate and compare with the original.

Important statistics about

Immigrant Labour in Assam

have been published in the *Indian Emigrant* for December.

Regarding immigration we read:

The number of persons immigrating during the year was considerably higher than in any of the preceding four years. There was a substantial increase in immigration from the Sonthal Parganas and Chota Nagpur and from the plains districts of the United Provinces and Bengal. There were, however, fewer arrivals from the Central Provinces and Madras. The health of the coolies in transit was again good. The number of deaths was 42, as compared with 32 in 1913-14, the majority being due to cholera. The Chief Commissioner is pleased to note that the number of cases of fraudulent and irregular recruitment fell from 101, in the previous year to 81, of which only 29 were found on investigation to be true.

Regarding contracts and wages we are told that

The number of coolies executing contracts in the recruiting districts decreased from 3,776 to 2,465. The contracts of 46 coolies recruited for Sylhet, which were referred to in the last year's resolution, were cancelled at the beginning of the year. The number of contracts cancelled by the efflux of time was 2,455 against 2,479. These were regularly reported in all districts except Sibsagar where seven managers had to be warned for the omission to report expiries regularly. Three hundred and fifty-three contracts were dissolved by mutual consent against 552 in the preceding year.

Then again

The recorded birth-rate was 25.9 per mille calculated on the total strength of the coolie population and 88.8 per mille on the adult female population, the figures for the preceding year being 25.5 and 86.6 respectively. The recorded provincial birth-rate was 32.94 per mille of the total population and 177.71 per mille of the total adult female population.

For the total labour force the registered death-rate was 24.2 in 1914-15 against 24.7 in 1913-14, the number of deaths being 20,876 against 20,577. The rate among adults was 27.7 as against 28.2 in the preceding year. The highest death-rate (34.8) was recorded in Darrang and the lowest (23) in Cachar. As a result of the enquiry made by the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner with the object of bringing the Sanitary Department into closer relation with the tea industry, to which a reference was made in the last year's resolution, it has been decided that the monthly returns of births and deaths on tea gardens should be forwarded to the Sanitary Commissioner after being dealt with by the Civil Surgeon of the district, and should be supplemented by an annual return giving figures for the garden population which, together with the monthly returns, will enable the Sanitary Commissioner to watch the health conditions on every garden. As

regards the suggestion that the inspection of unhealthy gardens should be performed by the Sanitary Commissioner, it has been decided that such inspections shall ordinarily be carried out, as at present, by the Civil Surgeon, the inspection reports being submitted to the Sanitary Commissioner for any suggestions which he may have to make.*

During the year under review the number of gardens on the unhealthy list decreased from ten to five, four of which were in Sibsagar and one in Lakhimpur. Four of them have been in the unhealthy list for three years in succession.

There were three complaints of ill-treatment made by coolies against their employers during the year. One was found to be true and the other two were dismissed. Four hundred and seventeen applications for discharge certificates were filed of which 215 were successful. One thousand three hundred and eleven cases were instituted by Managers under Act XIII of 1859, 324 being decided in favour of the complainants and 904 being dismissed; ninety coolies were sent to prison. Ten cases of riot or unlawful assembly and five charges of assault were instituted by Managers. Generally speaking, the relations between employers and employed were excellent.

The number of desertions of Act labourers reported was 979. One hundred and twelve warrants were issued for the arrest of deserters; arrests were effected in 32 cases and 19 coolies were convicted, ten being punished with imprisonment.

The Educated Indian Citizen

is the title of an useful article in the January number of the *Young Men of India*. Indians old or young, who want to serve their country may take a lesson from the following observations made by H. C. Herman in the course of the article under review.

What of home rule? representation upon an Imperial Cabinet or Parliament? primary education? social service? economic reform? industrial development? local and municipal affairs? These are burning questions; but where can you find a man who has even a skeleton of facts that have been carefully and correctly gathered? The philosophy and religious ideals of India have relegated facts to the rear; and these problems will only be solved by those who are willing to pay the price of hard work and know the subject.

But is not *social service* an expression of the growing aspiration of India? Ugly contrasts with conditions in other countries are striking at the pride of the educated Indian, and he wants to put things right, but seldom knows what to do. Does this not offer the best opening to use, both in approaching the disinterested Indian citizen and in conserving his growing aspiration to serve his country, not by helping to dissolve the British Government in India, but by leading him down into a parchay and keeping him there long enough to find out that practically every one is in debt, living in squalor, the drains clogged, houses insanitary and the rate of infant mortality appalling? If he will visualize these facts, not theoretically but vividly, just as they are marring and ruining life, there is some hope of his waking up to the fact that as an educated citizen he is responsible for such conditions, and should do his

best to remedy them. Some Associations fortunately find at hand an organization whose interests are excellent, but whose benefits are limited by the human factor—such organizations as the Social Service League at Bombay, Bangalore, Calcutta, Madras and other cities. But any Association can undertake a simple programme of social service, and expand as rapidly as resources permit. The organization of Co-operative Credit Societies seems to be most urgent in view of the crushing indebtedness everywhere. Night schools, boys' clubs, bringing pressure to bear on the authorities to clean streets and drains properly, securing adequate medical service—these are only a few suggestions. Probably investigation of conditions close at hand is the best sedative for an overdeveloped sensitiveness towards the problems of the Empire.

Psychology of Wealth.

In the course of an article in the *Vedic Magazine* for December L. Balmukand Kohli writes:

Wealth is the only determining factor to entitle one to a certificate of respectability of birth. The fact is, however, ignored that the so-called families are founded and obliterated even in one's lifetime. Innumerable examples can be given of impecunious persons becoming masters of wealth, earned either honestly or dishonestly, and then being reduced to a state of pauperism either in their lifetime or in the lifetime of their children or grandchildren. A man not possessed of riches however irreproachable his character, however chaste his ideas, however straightforward his dealings with others and however sympathetically disposed towards human sufferings, is generally looked upon with hatred and contempt by the so-called society of to-day, and is a person of no importance merely because of his poverty. On the other hand, a man wallowing in wealth without virtue or decency finds renown and respect, whether false or genuine, stored for him everywhere.

A man of humble origin by his intelligence, capacity, industry, etc., (or good luck whatever one may be pleased to call) elevates himself from impecuniosity to shining opulence and lays the foundation of a family. The very family once styled low is then termed respectable and all its descendants are termed honorable. With the revolution of time and vicissitudes of fortune the family again loses its prominence and is reduced to a state of obscurity. One of its descendants turns out extravagant, squanders away in idleness or immoral pleasures, all the wealth which was earned by fair or foul means and jealously guarded by his father or grandfather or other relations, and the family is again unable to keep the wolf from the door.

The tyranny of rich over the poor is proverbial. In the majority of cases they have neither the inclination, nor the capacity nor the leisure to evince practical sympathy for the hardships, privations, and disadvantages which their poor brothers undergo in this life. They consider it derogatory to their position even to talk to them. They have all the conceit and presumption of wealth and are always intoxicated with the little fortune or position they enjoy. Too much wealth, moreover, has often a demoralising effect on the owners. Young people born with a silver spoon in their mouth and inheriting large fortunes, generally do not realize their social responsibility and status. Their moral outlook is limited by their weakening minds.

Should we not be able to say :

I ask not for his lineage,
I ask not for his name,
If manliness is in his heart,
He noble birth may claim.

Hindu Polity About B. C. 300

is the title of a highly interesting article contributed to the *Educational Review* for December by V. Rangachariar. The article under review is based on the *Kautilya-artha-sastra*. Of the *Kautilya-artha-sastra* we are told :

As a detailed and scientific description of the pre-Mauryan state, its constitution and characteristics, its manner of working and its ideals, the *Artha-sastra* is of incalculable value. The *Artha-sastra* was not written after the foundation of the Mauryan Empire. It does not describe an imperial constitution ; it does not say how Chandragupta arranged for the administration of the Empire, how he united the various kingdoms and states under one political sway, how he reconciled the local feelings and institutions with the imperial idea and so on.

The King and his Ministers; their functions:

Chanakya enumerates seven elements of sovereignty, namely, the territory, the king, the minister, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend. A wise king, "trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted element of his sovereignty, and will never be defeated." The king's functions were to appoint ministers and departmental superintendents, to bestow rewards on the worthy and punishments on the wicked, and to always endeavour for the welfare and prosperity of the people. The minister's functions were to guide the deliberations in the council, to enforce them in practice, and to look after the administration in all its branches—the business of revenue-collection and its expenditure, the maintenance of national independence and security, and the installation of princes. "In the absence of ministers, the above works are ill done ; and like a bird deprived of its feathers, the king loses his active capacity. In such calamities the intrigues of the enemy find a ready scope. In ministerial distress, the king's life itself comes into danger, for the minister is the mainstay of the security of the king's life.

The King and the Kingdom are the primary elements of the state. Kautilya attaches enormous importance to the moral purity of the King and holds that he should also preserve the social purity of the people.

Next to the ethical guardianship of the world, Kautilya mentions the duty of choosing ministers. "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence he shall employ ministers and hear their opinion." They should be men of tried ability, of absolute integrity, of financial skill and of great proficiency in the science of politics. These ministers seem to have been pure administrative officers and not councillors. Those "whose character has been tested under religious allurements," says Kautilya, "shall be employed in civil and criminal courts ; those whose purity has been tested under

monetary allurements shall be employed in the work of a revenue-collector and chamberlain ; those who have been tried under love-allurements shall be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, both external and internal ; those who have been tested by allurements under fear shall be appointed to immediate service ; and those whose character has been tested under all kinds of allurements shall be employed as prime ministers, while those who are proved impure under one or all of these allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories." They were to be consulted by the king in all acts of administration. The subject-matter of a council shall be entirely secret.

As a safeguard against the autocracy of ministers

Kautilya holds that as a single minister might proceed wilfully and without restraint and as two ministers might either overpower the king by their combination or imperil him by their dissension, the king should consult three or four ministers at least.

The King could not remain indifferent to the affairs of the state.

Kautilya insists on the king's personal scrutiny over all departments. He divides the day into 16 parts and allots a duty to each. "Of these divisions, during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure ; during the second part he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people, during the third he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study ; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold, but also attend to the appointments of superintendents ; during the 5th, he shall correspond in writs with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies ; during the 6th, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation ; during the 7th, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, and during the 8th part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief." Similar duties were fixed during night, 4 parts being assigned to sleep. Activity was thus an absolute requisite.

We read further :

The ministers or superintendents of departments were about 16 in number, and included a chamberlain, a collector-general, an accountant-general, the superintendents of agriculture, manufactures, public works, forests, and so on.

Kautilya prescribes very minute and elaborate rules for the guidance and conduct of the finance minister and his subordinates. The chamberlain and collector-general, he says, "shall have so thorough a knowledge of both external and internal incomes running even for a hundred years that, when questioned, he can point out without hesitation the exact amount of net balance that remains after expenditure has been met with." He shall "conduct the work of revenue-collection, increasing the income and decreasing the expenditure." He was to keep a careful vigilance against officers whose conduct was such as to cause loss of revenue to the State. "A Government officer, not caring to know the information gathered by espionage and neglecting to supervise the despatch of work in his own department as regulated, may occasion loss of revenue to the Government owing to his ignorance, or owing to his idleness when he

is too weak to endure the trouble of activity, or due to inadvertence in perceiving sound and other objects of sense, or by being timid when he is afraid of clamour, unrighteousness, and untoward results, or owing to selfish desire when he is favourably disposed towards those who are desirous to achieve their own selfish ends, or by cruelty due to anger, or by lack of dignity when he is surrounded by a host of learned and needy sycophants, or by making use of false balance, false measures and false calculation owing to greediness."

Sources and forms of income :

Kautilya enumerates six sources of income, the durga or city, the rural parts, mines, gardens, forests and herds.

Kautilya sees the necessity of classifying the *forms* of income as distinct from the *sources* of income, of the *Ayamukhas* as distinct from the *Ayasarira*. And in his classification we find certain divisions which naturally strike us as curious. He divides the forms of income under seven headings, namely, mula (capital), bhaga (share), vyaji (premium), parigha (?), klipta (fixed taxes), rupika (premium on coins ?) and atyaya (fixed fines).

We read the following as regards the emergency means of replenishing the treasury :

Kautilya explains the ways and means by which the treasury could, on special occasions* when special expenditure was necessary, be replenished. The king could demand the payment of one-third or one-fourth of the produce of his *rich* agricultural subjects. He could increase the fines on the peasant criminals and order special cultivations for the State. Similarly one-sixth of the forest produce, and "of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh and dried flesh," one-half of ivory and skins of animals, could be taken. Merchants dealing in gold and silver, in pearls and gems, and elephants and horses had to pay 50 *karas*. "Those that trade in grains, liquids, metals (*loha*), and deal with carts shall pay 30 *karas*." The clothier, the copper, bronze and brass merchant, the liquor-seller had to pay 10 *karas*, and artisans 20 *karas*. "Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their wages. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be taken possession of." Those who reared cows, buffaloes, etc., had to give away one-tenth of their live-stock. Two wholesome restrictions Kautilya gives in regard to these special taxes ; and they are (1) that they ought to be taken only once and never twice ; and (2) that poor people, those engaged in important government service, those who colonise waste lands, forest-tribes and learned Brahmins, ought not to be made to pay.

Besides these special taxes the king could demand subscriptions on false pretences. He could sell honours and titles, employ sorcerers to delude men and deprive them of their over-abundant wealth, take away the collections of religious institutions, create pseudo-temples for popular endowments, and resort to other ingenious methods. Spies might be made to become partners of commercial exploiters with the view of robbing them, prostitute spies might be made to enamour rich men and poison them. Measures like these, says Kautilya, "shall be taken only against

the seditious and the wicked and never against others."

Speaking of the administration of justice in the law-courts the writer observes :

One remarkable feature was that the judge could be fined for neglect or over-bearing temper, for unnecessary delay and similar defects. He could be fined eight times the value of a suit if he spoiled it in some way or other, and could be chastised with capital punishment if he unjustly awarded it to the parties.

"The laws of punishment in criminal cases were very severe and draconian."

Torture could be resorted to, except in the cases of youngsters, the aged, the afflicted and the lunatics, to extort confession ; but torture was legal only in case where there were sufficient evidences to shew that a particular man was guilty. No woman could be subjected to it in case she was pregnant or had not passed a month after delivery. "Torture of (ordinary) women shall be half of the prescribed standard." An alternative to torture was espionage, and this was to be resorted to in case of Brahmins and ascetics. Kautilya enumerates the various kinds of torture that could be resorted to, and divides them into four kinds,—viz., punishments (which in turn were six in number), whipping of which there were seven kinds, suspension from above which had two varieties and water-ordeal. Thieves of individuals or the royal treasury could be subjected many times to these tortures. "Whatever may be the nature of the crime, no Brahman offender shall be tortured. The face of a Brahman convict shall be branded so as to leave a mark indicating his crime :—the sign of a dog in theft, that of a headless body in murder," and so on. After having thus branded to a wound and proclaimed his crime in public, the King shall either banish him or send him to work in mines. Those who seized *valuable* articles from Government mines or manufactories could be beheaded, and those who took articles of small value fined.

An alternative to fines in some cases was the parading of the criminal through the streets, his body being smeared over with cowdung, and an earthenware pan with blazing light tied round his loins. Shaving and exile were other alternatives. An officer using unauthorised seals could be even condemned to death. An unjust judge could be punished with the middlemost amercement (i.e., fines of 200 to 500 panas) and dismissed. An adulterer had to pay a fine of 500 panas or had his ears and nose cut off. Abduction was chastised by the cutting of the legs or fine of 600 panas. "When a Sudra calls himself a Brahman, or when any person steals the property of gods, conspires against the king, or destroys both the eyes of another, he shall either have his eyes destroyed by the application of poisonous ointment or pay a fine of 800 panas." "Any person who aims at the kingdom, who forces entrance into the king's harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies, or who creates disaffection in forts, country parts or in the army shall be burnt alive from head to foot." If a person broke the dam of a tank he should be drowned in that very tank. A poisoner was subject to the same penalty. An incendiary was to be thrown into fire.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Fitness of Orientals for Self-Government.

At the last annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and former Political Adviser to the President of Chinese Republic, read a paper on "Reform in China". In this paper President Goodnow made certain statements concerning the political incapacity of the Orientals, which drew from Dr. Sudhindra Bose of Iowa State University a few impromptu remarks. They have been published in *The American Political Science Review*, and run as follows :

It seems that the Occidental people find no end of difficulty in understanding and interpreting our Oriental laws, customs, and institutions. We are told, for instance, that the Chinese like other Asians, who are mainly agricultural peoples, are unfit for representative government. I doubt if this statement can stand the test of adequate proof. Take, for example, the people of China, whose recorded history runs back to 2800 B. C. These Celestials, these agriculturalists, had from time immemorial enjoyed local self-government, had been accustomed to "take communal action" : they would close up their business and resist the imposition of an unjust tax. It is to be remembered that the powers of the mother of parliaments developed in this fashion. "The financial functions of parliamentary assemblies are always the centre of their action."

In India, another agricultural country, we had the village community which contained the true germs of representative government. These village communities have frequently been described by such authorities as Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Henry Maine as "little republics."

Further, we are told by Western critics that the Chinese, along with the other people of the Orient, are slow to move, that they are static, preferring to submit to the iron rule of an autocratic king. On the other hand those who have even a slight acquaintance with Chinese history

know that the Chinese are a democratic people. Mencius, the great Chinese political philosopher, put the people first, the gods second, and the sovereign third in the Chinese scale of national importance. Mencius once said to a ruler : "If you can win the hill people—that is, the humblest of the common folk—then, indeed, will you become the Son of Heaven." Again, when Wu Wang killed the tyrant emperor Chow some time in the eleventh century before Christ, the Chinese historians wrote : "Wu Wang did not slay his ruler ; he simply executed a tyrannical individual."

In India, too, we find that the ancient Hindu law-givers have laid down that the misgovernment of a tyrant king not only constitutes a default of the ruler's title, but even a forfeiture of his life. Indeed, Manu himself has said that a king who oppresses his subject should be deprived of his life together with his relatives.

There is no more virtue in killing kings or their kinsfolk than there is in manslaughter in general ; these facts are referred to only to show to what extent and in what sense orientals believed in the divinity of kings.

In Asia as in Europe the divine right of kings, the belief that the rulers were appointed by heaven, has, of course, found credence. But when these Asiatic monarchs failed to promote the general happiness of the nation, failed to live up to the will of heaven, they were given short shrift. They were removed and replaced by another sent of heaven. Historians seem to admit that such revolutions have taken place at least twenty-one times in China, resulting in as many changes of dynasty. Besides, there have been various usurpations of power of a limited scope, and if all these partial revolutions are considered, China, the so-called conservative China, can boast of no less than thirty revolutions.

The old assertion that the Asian people are unfit for self-government does not bear examination. Look at Japan ! When the Asiatic Japan promulgated its constitution of a parliamentary government in 1899,

the astonished Europe laughed. Has not the marvellous success of Japan—Asiatic Oriental Japan—in establishing and maintaining a constitutional government proved beyond the shadow of a doubt what other Asian nations could also do if they were free?

In India, the land where I first saw the light of day—the land where mighty empires existed and flourished long before the English had ceased to dwell in paleolithic caves—in India, I say, the people are told to-day, after a hundred and fifty years of “enlightened cultured” rule, that the Indians are not and never will be fit for self-government. How in the name of common sense can a country be fit for self-government, or for that matter for anything, unless it has a chance to try it out? Is it not almost a political truism that self-government alone fits a nation for self-government?

To be sure, some of the Oriental nations have shown incompetency: they have been found guilty of graft and corruption. We are sincerely sorry for them. But I have been informed on good authority that there are also many countries in the West which are not above the charges of graft and corruption. Are we to believe now that the Western nations have proved their inability for representative governments? For one, I have little faith in the judgment of patronising Europeans, who on their annual summer tours in the United States brazenly ask: “How long can this republic endure?”

To conclude, I challenge the assumption that representative forms of government are the monopoly of the West. I resent the implication that the Orientals are in any essential manner different from the Occidentals. We of the East ask only one thing of the West. It is this—that you of the West stay away from our problems: leave us to solve our own problems, to work out our own destinies, while you spend your time looking after yours. The greatest good you can do us, the lasting benefit you can confer on us, is to let us alone.

Destructive Virtues

is the title of a short though thoughtful article appearing in the *Spectator*.

“Certain qualities like certain plants, seem to take the goodness out of the ground. Where they flourish they flourish

alone. In their immediate neighborhood nothing else comes to ‘perfection,’—these are the opening lines of the article.

Take for instance the quality of amiability.

There is something destructive in its sweetness. Very amiable people have no other marked characteristics. Amiability always makes a man or a woman popular. Why the word has been debased till it means almost the reverse of lovable we do not know. But some word had to be found to fit a curious negative quality which no one could dislike, and which was destructive alike of faults and virtues, and that one was chosen haphazard.

The character of the really lovable person is always painted in decided colors, and most of us would hesitate to apply the word “amiable” to any one we really cared for. It is, of course, incorrect to make it a synonym for “stupid.” Only persons of a very small vocabulary make so silly a use of the word. Stupid people are very seldom amiable. They may be slow to take offence, because they are slow to take in anything, but they are most ill-natured and implacable when once they have grasped it. Lack of imagination—and that is what stupidity is—is a deformity of character. We ought to be sorry for the deformed, but we are not obliged to say that they are graceful. It is the element of the heroic which amiability destroys—enthusiasm, passion, and the power of sacrifice. The great human qualities are weakened by it, and the amiable person is not much missed. “So-and-so is dead,” we say. “What a pity! He was a very amiable man”; and straightway we forget him and what manner of man he was. Conspicuously amiable people never come, as it were, very near to any one. They are isolated by the fragrance of their own atmosphere. It is a great gift, however, for those endowed with it are often impervious to pain, always free from worry, very little capable of resentment, and never short of pleasant company.

Self-control is another destructive quality.

Where it exists to any very conspicuous extent, it is apt to dwarf the rest of the character. Yet what a fine thing it is! A man determined to hide all his emotions from his fellows has a pride which is inhuman in its grandeur. What, though, does one mean by inhuman? No trait is less animal than self-control. It is impossible not to admire the man whose self-command is perfect; it is impossible also genuinely to like him. Now and then such people inspire a rather childish form of hero-worship, a sort of idolatry; but their worshippers regard them, consciously, unconsciously, as symbols—signs implying moral conceptions, not men and women. If a man becomes a tyrant over himself, he will destroy his personality almost as surely as he would destroy that of any other victim of his over-developed will-power.

The following observations on literary musical and histrionic faculties will be found interesting:

We have heard it said that the musical faculty destroys others, but an instance of this theory has never come within the present writer's experience, and would seem to be effectually contradicted by musical biography. All great composers have been men of strong minds. Calculating boys are said to grow up stupid; but these interesting freaks of Nature seem to be

complete freaks. Neither their existence nor the sort of temporary, spurious, and limited genius they possess has ever been accounted for. Ordinary mathematicians are, as a rule, men of conspicuous ability in other branches of thought. This much must, we think, be conceded to them, though their special talent often arouses in peculiarly abstract forms of mind a sort of jealous contempt. The ignorant world admires the mathematician very much, but among learned men he is very often suspect. Is it true that the histrionic faculty destroys others? Logically, this would seem to be impossible. Histrionic power should be the outcome of wide sympathies and a deep understanding of human nature. There should be something of Shakespeare in every great actor. Some people would probably say that there is such a something. On the other hand, no one will deny that more often there is a good bit of the ape. In so far as acting consists of mere imitation, we expect it does kill other talents; but perhaps such acting is never great. The literary faculty is supposed by many men who have not got it to unfit a man altogether for active life. They insist on making the old false verbal division between men of thought and men of action. The men who say it refuse to believe that any but active work is work at all, and therefore they omit the factor of time wholly from their calculation. Shakespeare could not have written his plays and been Prime Minister, but that a country would be lucky indeed which was ruled by a Cabinet of Shakespeares we suppose no one could doubt.

"In conjunction with love, jealousy, though a horribly inconvenient quality, is hardly a vice" and does not fall under the category of destructive virtues.

Ought jealousy to be called a vice? Whatever it is, it is in some of its forms a fearfully dominant quality. But we doubt whether love can exist in a high form without something of it. Putting aside the question of husband and wife, no woman can see herself dethroned in the heart of her child without a pang, even though imperative separation makes such dethronement desirable for the child's happiness. But jealousy which has nothing to do with love is a horrid thing—the bind-weed of character squeezing the life out of all that is best and most human. It mutilates sympathy, it destroys geniality, it gives birth to spite. It is like a demoniacal possession, and the demon is roused to mischief by the sight of good luck and happiness, and will destroy them if he can.

Russia and India.

Under the above heading Mr. John Pollen, contributes to the *Journal of the East India Association* an interesting article in which we find many points of similarity between the Russian and the Indian peoples. In fact there is much of the oriental in the Russian, and they are sometimes correctly styled as the *Orientalists of the West*. The observations of Mr. Pollen are specially important as they come from one who has had long personal experience of both Russia and India. We learn that the writer had paid three visits to Russia, had been

connected with the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, and had put in thirty-two years' Indian service. Says Mr. Pollen:

I wandered freely through the length and breadth of Russia, and, except at the hotels in the big towns and when leaving the country, I was never troubled about my passport at all! and I may add that during my residence in Russia I never experienced any incivility from Russian officials except once, and that was from some German underlings in St. Petersburg. In their kindly readiness to help the stranger, I found the Russian police were very like the Metropolitan and Dublin policemen and the Irish constabulary. The village police reminded me very much of the Indian village police; and coming from the plains of India, I was, of course, quite at home with the Russian village headman, the village community, and the village system generally. Many things in the customs, manners, and surroundings of the Russian people, particularly in the rural districts, are simple and plain to the traveller from the East, although they sometimes hopelessly puzzle the wanderer from the West. Like the Indians, the Russian country-folk are great upon greetings and salutations, and I was much amused at the way the sledgemen and cab-drivers in Moscow and other towns used to take off their caps and hats to one another as they drove by. I remember once asking one of these drivers why he was always doffing his cap, and he reminded me that it was written in our Scriptures that the Godhead had created man in His own likeness, and "that," said the driver, "is the reason why I take off my cap to my neighbour, for in saluting him I am saluting the image of my Maker." Nothing, however, as is well known, will induce an orthodox Russian to worship or salute a graven or carved image of any kind whatsoever (and in this he is as strict as the strictest Moslem), for this would be breaking the Commandment—"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," etc.; but he does not care how many painted or sainted pictures he bows down to and to all appearance adores. Great is the reverence paid by Russians to cikons, or Holy Pictures, of which there are many in every orthodox Russian home and in churches and in shrines. These cikons are as numerous in Russia as "Ganpatis," "Hanumans," and "Mahadevs" in India.

When an orthodox Russian enters a room he always first salutes the Holy Picture in the east corner and crosses himself before he takes any notice of anyone in the apartment. In most of the offices and shops in Russia, besides the eikon you will also find a picture of the Emperor, and this is why you take off your hat on entering. You are, as it were, in the Imperial presence.

In Russian churches there are no graven images and no chairs or seats, but there are plenty of exquisite mosaics and Holy Pictures, or cikons, richly robed in carved gold or silver garments and studded with precious stones, representing our Lord, the Virgin, Prophets, and Holy Men of old. In a Russian church the worship is more individual than collective, and you can stand or kneel or prostrate yourself, just as the spirit moves you, or can have a quiet chat with your neighbour while listening to the window-shaking intonations of the gorgeously robed priest. But you will hear no music save of that of the human voice, for organs are unknown in orthodox churches.

Speaking of manners the writer says:

You offend against Russian taste by eating with your hat on, or by moving the salt, or by crossing your legs or by sitting on the edge of a table, or by entering a room with your overcoat or goloshes on, etc.

About the treatment of women in Russia we read :

Russia is in many respects Oriental, and this is, perhaps, chiefly seen in the way women are treated and regarded. Traces of the "purdah" and of the seclusion system can still be found, especially in remote provincial towns. In the villages and rural districts, however, there is little trace of the "purdah," for there the women are very much in evidence. They seem the only people who work or really *do* anything. The Russian woman is, speaking broadly, not beautiful to look upon ; but this does not matter much, for amongst the country-folk the village maiden is selected as a bride, not for her looks or accomplishments and acquirements, but for her "muscle," the chief object of the father-in-law, or head of the family, being to get a good, strong, healthy worker into the household. The bridegroom, except in rare instances, has very little to say to the choice, but piously receives his wife (as Adam did his Eve, and as they still do in India), as "a help-meet for him," without questioning the wisdom or judgment of those who made the choice. The ordinary Russian is, however, no believer, in "woman's rights," and some of the popular sayings and proverbs of the people are even more uncomplimentary to the fair sex than some that obtain in India. Thus, if woman offers advice unasked, she will probably be told that though her hair is long her wit is short, or that she is "lank in locks but lacking in wisdom, or loose in logic." Another saying declares that there is "only one soul in seven women !" While a third proclaims that a woman has no soul at all, but only "steam." The latter assertion, perhaps, implies a compliment, for there can be no doubt that woman is the "propelling power" in a Russian household, and in the village councils and assemblies her voice frequently prevails above that of the men. In the peasant's hut and on the farm she does everything ; she is the first up in the morning and the first afield. She grinds the corn, lights the fire, prepares the meals, attends to the children, drives the plough, weeds the field, digs the potatoes—and most of these things she does *singing* !

Wife-beating is recognized as a right in Russia, and a peasant would be amazed if you told him he had no right to beat his wife, and he would tell you that at the village altar he swore not only to love and to cherish, but also to chastise her if necessary. I must say I never saw any wife-beating in Russia, but I have seen many a good wife belabouring her drunken spouse and dragging him along home by his shaggy red locks ! The drunken husband usually takes this treatment most good-humouredly, and strives to kiss his wife as she is pulling him along, thus returning a kiss for a blow—the right thing to do—as we were taught in Sunday-school.

This statement of Mr. Pollen about the treatment of drunken husbands by their wives is admirably borne out by Dostoevsky in his famous novel *Crime and Punishment* where he describes a similar incident.

The writer goes on to say :

The position of women in Russia is, of course, not

now what it used to be, and it is to Peter the Great that the emancipation of the women in Russia is chiefly due. He did away with the old custom according to which the bride and bridegroom were not allowed to meet until the day of the marriage ceremony, and the bride was not unveiled till the marriage ceremony was over. He aimed at the equality of the sexes, and published a decree that six weeks should elapse between the engagement and the wedding, so that the couple might make each other's acquaintance. He encouraged the education of women, and got his own daughters educated. It is suspected that English ladies (of whom there were always several at the Russian Court from the days of John the Terrible) really influenced Peter in making these innovations. Peter's wife and sister also helped the Emperor in his heroic efforts to better the position of women in Russia.

From his own "personal knowledge and observation" the writer has to say the following about the Tsar of all the Russias.

The Tsar moves about amongst his people as freely and with as little ostentation or precaution as the members of our own Royal Family. I have seen him driving about in a single-horsed sledge all by himself, and on ceremonial occasions I have watched the Imperial procession moving slowly down long lanes of respectful spectators, with only a few policemen about twenty or thirty yards apart to keep the crowds in order. The Emperor is regarded as a semi-divine personage, and is the well-beloved representative of his people—in very truth their "Little Father"—and the accounts which represent him as a dreadful tyrant are all nonsense. His throne is as broad-based upon his people's will as that of our own "temperate Kings."

About the Russian people he says :

A very lovable, light-hearted people are the Russians, fond of sad songs, tea, beer and brandy or vodka. The peasants and village labourers (again like the Indian and Irish cultivators) are very happy-go-lucky, inclined to take things easily, to indulge in "Kalatnost" ("dressing-gownedness"), "fatalism," and "perhapsedness" ; "What will be, will be" ; "Perhaps, Don't be afraid, and God is not without mercy." To get a good idea of the Russians one should see them at the railway-stations and in the village inns and taverns as well as in their own homes. They seem seldom to be in a hurry (except when they are driving or sledging, and then they go the pace). They arrive at the railway-stations, just like the people in India, hours before the time fixed for the departure of the train, and loiter contentedly about the spacious waiting-rooms carrying huge pillows (for a Russian never travels anywhere without a pillow), or they sit feasting in the truly regal refreshment-rooms ; while their ladies stroll up and down on the platforms outside smoking cigarettes, or sit drinking tea in a corner round a samovar. Wherever a Russian man or woman goes, the samovar is in evidence.

The leading characteristics of the Russian people, high and low, are certainly hospitality and kindness to strangers.

The Future Government of India from a Practical Point of View.

The *Asiatic Review* for November prints a letter from the pen of J. B. Pennington which should be of especial interest to us at the present moment when the proposal of forming a Home Rule League is being discussed in India. In the letter under notice, which is remarkably free from any bias, the writer has made out a strong case for the Indians. Says he :

It is impossible for the people of India, or any other country, to learn the art of government without practice; and the only reasonable question is, How art they to get that practice ?

We have taught what is often called "a microscopic minority" to become one of the finest subordinate services in the world; but we have done very little so far, except incidentally, as in the quasi-independent Indian States, to teach them the art of governing others, except, again, in a very subordinate way. How, then, did we ourselves learn the art of self-government, so far as we have learnt it ? Chiefly, it must be confessed, by fighting amongst ourselves for hundreds of years. But we cannot afford to let the millions of India learn the art of self-government by cutting each other's throats and the survival of the fittest. Nor is it necessary. "All great statesmen," says Gustave le Bon, "of every country, including the most absolute despots, have regarded popular imagination as the basis of their power, and have never governed in opposition to it." "It was by becoming a Catholic," said Napoleon, "that I terminated the Vendean War; by becoming a Musalman that I obtained a footing in Egypt; by becoming an Ultramontane that I won over the Italian priests; and had I to govern a nation of Jews I would rebuild Solomon's Temple."

The writer closes his letter by re-telling the story of Peary Mohan Banerji of Uttarpara, better known as the '*Fighting Munsiff*'. The official report of his services in the Mutiny, by the District Magistrate of Allahabad (Mr. Thomson) runs as follows :

"Babu Peary Mohan was appointed a Munsiff at Manjhanpur in this district in November last, and has since been indefatigable in his exertions to drive back the rebels in his part of the district. Though not actually in his province of duty, he offered himself to the Commissioner to assemble the well-affected Zamindars, to engage and conciliate the doubtful, and thus create a Government party against the disaffected. He has succeeded so well that he has been able gradually to restore the police authority in all but a few villages now held by the rebels, and gained a victory, his report of which I now enclose."

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* gave the following particulars of his career :

"The native Civil Judge—a Bengali—by capacity and valour brought himself so conspicuously forward as to be known as "The Fighting Munsiff." He not only held his own defiantly, but he planned attacks, burned villages, wrote English despatches thanking his subordinates and displayed a rare capacity for rule and fertility of resources."

It was Lord Canning who in his despatch highly commended the gallantry of Peary Babu and first called him "The Fighting Munsiff."

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To the *Islamic Review* for December A. Neville J. Whymant contributes a short notice of

Jalal-Ud-Din Rumi

the Persian mystic and poet, about whom we are told :

He was born of noble descent, at Balkh, in A.D. 1207 and died in A.D. 1273, but lived for most of his life at Quniya (the classical Iconium). He is described as chief of all the Sufi poets, not only by native scholars and biographers, but by independent historians of East and West.

He was the founder of that great order of Sufis the Mawlawi, that mystical order of dervishes, and is to this day revered as the Interpreter of Heavenly Mysteries.

Perhaps the chief charm about this man "clad in garments of song" is that he was mystic before poet. Only when his soul had soared into the heights and sunk to the depths in pitying condescension did he take his reed and write his verses. He went through a turmoil of chaos to the Fountain of Life itself, and there fed his soul on the Eternal Vision of Divinity.

Although he was above all a mystic, there is that about his poetry which recalls the fragrance of Hafiz.

His two great creations are the *Diwan-i-Jalal-ud-Din-Rumi* and the *Masnavi*.

The *Masnavi* is regarded by the Sufi Brotherhood as the infallible guide to them in daily Sufi practice. Of course Al-Quran is to them the premier guide but The *Masnavi* is a fragrant garden of perfume where the Sufi may walk and find comfort and peace. This book is a code of law and guidance to those mystics whereby they may regulate their lives in accord with the will of the All-compassionate, the All-merciful. For the essence of his teaching—although by mystic phrase and verse—was the view of the ultimate Unity of All Being—the cardinal doctrine that Allah is one, and through Him all is one.

The *Diwan* abounds in glorious idealism. Perfect mysticism and psychic perception of Divine truths are manifest in these pages. Let us see a few :

"Keep clean thy Garment from defilement,
Keep clean thy hand and mouth,
Thy Heart from Spite's revilement.

Within, *Within*, let all things spotless be."

In the original of these lines there is an insistent call lost in translation, but it can be seen how great is his call to the *Soul*. Again :—

"My desire shall always be
More to have than Needs decree,
Even as gay Flowers I pluck
New Spring Blossoms smile at me.

And, when sweeping through the skies,
From swift spheres new Fires will rise,
Only True, Immortal Love
From Perfect Beauty doth arise."

At night time think of this :—

“When all is still and the earth has gone to sleep,
Wake Thou in me!
When wearied with the day my tired eyes sink to rest
Wake Thou in me!
When eyes in Paradise unsleeping guard me o'er
As stars above,
Dwell in my sightless eyes as my Dear Guest,
O Wake ! Wake Thou in Me.

And when the Dark of after-Life is here,
And Love's smile dawns
And draws me, Love-like, ever to thy Breast,
Wake Thou in me ”

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Administration of Criminal Justice in Ancient India—A. V. Ramanathan.

Mr. A V. Ramanathan tries to give us a view of the “Administration of Criminal Justice in Ancient India” in some 15 pages. His paper is based on the *Sukraniti*. But the latter work, as we have it, is a product of the 8th century of the Christian era. No doubt many traditions in the *Sukraniti* are ancient, but the work can hardly be a basis for predixating a system to be gathered from it as “ancient.” The administration of Criminal Justice in Hindu India was a growth and the stages of that growth have to be distinguished.

Mr. Ramanathan's review of the system as found in the *Sukraniti* is fair and faithful. He has done well to point out the mistake of the popular view that imprisonment in Hindu times was not a common form of punishment.

No thorough attempt has yet been made to present the criminal branch of the legal history of Hindu India. When it is done, the world will find that it was the most advanced system, judging it even from modern standards. The law of evidence was developed to a point beyond which it has not progressed in modern times. The system of punishment has to be considered in the light of criminological theories of the Hindus which undertook to “cure the psychology” (*prayashchitta*). The rigour of ancient penallaws was gradually softened by various modifications introduced by the crown during successive centuries. For instance: certain exemptions in favour of merchants introduced by the Mauryas were pleaded 800 years after them, those exemptions really superseding the letter of ancient law. The historian of criminal law of Hindu India has to take into account that his sole guide is not the Hindu code.

K. P. J.

A Study of Education in Baroda—Thakorlal Ranchodlal Pandya B.Sc., A.M. Ph. D. (Published by the author, Baroda).

Baroda and its enlightened prince have been long identified by the present generation of Indians with everything which is most progressive in the country. “Compulsory education is the one plank,” says Mr. Manubhai Mehta in his valuable introduction to the volume, “in the edifice of reforms inaugurat-

ed by H. H. Maharaja Sayajirao Gackwad which is likely to serve as the mystic ladder to National Regeneration.” After reading Dr. Pandya's interesting essay one could hardly doubt the truth of the dictum.

Dr. Pandya begins with rather a cursory historical sketch of education in India from the earliest times down to the present day. One of the most fascinating chapters in Indian history, viz. the account of our ancient Parishads, of the great monastic universities of ancient and mediæval India has still to be written. Dr. Pandya has however written a very interesting book dealing with the history, organisation and problems of education in Baroda.

In 1893 the first tentative measure towards compulsory education was introduced in a small district, and it was not until April 1907 that education was made compulsory throughout the state on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness' rule. “In Baroda,” says the author, “the order from throne brought about a change which would not have occurred even within a century.” The results already achieved within less than 10 years are truly amazing. The percentage of population receiving education in the whole country is only 1·9; in Baroda it rises to 10. “The average number of square miles served by one school in the Bombay Presidency comes to 16·7 as against 3·8 in Baroda, which spends over 10 per cent of its total revenue on education.” “The total expense on education per capita in British India,” remarks Mr. Manubhai with justifiable pride, “amounts to 1/16 of a rupee; in Baroda it amounts to 3/4 of a rupee.”

Education is a gift worthy of kings, and the royal bounty of H. H. the Gackwad extends alike to boys and girls, irrespective of their castes and families. The reforming spirit of the Maharaja did not stoop to compromises with regard to the education of girls, or of children of our unredeemed countrymen—the ‘pariahs,’ in deference to protests or murmurings from orthodox quarters. “The dignity of labour is better understood in Baroda; and few states in India have laboured as jealously as Baroda to snap the chains of caste-hegemony and burst the barriers of birth-rights and vested privileges. Separate primary schools have been opened in villages for the benefit of the untouchables; and they are also given free admission along with boys of the ‘chosen’ classes into the higher secondary schools.” No less

than 9 per cent. of the total number of these depressed classes are at school. 'An order from the throne' has indeed been effective.

Well-nigh 70 millions of Indians are ruled by princes of their own blood, and yet the self-governing Indian States receive but scant recognition at the hands of our educated countrymen. Nowhere in India is to be found that bond of unity, that spirit of spontaneous loyalty and affection as is cherished by the subjects of our Indian States towards their rulers. People in British India are apt to overlook the unique position of these States as regards the future development of the country. Under the watchful supremacy of Pax Britannica the Indian States are left to devote all their energies and resources solely to internal progress; and the centralisation of power in the hands of a single person gives that freedom and elasticity necessary in embarking on new and even venturesome experiments, which a highly complicated and organised administrative system cannot command. Hence it is but just that we should look to our States to take the lead in matters of social and political progress. It is from them that we expect the evolution of a polity suited to our national genius, in accordance with modern needs and springing directly from the roots of our national tradition.

Dr. Pandya's book gives an admirable survey of the results achieved by a single piece of legislation, undertaken not in response to popular demand, but entirely on the ruler's own initiative. It is by no means an undiluted panegyric, but also deals with the various shortcomings as regards the low rate of teachers' pay, the suitable medium of education in the secondary schools and various other educational problems. It is but fitting that such a book should be dedicated to Modern Baroda and its Maker—the present Maharaja.

The Study of Indian Economics—by Prof. N. M. Muzumdar. (Bombay) Price, 2 Annas.

This short essay was delivered as a lecture to the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. Prof. Muzumdar passes in rapid survey the various economic problems of modern India and suggests the usual lines of inquiry. Prof. Muzumdar has done well in giving a list of useful books bearing on Indian problems.

N. C. MEHTA.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT.

The Sanskrit Research: *Anglo-Sanskrit Quarterly devoted to research work in all fields of Indian Antiquity, conducted by the Sanskrit Academy of India, Bangalore, Edited by Pandit Uingesha Mahabharata (Kurtkot). Annual Subscription Rs. 5-0-0, £ 0-7-0, \$ 2-00. For copies apply to the Oriental Books Supplying Agency, B. Shukrawar, Poona City.*

Generally we do not review periodicals, yet the importance of such a journal in the field of Sanskrit learning persuades us to say a few words about it. "There are," as is said in the editorial, "two classes of persons interested in Sanskrit learning. Pandits who have been trained according to old lines, and scholars who have received education according to new methods." And it is very rightly believed that without the help of either of them Sanskrit learning cannot satisfactorily progress in all its aspects. We are, therefore, very glad to see that the guiding body of the Magazine under review has fully realised the truth. So says the Editor in describing the object of his Quarterly that his "Magazine is designed to give to both these two types of workers a meeting place and a common

platform. And it is our earnest hope that the two streams of thoughts once they have come together will be complementary to each other and will, like the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, flow onwards to a common goal....." It should also be observed here that our Sanskrit Pandits are generally quite unacquainted with the great advance made in various directions by the Western scholars in the research work of our Sanskrit literature and this deplorable state of the former is by no means desirable. Both the scholars Eastern and Western must know each other very well and we have reasons to hope that this kind of journal will help us to some extent in our attaining the object. The first number of the Sanskrit Research on our table contains ten articles in English and four in Sanskrit from the pens of distinguished scholars including the great Indian Savant Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. Almost all the contributions are interesting and suggestive, but one "Orientation of Sacrificial Hall" by Pandit Shyamshastri B.A. seems to rank first for its originality. We heartily welcome the new Quarterly.

The Vishnusahasranama with a translation in English by S. N. K. Bijurkar, B. A. (Mamlatdar), Malwan, Ratnagiri, pp. 165. Price Two annas.

Those who believe in the existence of God also believe that there is *only one* God. To believe in more than one God is utterly absurd. We know no religion deserving mention where the existence of many Gods is maintained. It is true that the Hindus worship Vishnu, Shiva, Durga and a thousand others like them, but nowhere do they say that there is more than one God; on the contrary it is often urged that even to suppose such a thing is obviously unreasonable. When they worship Vishnu they do not think or are not advised to think that Shiva is quite different from Vishnu. To a true devotee every thing appears as Vishnu; for there is nothing but Him. He has manifested Himself in the form of the existing world; in every thing He is, and every thing is in Him. This is what a true Hindu worshipper thinks. He holds and he does it very reasonably that God has endless—numerable qualities (अनन्तगुण). And these qualities or attributes

if rightly contemplated upon fill one's heart with the divine nectar of pure piety and real love which easily lead one to realize Him. This is why the Hundred and Thousand names (सत्तनाम and रुद्रसूतनाम) of different deities are composed and daily recited in Hinduism.

Vishnusahasranama or the Thousand names of Vishnu belongs to this class of writings. Like the *Bhagavadgita*, *Sanatsujatiya*, etc., it forms a part of the *Mahabharata* (i.e., XIII अनुशासन पर्व 254). Its importance is evinced by the fact of its being commented upon by the great Shankaracharya and other ancient teachers.

In the text adopted by Mr. Bijurkar the reading of the second line of the verse 104 (p. 139) is "सुविता प्रपितामहः". It is also found in two MSS. as indicated by the editor of the *Mahabharata* published in Kumbakonam. But the reading सुविता (See the edition of the *Mahabharata* referred to) seems undoubtedly preferable. On page 89 "निष्ठा शान्तिः पराश्वः"—

these three words are taken by the author as one name, but evidently these are different ones. We also cannot understand how this line is rendered by him as "Best refuge of devotion and tranquillity." The translation which is not in a few cases defective and inaccurate would be better should the author add a short explanatory note to the difficult words where it is absolutely necessary, as for instance, दण्डकः (p. 13,) क्रमः (p. 21) etc.

The Jaina Scripture Gift Series. No. 2. Pure Thoughts. Samayikapatha by Acharya Amitagati, translated into English by Ajitprasad M.A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.

In this nicely printed booklet Mr. Ajitprasad, the well-known editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, has offered us with his own translation the original Sanskrit text of the above work consisting only of 32 (or 33) verses which is recited by the votaries of Jainism in their daily divine service called *Samayika*. The text appears to have been reproduced without any correction from Brahmachari Shitalprasadji's edition in Bombay and consequently there are some mistakes. The translation is also not faithful, some of the original words being left out untranslated or misunderstood.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

Shail-Bala arthad Adarsha Badhu, by Pandit Murlidhar. Published by Haridas Vaidya, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price as. 5.

This is the Hindi translation of the novel of the same name by the famous Oriya writer Pandit Jauardhan Pujari. We cannot say what immense benefit it can do to any female, old or young, into whose hands it may be put. The silent suffering of a female under the tyranny of her father-in-law's household is depicted in a simple and homely narration; and the book is as much a homily to the tyrants as to the sufferer. No household should be without this book. The printing and get-up are the best possible. The District Boards and educational institutions will do well to purchase sufficient number of copies of this book for prize distribution in girls' schools.

Charit mala by Panditya Lochan Prasad. Published by Haridas Vaidya, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Price as. 5.

This is a collection of short lives of some noted celebrities, most of whom have been wisely selected from among Indians. The book is sub-divided into two parts: *Stree-vibhag* and *Purush-vibhag*, the former consisting of the lives of four ladies and the latter of 12 gentlemen. Most of these short lives were published in journals and have been reproduced after suitable alterations. The people honoured have been dexterously chosen to be such whose lives may not be known to the people through text-books and other agencies. We commend the book strongly to the perusal of the public and young men. The get-up and printing leave nothing to be desired.

Balvir Charitavali by Pandit Nandkumar Deva Sharma. Published by Joshi Company, Shrihakur Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 89. Price—as. 8.

This is a collection of the lives of some ancient saints and others who evinced considerable heroism

in their boyhood. There are books of biographies especially meant for young men and even for girls and ladies, but there were lack of handy books especially meant for boys. The language is in some parts too hard, and the general rule for publications meant for boys should be that their language should be simple: there ought to be no exception to it. In other respects, there is no objection to the language. There are some printing errors here and there.

Italy ki Swadhinta athwa us ka adhunik itihās by Mr. Nandkumar Deva Sharma. Published by Govindram Hasanand, 213, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 108. Price—as. 6.

This might be said to be the modern history of Italy. The narration is interesting and has been couched in suitable language and style. Besides the historical aspect of the book, there is some especial interest in it which is due to the way in which the narrative has been handled. The printing and get-up are nice and the language satisfactory.

Hindi Bhaktamal aur Pranpriya Kavya by Mr. Pannalal Jain and to be had of Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Chandavari, Surat, Crown 8vo. pp. 38. Price—Anna 1.

This small pamphlet contains some poems which are of a religious turn. They teach morality and can thus be read with profit by all. Though the author is a Jain, there is not much of his own religion in a special way in the publication.

Daish Bhakti kai Nau Prakar by Mr. Ganga Prasad Gupta. To be had of Manager, Art Press, Benares City. Demy 8vo. pp. 32. Price As. 2, Rs. 1-4 0 for a dozen.

In this book it has been shown that patriotism can be evinced in nine ways. In the opinion of the author loyalty is another form of patriotism. The author has quoted from authoritative writers and the book as a whole is very interesting.

M. S.

URDU.

Tufuya Alam by Lala Atma Ram M. A., Asst. Professor of Mathematics, Government College, Lahore, Published by the Society for Promoting Scientific Knowledge, Lahore. Demy 8vo pp. 38. Price As.—4.

This is a very useful publication on the origin of the Universe and the way in which the earth and other planets were produced has been dealt with in an exhaustive way. The style is the best suited to young readers. The book combines in it up-to-date and current information with simplicity of narrative. We commend the book to school authorities. There are several instructive and neat illustrations in it. The get-up is nice.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Kartanya Kaumudi, by Shatavadhani Pandit Muniraj Shri Ratnachandraj, published by Chunilal Vardhaman Shah, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 431, Cloth bound. Second Edition, Price Re. 0-5-0. (1915).

Pandit Muniraj Shri Ratnachandraj is an ornament to the ascetic section of the Jain Community on this side of India, and his Study of Sanskrit is deep and extensive. He has written this book in Sanskrit,

whilst the text is explained in Gujarati. It is taken up with the different duties of men and women, and is full of popular illustrations which carry the meaning of the writer home. Though there is nothing new in it, still we think that a perusal or even a study of the book would repay the trouble taken in doing so.

Swami Ramtirtha, his *Sadupadesha*, Parts 8 and 9, published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, translated by Ratilal Chhotalal Pathak, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1915) with pictures.

Several more sermons and letters of Swami Ramtirtha are embodied in this volume which is well got up and furnishes useful reading.

Rajani translated by Mohanlal Makandas Mehta, and Bhagbanlal Girijashankar Bhatt, published by Balwantrao Kallianrai Thakore, B. A. Printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press. Thick Card board. Pp. 162. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1915).

The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad has appointed a Bhandol (Funds) Committee and its Secretary Prof. B. K. Thakore has exerted himself in getting this book published. It is a translation of Bankim Chander Chatterji's novel, of the same name. In an introduc-

tion Prof. Thakore sets out his own opinion of Bankim's work and analyses the character of the different *personae* of the novel, and in raking up old bones from a graveyard nineteen years old, of this book, in the shape of a translation made by the late Narayan Hemchandra, the pioneer in the line of introducing the best Bengali works to Gujarat, points out his mistakes, and by contrast exalts the present work, in the moulding of which he says he has taken an active part with the two translators. That the labors of these men should have been requisitioned in translating one small work strikes one as being rather a disproportionate expenditure of time and energy, but perhaps some sort of driving force was required to finish the work as early as possible, and hence the conjoint efforts. The translation is well done, and will win approval of all those who would care to go through it.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

Anjali or "Offering." By Satis Chandra Ray, M. A., Principal, Dyal Singh College, Lahore. Twelve annas.

This is a small devotional book of prayer and praise, suitable for being carried in one's pocket. It embodies the outpourings of a devout, earnest and sincere spirit, expressed in choice language.

R.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Pandit Tattvabhusan on the Arya Samaj.

While reviewing Lala Lajpat Rai's book on the Arya Samaj, Pandit Sitanath, we are afraid, has stepped beyond the boundaries of a reviewer. The learned Pandit is not sure if he should consider the teachings of the Arya Samaj to form a system at all. We are afraid the reviewer has not given a serious thought to the subject. Probably he has not studied the Arya Samaj literature. Else the great attempt of Dayanand to harmonise religions, his regular and well-ordered programme of life, his reconciliation of *Jnan*, *Karma* and *Upasana* paths into one organic whole should have elicited exactly the opposite remarks from the reviewer.

We join the learned Pandit in regretting the fact that Lala Lajpat Rai has not attempted a reasoned exposition of the doctrines of the Arya Samaj. But we can not believe that there can be no exposition of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Veda. Surely the learned Pandit does not mean to tell us that the great Hindu sages like Vyasa, Patanjali, Shankar, Ramanuj, Dayanand and Christian leaders and learned moulvis who believe in the infallibility of one scripture or the other are all either fools or knaves.

The Pandit shows utter ignorance of facts when he says that there is no demand for the reasoned exposition of the doctrines in the Samaj. Nearly all the Arya papers have taken Lala Lajpat Rai to task for this omission. Had the learned Pandit cared to read the *Vedic Magazine*, he could not have made such a statement.

We might also state here for the information of the learned Pandit that ever since the Arya Samaj has come into existence there has been a demand for the reasoned exposition of the doctrine. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas has been discussed by the founder in his two masterpieces—the *Satyarth*

Prakasha, and the *Rig Veda Adi Bhashya Bhoomika*, by the martyr preacher Pt. Lekhram, by Swami Darshananda, by Lala Jiwandas, by Rao Bahadur Lala Atma Rama, in a way by Pt. Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M.A., and several other gentlemen in the Samaj. Prof. Tarachand has devoted no less than 1/3 of the space of his 'Life of Swami Dayanand' to a reasoned discussion of the teachings of the Master. We hope this could show the Pandit that Arya Samaj Leaders do not believe in the Veda as a matter of policy, but they hold that a belief in the Veda is a necessary and serious article of their faith. The Arya Samaj is not founded on a lie—a conscious falsehood.

As regards the allegation that the Swami believed in the Veda as a matter of policy, let us state that his life gives a direct lie to such allegations. His whole life was so full of sincerity and truth that hypocrisy and falsehood could have had absolutely no place in his life. Sjt. Aurobindo Ghosh has referred to it in his article on Dayanand.

The doctrine of *Niyoga* establishes beyond a shadow of doubt his sincere desire to preach nothing but what he believed to be right. He did not believe in compromise and never sacrificed his principles to other considerations.

Lastly we shall refer to the charge of spiritual barrenness in the Samaj. We regret to note that in this case also Mr. Sitanath has depended upon mere hearsay. He does not appear to possess firsthand knowledge. Now the Swami was a great spiritual leader. Principal Vaswani has paid him homage for this. Sjt. Aurobindo Ghosh has spoken of the 'puissant jet of this spiritual practicality' flowing out of Dayanand's life. M. Blavatsky in the obituary note spoke of the *Yogic* powers of the Swami. A great number of men, like Pt. Gurudatta

Vidyarthi, have been struggling steadily to lead high spiritual life. An average Arya Samajist goes through his spiritual *Sadhan* daily, weekly, and on especial occasions. Dayanand believed in *Bhakti* of a 'silent, serious and systematic character.' It may be stated that the 'sadhan' demanded by Dayanand is extremely exacting and therefore all are not able to completely conform to it. Hence there are regrets expressed—regrets which only tell us that the ideal is still far and that great and more serious struggle is needed. The critics misunderstand this situation, echo and re-echo the regrets and try to establish that there is an utter lack of spiritual life in the Samaj.

"NARAYAN."

Teaching of History in Indian Colleges. *

Every teacher of History must have read with profound interest and attention Professor Jadunath Sarkar's article "The Confessions of a History Teacher" which appeared in the December issue of the "Modern Review." The article is eminently suggestive and practical and although some of us may not be able to see eye to eye with the learned Professor in all things or may have different experiences to recount, we cannot but feel extremely thankful to him for his masterly discourse on the subject. We must also feel highly thankful to the Editor of the Review for inviting comments and suggestions on the paper and thus opening up a useful discussion. In response to his appeal I proceed to make a few comments on the subject of History teaching in our Colleges.

With all due deference to the Professor, I feel constrained to remark, in the very beginning, that I find it rather difficult to concur in some of his observations as regards the difficulties besetting the teachers of History in Indian Colleges. Personally I have not much experienced those difficulties myself as a History Lecturer all these years and I have reason to believe that, in this respect, I do not stand alone. It seems to me that these difficulties have been very much overrated by the Professor. Taking, first, the 'language' difficulty, although it must be acknowledged, to some extent in the case of our Lower, Secondary and even High School boys, it must certainly be difficult for some of us to believe that our College students too are really so deficient in English as to be unable to follow History lectures given in English or to give their answers in that tongue. If only the Professor takes care to come down to the level of his students and express himself in plain and simple language, I feel certain this difficulty cannot much present itself. I have only to cite my own experience as well as that of many others in this part of India, to bear out the truth of my statement.

As regards the difficulty caused for want of suitable environment in India, it seems to me—so far at any rate, as College students are concerned—to be largely imaginary. It cannot be difficult for our college students, with the aid of the illustrations and descriptions given by their Professors as well as of their own imagination and reasoning, to realise conditions and institutions outside the range of their experience. In fact, it is the very aim and province of History to deal with the events and institutions of ages and countries widely separated from us and by transporting us in imagination to those ages and countries to enlarge our mental horizon and develop our curiosity, imagination and sympathy. The difficulty pointed out by Prof. Sarkar, if it were much of a difficulty, cannot at any rate be one peculiar to Indian students alone. Taking lastly the difficulty

caused by the "burden of too many subjects and too ambitious a syllabus", I have only to observe that these are days of specialisation when each subject of study is meant to be taken up only by those who have a special aptitude for it. Seeing that History is a specialised study for many years (4 or 5) with some of our students and that a lion's share of their time and attention is given to it, the syllabus cannot really be regarded as being too ambitious.

From the foregoing remarks, it is not however meant to be understood that the teaching of History in our Colleges is altogether free from shortcomings or that the subject is everywhere as popular with our students as it deserves to be. What I wish to indicate is only that, if the subject fails to be sufficiently attractive and popular or receives but scant attention and patronage from our students, the real cause for it must be sought not so much in the difficulties pointed out by Prof. Sarkar as in the inefficiency or indifference of teachers themselves or in the faulty methods of teaching followed by them. If the teaching of the subject is to prove satisfactory, it need not be said that the subject must really be handled by a specialist who is keen at it and ever devotes himself heart and soul to its study. A veritable student himself, the teacher of History must ever be delving in the mine of historical literature and keep himself well-posted on the latest results of historical research. Further, he must be an enthusiast in his profession and be richly endowed with the gifts of voice, manner, delivery, imagination, judgment, talent for description, etc. needed for every successful teacher of history.

As regards the system of teaching to be followed in Indian Colleges Prof. Sarkar maintains that "the European system of the Professor delivering lectures and his pupils immediately writing down the main points of his discourse in their own words is impossible here" and that consequently the dictation of notes by the teacher cannot be avoided. "Notes must be dictated if the lecture is not intended to vanish like the passing breeze." The system recommended by him is then a combined system of teaching and notes-dictation. In this connection I may, however, be allowed to observe that the system of notes-dictation is indeed a pernicious system and should, as far as possible, be avoided. The system is dull and mechanical: it involves much waste of time: it is likely to give students a sense of false security: it is likely to foster cram: it may be overdone by the lazy teacher: it subjects all kinds of students to the same rigid treatment. In these and other reasons I am inclined to think that the system of notes-dictation should, leaving subjects calling for the utmost exactness and precision of language (e. g., Logic, Psychology, Physics, etc.), as far as possible be dispensed with. The system that I have myself followed with considerable advantage and success for many years, as regards history teaching in Intermediate classes, is in a way the very European system that Prof. Sarkar has ruled out of Court. Tried by the test of my own experience, it is a success and I do strongly commend it to the attention of the History teachers in Colleges. For the success of the system, the following condition must however be fulfilled. (1) The students must be furnished by the Professor, in advance, with brief outlines of the class lectures with suitable references for reading. What I have done here myself is to furnish my students with a small printed book embodying the outlines of a two years' course of lectures. Students are thus enabled to come fully prepared for the class-lecture and consequently to follow it with close attention and

unflagging interest. (2) The lectures given in the class must, as far as possible, be of a general character and deal only with salient points. If they enter freely into minor details, they are sure to become dull and distasteful to students. Details must be left to be picked up from the text-books. (3) Good text-books must be prescribed for students and their careful and diligent study must be enforced. (4) The delivery of the lecture must be slow, clear and deliberate and importance points must specially be emphasised and if necessary repeated again and again. Under these circumstances, the Students must be in a position to take brief notes, clearly and correctly, of the lecture. By means of anecdotes, illustrations, parallels, contrasts, reflections, the lecture must be made as lively, interesting and educative as possible. (5) The students must be required to take notes—longer or shorter—of the lecture and these notes must be examined from time to time. This is done by me during library periods. It is the notes taken by the weaker students that do really call for special attention at the hands of the teacher. If notes are thus taken by students in the class, the lecture cannot certainly vanish like the passing breeze.

By way of suggesting additional aids to the teaching of History, I have to make the following observations.

First, discussion classes or Seminars should be held by the teacher from time to time. Such classes are held by me once a fortnight. In these classes are discussed either questions given out beforehand or one or two short essays written by students on subjects assigned beforehand with references. Such Seminars will, for more reasons than one, be found to serve a really useful purpose. Personally, they have been found by me extremely lively and stimulating, keeping students, as they do, always active and on the alert. By Prof. Sarkar these classes are conducted in the Vernacular and by experience Vernacular Seminars have been found by him more successful than English ones. I am, however, of opinion that considering that our students have to learn their subjects in English and give their answers in English and that consequently it should be our aim to improve their knowledge of that tongue as much as possible, these classes should be held in English rather than in the vernacular.

Secondly, considerable attention must be paid by the teacher to the practice of Essay-writing by students. Essay-writing is done by my own Intermediate students here once a fortnight. Three or four subjects are assigned to them in advance, with suitable references. On the Essay-writing day, the class is divided into 3 or 4 sections and one subject is allotted at random, to each group. The time allowed for writing is 40 minutes. The essays are corrected by me one by one, in the presence of the students themselves, during the library periods and one or two of the best Essays are also read out in the class. It is constant practice in Essay-writing alone that can give definiteness and precision to the knowledge acquired by our students and enable them to face any examination ordeal, cheerfully and confidently. Prof. Sarkar appears to follow this system only in the case of M. A. students and on really advanced lines so as to cultivate, in them, habits of research. His system is certainly deserving of high commendation. I, however, believe that, on somewhat elementary lines, the system may also be followed, with considerable advantage, in the case of lesser students too.

Thirdly, as Prof. Sarkar observes, "we must encourage our students to read freely, instead of

pinning them down to particular book or set of books." If our History students are to acquire any proficiency at all in the subject, it can only be the result of a judicious and well-arranged course of reading. It is, therefore, the duty of every History teacher to see that his History library is well-furnished and that, in the case of particularly useful books, a number of copies is provided for each. Further the students must be advised by the Professor as regards the selection of books from the Library. He should also insist on their taking down brief notes in the case of whatever book they read and these notes should be examined by him from time to time.

P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER.

Lecturer in History, Ernaculam College, Cochin State.

The Ideal in History Teaching.

I have great pleasure in sending you the following few remarks suggested to me by the able and candid "Confessions" of Prof. J. Sarkar.

Of the three obstacles standing in the way of attaining the ideal in history teaching noticed by Prof. Sarkar, the want of an adequate staff and equipment seems to me to be the greatest and to call for immediate remedy. I am not undervaluing the difficulties of language and environment, but so long as almost everybody is considered fit to lecture on history, and so long as it is thought that history is, of all sciences the cheapest to impart—in the matter of equipment, the teaching of history is bound to fail very far short of the ideal. In this connection I must notice that reform should commence at the very bottom and pupils should be trained to methods of enquiry even in the higher forms of secondary schools. But this means the employment of an able staff all round, which again implies additional cost. I have found that our fresh-men who join the college-classes not only find considerable difficulty in following big text-books, like Bury's *History of Greece*—a much better book by the way, than either Tout's *Advanced History* or Lodge's *Modern Europe*—but cannot follow a chain of arguments or weigh evidence intelligently. These defects can be considerably remedied by better training in the lower classes. As it is I have found it possible to remedy these defects of the student's mind in most cases by a careful adjustment of the courses given. This necessarily sells against rapidity in work to start with, but what is lost in speed is gained in quality; and it is possible to make real and rapid progress in the later stages of the course, once the ground is prepared carefully beforehand.

The language difficulty is a real difficulty; but I cannot testify to better success with a vernacular medium, at least in my College and in this district. I may here state that most of my students speak and write English better than Tamil though they commit many mistakes of grammar and idiom in English, and that English serves me better as a medium of expression than Tamil—I mean in handling historical subjects. Perhaps the vernacular is not so well off in this part of the country as it should be; but I would like to put in a strong plea for a more extensive and intensive study of languages—classical, vernacular, and foreign, especially for those who wish to do original work in the domain of India's history. I have always tried to avoid dictating 'notes' with some exceptions, and I have often left large portions of the subject to be worked up by the student himself; in spite of some defects, which can be remedied by effec-

tive 'tutorial' assistance, I have found the system working on the whole satisfactorily.

Prof. Sarkar says "we must encourage our pupils to read freely." It is only by such a method that the study of the subject could be vitalized. Nothing appears to me more dangerous to freedom of thinking in the student, than a tendency in the teacher to dogmatise on controversial topics. Nothing will counteract this danger better than an extensive reading both in the teacher and in the student. Prof. Sarkar's suggestion that answers should be valued according to quality and not according to quantity, as is now done, is very sound; but for obvious reasons I dare not follow his suggestion until the method is generally adopted in the Madras University.

Hindu College,
Tinnevely.

K. A. NILAKANTAN, M. A.

P. S.—Recently, under the auspices of the Tamil Association of my College a paper on 'Hannibal' was read in English, evidently because the Association wanted a change!

The Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta.

May I offer the following suggestions and queries with regard to Prof. Mitra's article on "The Meaning of Certain Words used by Brahmagupta" in your November number?

From the facts that out of 16 propositions on quadrilaterals only 3 are as a matter of fact correct if *chaturasra* means 'quadrilateral' generally and *bishama* means 'scalene', and out of 5 propositions referring to *bishama chaturasra* only 2 are correct if *bishama* means scalene, while all are correct if the terms mean respectively 'cyclic quadrilateral' and 'having its diagonals at right angles to each other,' Prof. Mitra infers that it "is established beyond reasonable doubt" that Brahmagupta used these terms with the latter meanings.

A. With regard to *chaturasra*.—Surely the inference, and the only legitimate inference, that can immediately be drawn from Prof. Mitra's facts is that Brahmagupta was as a matter of fact using and working with

cyclic quadrilaterals. It is a subsequent question whether in doing so he realised that his results were (in most cases) limited to these and therefore consciously used the term *chaturasra* with a limited meaning. No light is thrown on this by the facts in themselves; other considerations must be brought forward, such as any knowledge we may otherwise have as to the scope and accuracy of Brahmagupta's knowledge, as to his methods of invention and use of technical terms, etc. Into such considerations I cannot enter; I desire simply to point out that Prof. Mitra's conclusion seems to go distinctly beyond the premisses as set out by himself.

B. In all cases of *bishama*, besides these general considerations, two special points seem to deserve notice:—

(i) The formula of the 8th verse for the diagonals is at once reducible to a much simpler form if the diagonals are at right angles, viz.

$$\frac{ab+cd}{k} \& \frac{ad+bc}{k} \quad \text{where } k^2 = a^2 + c^2 = b^2 + d^2.$$

Now if Brahmagupta had clearly before his mind the difference between quadrilaterals with mutually perpendicular diagonals and others, and gave the special name of *bishama* to the former, how is it that in this verse, in which he explicitly refers to *bishama*, he does not give for the special case its special and much simpler result?

(ii) Can Prof. Mitra make any suggestion as to what seems on the face of it a very extraordinary fact on his hypothesis—that the word *bishama* which etymologically, and I believe, in all its uses, has the connotation of 'uneven' or 'unequal,' should have been chosen by Brahmagupta to mean 'with mutually perpendicular diagonals?' Moreover, in the same work, both the relatively negative words *sama* and *abisama* are used in the sense of 'equal' or 'not unequal,' the latter in the very natural restricted sense of 'having two opposite sides equal': It is almost as if, in English, while using the phrase 'even number' in its regular meaning, one were to use the word 'uneven, as meaning, say, 'square.'

F. J. WESTERN.

NOTES

Fitness for Self-Rule.

PRACTICAL UNANIMITY AS REGARDS THE GOAL & IDEAL.

That India should one day become self-ruling, either within the British Empire or outside it, was a thought not absent from the minds of all British statesmen. Some of them have left it on record that that was in their opinion India's destiny. For instance, the Marquess of Hastings wrote in his *Private Journal* (May 17th, 1818):

30—13

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." (p. 361-362, Panini Office Edition.)

That self-government is our goal is admitted by all. Even British officials in

India have in some recent utterances admitted that self-rule is the ideal towards which India should move. Self-government has found place among the subjects discussed approvingly by members of the Congress and the Muslim League parties. It is the declared object of the proposed Home Rule League. The question has also been discussed in the press in recent months. While all agree that self-rule is our goal and ideal, there are widely divergent opinions as to the time needed for the realization of this ideal. Lord Morley, the *radical* statesman, could not imagine a time when India would cease to be under personal rule. Others, gifted with a little more political imagination, place the time of the fulfilment of our hopes in the very remote future. Others, again, say that though the time is distant, it is not very distant. Some are of opinion that Indians ought at once to have some powers of control over the administration given them; while some others think that a complete scheme of self-rule should be immediately prepared, and powers should at once begin to be given to the representatives of the people in accordance with that scheme, full control over the administration civil and military, being vested in them in the course of the next 10, or at the most, 20 years, thus taking an effective step towards the perfect nationalisation of the government within a decade or so following. Under the circumstances it may be of some use to try to understand what is implied in fitness for self-rule.

WHAT SELF-RULE IMPLIES.

What is the work that a self-ruling nation does or is expected to do? or, in other words, what is meant by managing the affairs of a country? The principal duties of a government are to defend the country from foreign aggression, to maintain peace and order within its borders by preventing or suppressing rebellion, revolution and robberies, to raise a sufficient revenue by means of taxation of various kinds, to spend this revenue in the most economical and beneficial way, to make and enforce laws, to administer justice, and to make arrangements for education and sanitation, to maintain communications throughout the country by means of waterways, roads and railways for facilitating travelling and commerce, to make the country rich by helping and encouraging

the people to develop its agriculture, industries and commerce, to help the growth and expansion of a mercantile marine for the purposes of international commerce and intercourse, to encourage the growth of its literature and fine arts, &c.

GOVERNMENT WITH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL PERSONNEL.

These duties can never be performed satisfactorily by any foreign government. They can be so performed only where the government is national. For the foreigners constituting a foreign government having a duty to perform both to their own country and the subject country they govern, they cannot pay undivided and single-minded attention to the welfare of the latter, and in a conflict of interests between the two countries cannot prefer those of the subject country, as it is natural for men to be more anxious for the welfare of their own country than for that of other countries.

WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS AND HAS NOT DONE.

In India for the last century and a half the British Government has been doing almost all the duties of a government, some energetically, some in a lukewarm manner, and some with indifference. To some duties it has not yet set its hands. For instance, there is no Indian navy, and Government has not helped or encouraged the building up of a fleet of mercantile vessels. On the contrary, it is during the British period of Indian history that the indigenous shipping and ship-building industry have declined and almost entirely disappeared. The Indian army is not manned in all its arms by Indians, there is no aerial fleet, and the commissioned officers are all non-Indians. But this is a digression.

OUR FITNESS IN BRITISH AND PRE-BRITISH PERIODS.

Those State duties which the British Government in India performs, are performed more or less with the help of the people of India. They were performed by Hindus and Musalmans in the age immediately preceding the British period, and in still more ancient times by Hindus and Buddhists alone. But whether Hindus, Buddhists, or Musalmans, those who managed the affairs of the country in the pre-British

period were Indians. Englishmen did not come to a country of savages, but to a country where the art of Government had made great progress.

In the British period, too, Indians have, on the whole, proved their fitness for any kind of work, civil or military, which they have been allowed to do. So it cannot be said that they are totally unfit for the discharge of all kinds of civil and military work.

SUBORDINATE AND INDEPENDENT DUTIES.

It may be objected, that it is in subordinate capacities that Indians have done their work and proved their capacity. That is true in the main. But in those cases also in which Indians have held independent charges, they have proved their capacity. Moreover, as they have not been given opportunities to prove their power of initiative and their fitness for independent work in most departments, logically it can only be said that in these departments neither the fitness nor the unfitness of Indians has been demonstrated. It should be borne in mind that this applies only to the British period. In the pre-British period Indians could and did do all kinds of work. Should it be said that there had been a deterioration since then, Indians alone could not be logically held responsible for such a result.

PROOF OF WORTH AND ITS RECOGNITION.

Government may say, "We would have given you high posts if you had proved your worth." But that is begging the question. How can fitness for a particular kind of work be proved unless one gets an opportunity to do that sort of work? It is like saying, prove that you can swim and then you will be allowed to touch the water. Moreover, it is not true that Indians get those appointments to which their qualifications entitle them. Take the educational department. Here the rule is to appoint even raw British and Colonial graduates to the higher service to the exclusion of Indians of tried merit.

In executive and administrative work, too, we find men like Romesh Chunder Dutt and Krishna Govinda Gupta could not get a lieutenant-governorship or even a chief-commissionership, though it cannot be said that they were inferior in ability to the general run of those British officers

who have filled these posts. There are many Deputy Collectors who can teach many Magistrates their duties. But the former always occupy a subordinate position. In the army even Indian winners of the Victoria Cross cannot hope to be lieutenants.

There is, no doubt, a natural reluctance on the part of Englishmen to acknowledge our fitness. For if our fitness were admitted, there would be only two courses open. One would be to give us all the posts for which we were declared fit; but that would mean the exclusion of Englishmen from many lucrative careers. The other would be to declare practically that though Indians might be fit, Englishmen, for selfish reasons, were resolved by the exercise of political power to prevent them from getting their due. But the rulers of India could not naturally make such a brutal declaration.

PRESENT-DAY INDIAN ACHIEVEMENT : CORRELATION OF CAPACITIES.

The successful management of the affairs of a country is not so mysterious nor so intricate and complicated a matter as to be beyond the powers of Indians to tackle and master. Different kinds of genius, talent, and capacity are not separate and independent entities; they are organically connected and correlated. If a nation gives evidence of genius, talent and ability in some spheres of human activity, it is safe to presume that it possesses the power to shine in other spheres of activity, too, if only it were allowed the opportunity. We shall not speak of ancient times. Even in these so-called degenerate days, the Indian is found among the world's great spiritual teachers and thinkers, the world's great litterateurs, the world's great artists, the world's great scientists, the world's great statesmen, and the world's great captains of industry. Even under the depressing circumstances of subjection, the Indian has fought his way to the British Parliament, to the highest Councils of the Indian Empire in London and Delhi-Simla, and won the Victoria Cross by conspicuous valour in the field of battle. It will not do to say that the small number of men to whom we refer are exceptions. The biggest trees are found, not in the midst of treeless deserts, but in tracts where there are other trees only less big than themselves. Take any age in any country and you will find that the most

famous poet, scientist, statesman, general, &c., were not solitary individuals, but only the greatest among great men. Shakespeare, Darwin, Gladstone, Wellington, Nelson, were not freaks of nature, but had contemporaries who were almost their equals. What is true of England or of any other country, is true of India, too. We have many men almost as gifted as those who have made a name, many probably equally gifted, and some possibly more gifted. Given the opportunity, and there is bound to be a greater manifestation of ability of a high order in all spheres of human life.

GETTING AND MAKING OF OPPORTUNITY.

We have used the word opportunity more than once. It may be said that nations like men make their own opportunity, nobody gives them opportunity. This is but partially true. The Negroes of America have got some opportunity and are consequently showing what stuff they are made of. In their native countries they never got the opportunity. But the objection has been raised, "Why could they not make their opportunity in their own country? The fact that the white European ancestors of the white Americans became civilized earlier than the Negroes shows the superiority of the white men; for the white men *made* their opportunity, the Negro had to be *given* the opportunity." It may similarly be said to us: "Why ask for opportunity? Make your own opportunity. If obstacles are put in your way, overcome them." So we will, so far as it lies in man to mould his destiny. But may we here remind all so-called "superior" races of one fact? Human history is not limited by the few centuries of European ascendancy. The Hindus, the Egyptians, the Chinese were civilised, they got and made their opportunity before all or at least the majority of European races. Why could not the Europeans make their opportunity when the Egyptians made theirs? Does that fact show the inferiority of the European races? The Japanese got and made their opportunity only half a century ago. There have been ups and downs in the history of all countries. Let none arrogantly assume that they have been wholly the makers of their own destiny. Let none, also, weakly assume that they are entirely powerless to mould their present and their future. Let all who have the power give the requisite

opportunity to those who need it;—the time may come for the givers of opportunity to be its seekers. Let all who seek the opportunity make it as far as in them lies, and it does lie in them to a very great extent. Fate or destiny is not a fixed but an indefinitely elastic boundary which nations can push further and further outwards by their strength and perseverance.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT OF A COUNTRY.

Some people seem to think that the present and future forms of government of a country cannot be different from the forms of government which prevailed in it in former days. This belief or fancy has no foundation in historical fact; for in every one of the countries where at present there are either constitutional monarchies or republics, there was at some period of their history absolute monarchy. But should it be taken for granted that the past forms of government of a country qualify or disqualify its people for representative government at present or in the future, Indians would not stand utterly disqualified.

DÉMOCRACY IN PRE-BRITISH INDIA.

The earliest republics known to Europeans were those of ancient Greece and Rome. In India there were republics in ancient times in regions wider in extent than Greece and Rome combined, and for a longer period of time than the entire period of duration of those old European republics. College students who read Prof. Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India" and Mr. Vincent A. Smith's "Early History of India" know this fact. In the second number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal have written of republic in the Mahabharat. In the ancient Indian monarchies there were effective checks upon the powers of kings, though these were not exactly of the kind known to Europeans as constitutional. The Sanskrit word "raja," Rhys Davids says, originally signified something like the Greek *archon* or the Roman *Consul*. In his article on "Constitutional Aspects of Rituals at Hindu Coronation," published in the *Modern Review* for January, 1912, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has shown that Hindu Kings used to be elected, or in any case their ascension

to the throne required popular ratification. This view finds support from the Hindu epics the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. In the Ramayan we know what King Dasarath did to ascertain the desire of the people as to who should be his heir-apparent, and also how the discontent of the people found expression when their favourite Ramachandra was exiled. In the Mahabharat similar evidence is found in what happened when the blind king Dhritarastra tried to make his own son Duryodhan king instead of the Pandavas, the rightful heirs. In the history of the Pal dynasty of Bengal we find the people electing a king after a revolution. Some account of the checks upon autocracy in ancient India will be found in Dr. Sudhindra Bose's and Mr. R. G. Pradhan's articles in the present number of this review. In Southern India, there were the "five great assemblies which checked the autocracy of Tamil kings, and which consisted of the people, priests, astrologers, physicians, and ministers." That village communities in India were so many little republics is well-known. This is true both of Northern and Southern India. Regarding Southern India Mr. Vincent Smith says:—

"Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organized local committees, or panchayats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction. It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of local self-government, really popular in origin, should have died out ages ago. Modern governments would be happier if they could command equally effective local agency." (Early-History of India, 2nd Ed., p. 418.)

THE ART OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA OF THE PAST.

To what a pitch of efficiency the art of imperial and local government was carried in ancient India is clear from such works as Chanakya's *Arthasastra*, *Sukraniti*, &c., the epics Ramayan and Mahabharat (particularly the Santiparva of the latter), the *Samhita* of Manu and other *Samhitas* (codes), many epigraphic records, such as those on which Sir Sankaran Nair wrote in this review, the Greek accounts of Chandra Gupta's administration, and the achievements of Emperors Asoka, Samudra Gupta, Dharmapala, &c. In the Muhammadan and Maratha periods there were great statesmen and administrators

like Sher Shah, Akbar, Aurangzib, Shivaji and others. The statesmanship and administrative capacity of the Peshwas deserve to be better known than they are. An excellent idea of Akbar's administrative system can be had from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akhari*. The revenue system of his minister Todar Mal has been followed by the British Government. Islam is democratic, and Musalman traditions favour the representative system. Before Ranjit Singh became the autocrat of the Panjab, the affairs of the Sikh states were managed according to democratic methods. The remains of ancient monuments of various descriptions, old land communications, water-ways, irrigation works, &c., bear witness to the high civilization and civic capacity of the people and rulers of India in pre-British days.

Our history, therefore, does not disqualify us for self-rule.

CONQUEST, AND LOSS OF CAPACITY FOR AND RIGHT OF SELF-RULE.

Englishmen generally think and many Indians also seem to hold that our unfitness for self-rule has been demonstrated once for all by the British conquest of India. They seem to ask: "If Indians are fit to manage the affairs of their own country, why were they conquered at all?" Conquest would seem, therefore, to be a justification for deprivation of self-rule. We need not here discuss historically whether British India as a whole or its major portion was conquered by the English. Let it be granted that we are a conquered people and let us examine this doctrine in the light of history.

EXAMPLES FROM BRITISH EMPIRE HISTORY.

The French Canadians were conquered by the English in 1763, but the whole colony became self-governing in 1791. After that date the French Canadians revolted more than once and were defeated and conquered as often. But they continue to be self-ruling. Some fifteen years ago the Boers of South Africa were defeated and conquered, but they were granted self-government almost immediately afterwards. Ireland was conquered centuries ago. But before the Union with Great Britain in 1801, Ireland had its own Parliament, and since the Union the Irish have enjoyed representation in the British

Parliament in a larger proportion than their numerical strength would entitle them to. They have rebelled, attempted to rebel and used methods of violence again and again, and have been baffled in every instance. But they have not been deprived of their right of representation. And now they are going to have Home Rule. Wales is a conquered country, but enjoys parliamentary representation and has local self-government. England was conquered by the Romans, the Angles and Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. But it is now among the freest countries in the world. Every country, in fact, which is now free and independent, was conquered at some period or other of its history. The British Colony of New Zealand has its own parliament. The aboriginal inhabitants of this colony, the Maori, now number only 50,000. But they return four members to the New Zealand parliament. This right was granted to them in 1871, immediately after their conquest by the white colonists. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tells us:

"They were poor marksmen, and had but little skill in laying ambushes. During ten years of intermittent marching and fighting between 1861 and 1871 the Maori did no more than prove that they had in them the stuff to stand up against fearful odds and not always to be worsted.....Even as it was the resistance of the Maori was utterly worn out at last. After 1871 they fought no more."

Other savage people in the British Empire who enjoy self-rule are the Gilbert and Ellice Islanders, of whom we have written in another article. True, the Maori and these savages are small in number; but the enjoyment by them of self-rule disproves the doctrine that conquest involves the forfeiture of civic rights.

EXAMPLES FROM FOREIGN HISTORY.

Numerous examples may also be given from the history of countries lying outside the British Empire. America conquered the Filipinos some 17 years ago. These half-civilized and uncivilized men have had home rule for the last decade or so, and have been promised independence or complete autonomy in another decade or two. Serbia had been autocratically governed by Turkey for centuries. With the assistance of some of the Christian powers of Europe and according to some provisions of the Treaty of Berlin it obtained independence in 1878, and its king and people have been managing their affairs well ever

since. Such also is the history of Bulgaria. It was under Turkish rule for centuries, and became independent in 1908 with the help of some European powers. Its king and people have not displayed any incapacity to conduct their own affairs.

CONQUEST DOES NOT INVOLVE LOSS OF SELF-RULE.

We need not multiply examples. Those which we have already cited are sufficient to show that conquest and dependence do not lead to utter loss of administrative capacity, nor do they mean or necessarily involve or justify forfeiture of civic rights. It is only right that it should be so. If some man, good or bad, armed or unarmed, defeats another man, that does not in any country mean that the former and his descendants and successors are entitled to deprive the latter and his heirs and successors of the natural right to possess, use and manage their estate, nor that they have lost the power to do so.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

Let us briefly refer to contemporary history. Belgium has been a free country for some 80 years. It has been self-governing, and has made great progress in education, industry and commerce. Germany has conquered Belgium. But England, France and Russia are not convinced that that fact would justify the extinction of Belgian independence and liberty, nor that that fact proves the unfitness of the Belgians to govern themselves. On the contrary, the Allied Powers are rightly trying to restore liberty to Belgium. Serbia has similarly been conquered by Bulgaria and Germany. But the Allies are trying to make her free again. Poland had long been partitioned among and ruled by Germany, Russia and Austria. But during the present European war, both Russia and Germany have promised autonomy to Poland. If conquest and long subjection meant utter unfitness for self-rule, how have the Poles all at once become fit for autonomy?

INDIA'S SIZE AND HER MANY LANGUAGES, CREEDS, RACES, AND CASTES.

Home Rule has been thought unsuitable for India, because of its being like a large continent, where there exist many languages, creeds, races, and castes. But the Russian Empire is very extensive and is inhabited by a variety of races and religious sects,

and by peoples speaking many different languages. Yet it enjoys local self-government, and a large measure of imperial self-rule. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, too, is characterized by diversity of races, sects and languages. It has a constitutional monarchy and the form of government is largely representative. The United States of America is a republic populated by various races, speaking different tongues and having different creeds. The number of languages, as distinguished from dialects or local patois, spoken in India, has been exaggerated. In the census of 1901 they were stated to number 147; by 1911 they had increased to 220! In real fact one or other of a dozen principal languages would be found to be understood, whatever the province that might be chosen to test this statement. Besides, whatever force the multiplicity of Indian languages might be supposed to have against the exercise of self-rule by India as a whole in pan-Indian affairs, it can have none whatever against the enjoyment of provincial autonomy. In the United Provinces, Behar, Orissa, Bengal, Andhra, &c., the people of the province all understand one main language. As for our many sects and creeds, the people of India professing them are, to say the least, really not more intolerant of one another's beliefs and practices than the Christian sects inhabiting any Western country.

DESPOTISM AND THE ORIENT.

It is sometimes observed that as orientals have always been used to despotic government, they appreciate only autocracy; they can neither appreciate nor are fit for self-rule. In the first place, it is not a fact that despotism has been the prevailing form of government in oriental countries in all ages. We have already given some idea of the different kinds of government which prevailed in India of the past,—which were more or less democratic in character. It would not, however, have mattered much, if we had been accustomed only to absolutism in the past. Western peoples who now have republics or limited monarchies in their country had been at some time or other of their history governed despotically. As for oriental countries, Japan has had representative government for the last fifty years, growing very powerful and prosperous in consequence. China,

though not out of the woods yet and though under a sort of dictator, is a republic. The insurrections caused by the attempt to convert it into a monarchy show how deep-rooted and widespread the republican feeling is in China. Even under Manchu rule and earlier still, the Chinese had always enjoyed a large measure of local autonomy. A constitutional monarchy, with a parliament, has been established in Persia also; but the conflicting interests and intrigues of European powers have prevented the Persians from showing their capacity for self-rule. The success of Japan alone, however, demonstrates that oriental peoples may be capable of self-government.

SELF-RULE IN THE INDIAN STATES.

In the Indian States, known as the Native States, the Rulers, the principal officers and the subordinate officials are Indians. Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, and several small states are on the whole as efficiently governed as British India. Some of them are superior to British India in material prosperity, in education, in the encouragement of industrial development, and in respect of the separation of the judicial from executive functions. No doubt, the British Government has helped the Indian States by guaranteeing protection from external aggression and prevention of internal revolts, and occasional advice given, by political residents. But the people of British India, too, do not demand the immediate severance of the Indo-British connection; Home Rule under the protection and guidance of the British Empire is the demand of Congress and Moslem League alike.

Geographically and ethnologically Nepal is a part of India. Nepal manages its own affairs without British protection and guidance. It is true that neither the Feudatory States of India nor Nepal can hold their own against a leading European power. But Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro have not been able to defend themselves against the Teutonic powers. The Teutonic powers could conquer Denmark and Holland also, if they liked. Do the British, the French and their allies for that reason call in question the capacity and the right of the Belgians, the Serbians and Montenegrins or of Holland and Denmark, to govern themselves? Or would it be right to do so?

The objection may be urged that the

power to manage the affairs of the *small* Indian states is not a proof of the capacity to administer the affairs of a *large* Empire like India. Our reply is twofold: (1) If our capacity to govern the small Native States be admitted; why cannot we in British India, leaving imperial politics alone, have self-rule in the provinces, or in the Divisions or in the Districts, or even in all the municipalities? 'The peoples' hands are tied even in village unions. (2) In the second place, the Colonials in some of the British Colonies have to deal with small areas and small populations. Their success in managing their affairs has been considered a sufficient proof of their capacity to lead some British Cabinet ministers in recent months to promise that when the war is over, they shall share in the government of the Empire. Lord Chelmsford, a former governor of New South Wales and Queensland, and a London County Councillor, has been thought fit to be appointed Viceroy of India. Why cannot then the successful work of the great ministers of the Native States, like Salar Jang, Seshadri Iyer, Dinkar Rao, Romesh Dutt, &c., be taken as a proof of Indian capacity to deal with imperial politics? Some of the independent European countries, too, are small, yet nobody questions their right and capacity to govern themselves. The following tables will afford a basis for comparison between some of our states, some British colonies and some European countries.

<i>Indian States</i>	Area in sq. miles	Population
Gwalior	25,107	30,93,082
Travancore	7,129	34,28,975
Baroda	8,182	20,32,798
Mysore	29,459	58,06,193
Hyderabad	82,698	1,33,74,676
<i>British Colonies</i>		
New-foundland	40,000	2,40,000
New Zealand	1,05,000	10,00,000
New South Wales	3,10,400	16,50,000
Victoria	88,000	13,20,3000
Queensland	6,70,500	6,06,000
<i>European Countries</i>		
Belgium	11,373	75,71,387
Denmark	15,582	27,75,076
Holland	12,582	62,12,701
Switzerland	15,976	38,31,220
Montenegro	5,603	5,16,000
Serbia	18,650	29,11,001

We could have given the figures for the South American republics like Chile, Argentine Republic; &c., but it is unnecessary.

POWER OF SELF-DEFENCE.

Anglo-Indian papers like the *Englishman* say :—

"A country which is *unable to stand by itself* in all things, to finance itself, to defend itself, is obviously not ready to govern itself."

Is there any British colony which can stand by itself in all things? Can any of them defend itself? But for British Imperial protection Japan could annex Australasia, and the United States could annex Canada. On the outbreak of the Boer war, it was Indian troops who landed first in the British South African Colonies to defend them. But, though the British colonies cannot defend themselves, they are not considered unworthy of self-government.

Is France able to defend herself, standing alone by herself? Obviously not. For, then British troops and Indian troops would not be on French soil to defend France. Is England able to stand all alone in self-defence? Obviously not. For she has requisitioned the aid of her allies and her colonies. The help of even poor despised India could not be dispensed with; for her sons have been sent to fight for the British Empire in Europe, Asia and Africa. Germany could not stand by itself. It depends on the help of its allies. It does not then seem to be axiomatic that a country which cannot defend itself with its own resources alone is "not ready to govern itself."

FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE.

As for financial independence, we do not know whether there is any civilized country in which foreign capital is not invested. Not to speak of Asiatic countries like Japan, China, Persia, &c., which are self-ruling, European countries like Russia are being developed with foreign capital. Even in England there are millions of German money invested, and, similarly there is British capital invested in Germany. During the present war England has been obliged partly to finance her allies. As for herself she has had to go to the American market for money. It would seem then that financial independence could not be taken as an essential qualification for self-government.

It may not be irrelevant here to point out that England owes her present opulent condition to capital taken from India. Readers of Mill's *History of India* and Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilization and Decay* know that British industrial development would not have been possible without transferring to Great Britain much of India's hoarded wealth, amounting to hundreds of millions.

"ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY."

We are often reminded by both Indians and Anglo-Indians that "Rome was not built in a day." It is meant thereby to tell us that as England and other free and self-governing countries took centuries to evolve and learn to work their present advanced political institutions, India ought not to expect to become self-governing in the course of a few years. From the historical primers which we read at school, we did indeed learn that it took Rome centuries to grow from the collection of huts, which Romulus and Remus probably built into a city of palaces and cathedrals with magnificent suburban villas. But in later times, it did not take as much time to build Washington, Melbourne, Sydney, San Francisco, Chicago, or new Dacca; nor is it expected that new Delhi or new Bankipur would take centuries or even decades to build. The present up-to-date steam-engines of various sorts can trace their descent to Hero's apparatus, constructed B. C. 130. If a student of mechanical engineering now wants to learn to make a steam-engine, he does not begin with making Hero's machine, nor does he learn the art in $130+1915=2045$ years. He becomes a finished mechanic in a few years. The marvels of modern chemistry have grown from the days of the alchemists in the course of centuries. But the modern student of chemistry learns the science not by toiling for centuries through a hundred births and re-incarnations, but in less than a decade. The youth apprenticed to the ship-building trade does not begin with dug-outs or canoes, but with the most up-to-date vessels, mastering the art of building the latest merchant vessels and dreadnoughts in a few years. The modern mechanic who wants to manufacture all sorts of weapons for the army and the navy, does not go to a museum to see how the palæolithic and

the neolithic men made their stone hatchets or flint spearheads, and arrow-heads in order to imitate them. He learns in the course of a few years to make machine-guns, 14-inch cannon, shells and torpedoes. The modern Japanese did so learn from the West, and are now teaching and helping the West in some cases. When 50 years ago the Japanese youths who subsequently came to be known as the Elder Statesmen, went to all the most civilized countries of the world to learn the art of government, they did not bother their heads with the witenagemot and the corls and the ceorls and the enihts, but at once set about to learn and did learn in a few years all that there was to learn about the latest, representative institutions and their working; and the school of experience afterwards made them what they became.

The art of statesmanship, like all other arts, is and can be learnt in a single life-time. The British baby, who afterwards grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. British infants are no more born with the general's baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolie's spade or stone-breaking hammer. Given the same opportunity and facilities, the Indian baby is sure to equal any other baby in development. If statecraft were entirely or mainly inherited, all or most of the descendants of all or most statesmen would have become statesmen, and few boys whose fathers were not statesmen would have become statesmen. Abraham Lincoln would then have been impossible. Mr. Asquith has learnt what he has in his own life-time, Count Okuma has learnt in the same space of time, so has Dadabhai Naorji; so did Asoka, Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Aurungzib, Shivaji and others. Their ancestors did not pile up knowledge and experience of statecraft for them and physiologically transmit it to them. There may or may not be some truth in hereditary talent or racial characteristics; but it has always been a conscious or unconscious trick on the part of the few in possession of power and privilege to try to persuade the many outside the pale to believe that birth is the sole or most dominant determining factor in the making of the destiny of individual and nations. In India the trick succeeded to so great an extent that for generations

Sudras have continued to our own day to believe that it was only by acquiring merit after numerous births that they could become Brahmans or twice-born. But now the spell seems to have broken even in India. Many persons hitherto known as Sudras now claim to be twice-born.

The evolution of a thing or the discovery of a truth or method takes a long time, involves great labour and may require much genius, but to acquire a knowledge of them is a very much shorter and easier process.

It does not require generations or centuries to learn statecraft, though it may have taken centuries to evolve and perfect the art; just as it does not take generations or centuries to learn any other art, science or craft, though the latter may have arrived at their present state of perfection or maturity after centuries. In the case of all the other arts this fact has been tacitly admitted; in the case of statesmanship or statecraft, however, it seems to be denied. But facts with their incontrovertible logic have come to the rescue of all struggling and aspiring nations. It is within living memory that the Serbians, Bulgarians and Rumanians have become free after long centuries of subjection to Turkey. They did not take centuries or generations to learn statecraft, but began to manage their affairs efficiently as soon as they got the chance to do so. It cannot be urged that they are more intelligent or brave than the Indians, or that their civilisation is of older date than that of India. If it be urged that they are Europeans, and what is true of Europeans cannot be true of Asiatics, we can cite the case of the Japanese, who, from the commencement of the Meiji or new era, began to govern their country in the most approved fashion. The Japanese possess an ancient civilization which, it may be urged, fitted them for their new career of political progress. But the Filipinos have not started with any such real or supposed qualification; and yet they are satisfactorily exercising the right of self-rule after an apprenticeship of less than a decade under American administrators. Should it be urged explicitly or by implication that our only disqualifications are that we are Indians and that we have been under British rule for more than a century and a half, we must throw up the sponge and confess to being thoroughly beaten.

CAPACITY FOR SELF-RULE RELATIVE: NO ABSOLUTE STANDARD OF FITNESS FOR SELF-RULE.

There is no absolute standard of fitness for self-rule. Like every other kind of capacity, the capacity for self-rule is relative. There is no nation on earth which is absolutely, perfectly fit for self-rule. From the very fact that they are all self-ruling it must be acknowledged that the English are fit, the Irish are fit, the Germans are fit, the Belgians are fit, the Montenegrins are fit, the Japanese and the Chinese are fit, the Ethiopians are fit, the Negroes of Liberia are fit, the Negroes of Haiti are fit, the uncivilised Maori and Gilbert Islanders are fit, the Serbs, the Boers, the Bulgars, the Filipinos and the Afghans are fit, the Nepalese are fit. But have they all made equal progress, or are they all equally powerful? God has not fixed the exact degree, kind or measure of capacity which would entitle a nation to self-rule; nor is it possible for any man or nation to fix the standard. The British people in general think that they are perfectly fit for self-rule. But have they always been able to show sufficient ability and tact in the administration of the affairs of their own country? If they had, there would not have been so many revolutions, rebellions and riots and so much bloodshed in their history. Like all other peoples they have occasionally committed great blunders. They have blundered even in the course of the present war. But even the most serious mistakes are not held, and justly so, to disqualify free and independent nations for self-rule. What then is the validity of the objection that Indians being inexperienced would often go wrong if allowed to govern themselves, and they ought not, therefore, to have self-rule? The man who never made a mistake never did anything of any value. The infant who never fell or stumbled, never learnt to walk. Nations learn and become strong and progressive both by their failures and successes.

BRITISH CAPACITY FOR GOVERNMENT.

In their own country the British have shown great administrative ability. But they have not shown equal ability in India. They have, indeed, prevented foreign aggression and established and maintained peace and order in the country, they have very regularly and strictly collected and

spent the revenue, they have on the whole dealt out even-handed justice between Indian and Indian and, in civil cases, between Indians and Europeans, but during their nearly two centuries of rule they have not been able to make Indians equal to the peoples of the least advanced European countries, and of Japan, in education, in material prosperity, in health, in power of self-defence against external and internal aggressors and in the enjoyment of immunity from the depredations of robbers and wild animals. Among the civilised countries of the world there is no country which is so subject to famines, and pestilences and other epidemics. In 17 years the Americans have made the Filipinos more literate and more free from malaria than we have become in 150 years. Japan has attained greater success in fighting malaria in Formosa than our government in India. The good that has resulted from the work of the bureaucracy in India we admit; but judged by the standards we have spoken of, particularly by the two main and essential tests of intellectual and material advancement, the success of the bureaucracy has not been such as to justify them in arrogantly declaiming against the incapacity of the Indians. The relatively poor success of the British Government in India is all the more noteworthy, as the natural resources of India are vast and varied and her inhabitants are not wanting in intelligence, courage, industry, thrift, sobriety and other good qualities of character.

CHARACTER.

Character is one of the chief factors which determine capacity for self-rule. The crime statistics of India compared with those of some of the most civilized countries show that we are not inferior in character to other civilized peoples. Corruption and misappropriation of public money are certainly not more rife in India than in the United States of America. During the centuries during which England has had parliamentary government, prime ministers and men in both higher and lower political positions have been known to be corrupt and wanting in personal integrity. Recent enquiries relating to the Civil Service in England have brought to light glaring instances of nepotism. The assumption that Indians are unfit for self-rule, because there occasionally come to

light cases of nepotism, municipal or other jobbery, embezzlement and corruption, is preposterous: when made by Indians it shows both the very high standard by which they judge themselves as well as their ignorance of the state of public morality in other countries, when made by Westerners, it is either pharisaical and pecksniffian or is due to their ignorance of the state of things in many Western self-ruling countries.

• LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Local self-government in India has been, on the whole, as successful as one could reasonably expect from the little freedom enjoyed by the local bodies. Our roads, drains, &c., are not now in a worse condition than when the officials alone were entirely responsible for their upkeep. The Bombay Government has recently granted to several municipalities the right to elect their presidents. The Bengal Government has recently given the municipalities a free hand in the preparing of their budgets, saying,

"The Governor in Council is satisfied that the experiment has on the whole justified itself, while at the same time he notices in the affairs of municipalities a growing sense of responsibility and capacity for self-management, which encourages him to believe that further confidence in their powers of financial administration would not be misplaced.

These are indications that local self-government has not been a failure.

LITERACY.

It has been sometimes asserted that India cannot be self-ruling because of the prevailing illiteracy. In the mouth of the bureaucracy it is a very curious argument. They have not cared to make India more literate than she is. Education is progressing at a snail's pace. In Japan 28 per cent of the children of school age were at school in 1873; by 1902-1903 the percentage had risen to 90. In India the percentage is 19.6. When the shears of retrenchment have to be applied, education is the first to suffer, though at the same time the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service may be increased. It was owing to the opposition of the bureaucracy that Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill was rejected. Our boys are willing to learn and to pay for their tuition, but there are not schools and colleges enough for them. The people cannot open schools and colleges in sufficient numbers because of the standard of

requirements set up by the Education Department.

However, when nearly 50 years ago representative government was established in Japan it was mainly the Samurai who were literate; among the rest of the population education was not widespread. In India, too, the higher classes, particularly the males, who alone at present take part in public life, are educated to a considerable extent. And as in all countries representative institutions have been worked in the earlier stages by the higher classes, it would be enough for the purpose of Indian Home Rule if a sufficient number of educated and capable men could be had to represent the people in the local, provincial and imperial councils. And it is well-known that this number can be had.

England has enjoyed representative institutions for centuries, but education has been widely diffused there only during the last century or so. In the age of King John, when the barons wrested the Great Charter from him, many of the nobility could draw spear-heads more skilfully than the letters of the alphabet; book-learning was despised by them. In later ages of parliamentary history, too, literacy was not the prevailing feature of English society. In other free countries, also, free institutions and a high percentage of literacy have not always gone together. However, if literacy be considered an essential qualification for self-rule, it is in the power of the rulers to attain the requisite standard within a decade. A century ago India and China were about the most literate countries in the world. It may be possible for us to overtake those who have since then left us behind. Our rulers do not, in actual practice, however, seem always to care much for education. For Government have often nominated men to sit in the provincial and imperial councils who do not know English though the proceedings of these bodies are conducted in English.

"IF THE BRITISH WITHDREW FROM INDIA?"

There is one argument which the opponents of Indian self-rule consider a clincher. They say: "If the British went away from India, leaving her to her fate, she would fall a prey to some other powerful nation, as her sons would not be able to defend her against foreign aggression; and these new conquerors would undoubtedly be worse than the English." In the

first place, the present Indian demand is for Home Rule, *not Independence*; so why should the British withdraw? No doubt, a self-ruling India would not keep so many highly paid English officials, nor would it be so good a field for commercial and industrial exploitation as it is at present; though that is a somewhat distant contingency. But still some Englishmen would find employment here as they do in the self-governing colonies, and there would still be a sufficiently large and remunerative field for the investment and employment of capital, as there is in the British colonies and in the independent countries of Russia, Turkey, China, Persia, &c. Where the honey is there will be the bee, too: It is not in human nature to leave a place where there is hope of gain.

Standing by itself no British colony can defend itself against foreign aggression. It is the might of the British Empire which shields the colonies. Why should not the Empire extend the same help to India on the same terms? Why should England demand from India as the price of defence the monopoly of power, of high appointments and of opportunities for exploitation?

We know the colonials are white and we are not. We are not the kinsmen of the British people. Therefore perhaps the underlying idea in the minds of many Englishmen may be: "Why should we care to defend your country if the bargain be that we are to receive all the blows and you are to receive all the blessings, we are to do all the hard work, and you are to roll in wealth and luxury?" But as we have been often told by many English notables that England's work in India is philanthropic, it would be highly noble of Englishmen and extremely creditable to them if, from altruistic considerations they remained in India to defend it even after the grant of Home Rule to India, until we were able to do so ourselves. Should it, however, be considered a very unconscionable bargain, we would respectfully suggest that in future Englishmen would do well not to lay exclusive stress on England's philanthropic mission in India.

It is not exclusively our fault that we are unable to defend ourselves. As both Sir S. P. Sinha and Mr. Haque have said and shown in their addresses, Government have not helped us to be strong, have even kept us weak.

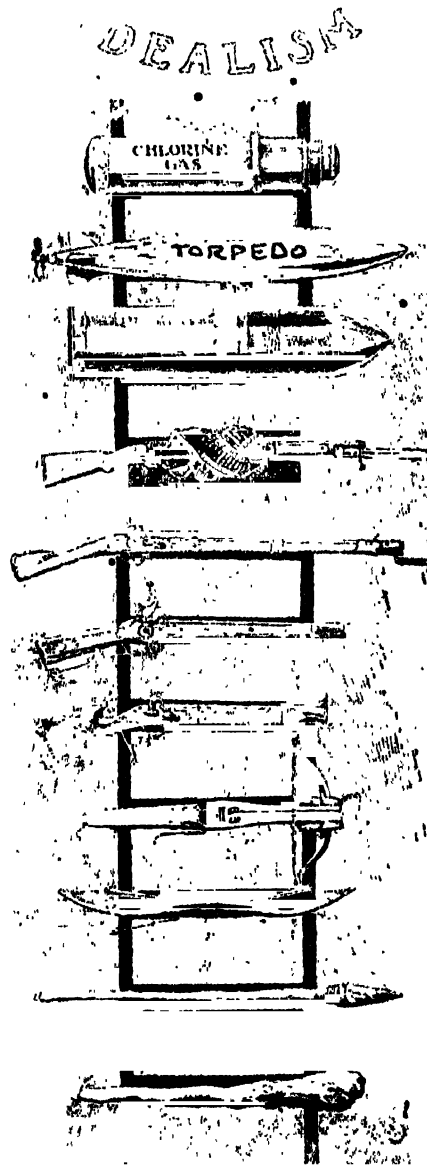
There is a way out of the difficulty. Indian soldiers have given unquestionable proofs of soldierly qualities. In the pre-British period and in the early days of British rule, people of every province of British India could and did enter the army. That practice should be revived, and Indians should be trained both as privates and commissioned officers in all sections of the army, including artillery. An Indian aerial fleet and an Indian navy should be built, manned by Indians. In this way England could yet make India self-dependent as regards her defence. It may still be England's proud boast that she had made India stronger than she had found it;—it is not so now, perhaps the reverse. If England did her duty in this respect in the way suggested, it would be to her advantage also. For the present European war is certainly not the last great world war. In the next, and perhaps still more terrible and destructive, war, England would require the help of a strong India. If India were not strengthened, England might have to regret it. As for ourselves, we are accustomed to adversity, and ought to be able to face the hardest decrees of providence with unblinking eyes. For who know whether it would not be necessary for India to pass through the fire of still greater tribulations than in the past before she reached the goal of her high destiny by getting rid of her fatal weaknesses? It is for England, prosperous, happy England, to consider whether she would be able to meet adversity in the same way.

For, under present circumstances, so far as human eyes can see, England and India require each other's help. We know it; whether the proud prosperity of England has blinded her to it or not, we do not know. Perhaps England thinks that she alone is indispensable to India, but not India also to her. All this humanly speaking. The real fact may be that each may be able to do without the other, that each may even be better for parting company with the other in a friendly way. But we do not know what lies hidden in the womb of futurity. Time will show.

INTERNAL TROUBLES.

Another serious consequence which is apprehended to follow from the imaginary threatened withdrawal of the English from India in case we insisted upon having self-rule is that there would be no end of sectarian, racial, and caste fights in India. But, we again ask, why should they withdraw? And, particularly, why should they withdraw before making India strong and united? But supposing they obstinately insisted upon withdrawing and carried out their threat, what would be the result? We have briefly dealt above with the contingency of aggression from without. As for internal troubles, the history of all countries, including European, shows that no country has been entirely free from them in every age. Internecine wars

and civil wars and riots have occurred in all countries. After a time either the conflicting parties have composed their differences or some have gained the upper hand



THE LADDER OF CIVILIZATION.
Rungs by which mankind hopes to reach
the ideal From Puck

and thus somehow or other order has been re-established. What has happened in other countries would happen in India also. We are not a particularly quarrelsome people. In addition to racial or sectarian or class fights, which we sometimes have in India, too, Westerners have their labour and capital riots, their suffragette fights, their election riots, which we have not got in India. Should the English leave India, we might have the good sense not to indulge in mutual fighting at all. If we fought, the state of disorder would not be everlasting; peace and order would return exactly in the same way or ways as in other countries. It is true that when the different European nations were fighting for supremacy in India, there was great anarchy and disorder, and the English gradually evolved order out of chaos. But such periods of disorder are to be found in the history of every country and continent. They are not peculiar to India. Had India been particularly and always a land of disorder, it could not have become a prosperous civilised country. One single proof of its former prosperity should be conclusive. It is that from remote antiquity various nations of the West have sought to monopolize the trade of India. As for its civilization, Sir Thomas Munro wrote even so late as the first quarter of the last century that if there were at that time an exchange of that commodity between England and India, England would gain by the import cargo. A country does not grow civilized in the midst of chronic disorder. That India of the future might possibly remain free from racial or sectarian riots even though the English were not to be here as policemen and peace-makers, would seem to be indicated by the fact that in the Native States there are not so many "religious" riots as in British India.

But we do not really see any reason why the English should withdraw from India, nor believe that they will.

CONCLUSION.

We are not unfriendly to the English, nor anxious that they should leave our shores. There is no race which has a fully developed and all-sided manhood. International contact and intercourse are advantageous to all. What we want is room, opportunity, freedom, to grow in all directions. We do not want

to be repressed, suppressed, or exploited. Our aim is self-development, self-realization, self-expression, and the giving to the world what we are peculiarly fitted to give. We know our aspirations are just, legitimate, and righteous, and therefore we should not be afraid of consequences. We know it is to the interest of Englishmen not to withdraw from India. But if they do, we should not be anxious. For it is not Englishmen, it is not Europeans, it is not Westerners, who made us or who guide our destiny. A Power superior to all made us and is moulding our lives. Our destiny is in His hands, and next to His, in ours and in those of other races.

We are not perfectly fit for self-rule;—no nation is. We are not entirely unfit for self-rule;—no nation is. Fitness grows by practice and exercise. We want to grow more and more fit in that way, which is the only way.

The youngest Indian Chemical Researchers.

Although for the sake of convenience chemistry and physics are treated as distinct sciences they are in reality one, and should be included in the comprehensive name of physical science. The line of demarcation between the two is fast disappearing, and many problems have begun to be solved of late years with the joint aid and co-operation of both physics and chemistry. This close interlinking of the two sciences has given rise to the new branch of physical chemistry. One of the most renowned exponents of this science is Svante Arrhenius of Stockholm, and Wilhelm Ostwald is its great apostle.

In our country Mr. Nilratan Dhar has been the first to take to it assiduously, and an account of his work has appeared in this Review from time to time. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Dhar has recently been awarded a State-scholarship in consideration of his researches, and he is now pursuing his favourite subject at the Imperial College of Science, London.

Messrs. Jnan Chandra Ghosh and Jnanendra Nath Mukherji have already given ample promise of their capacity to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Dhar. They have occupied the first and second places respectively in the recent M.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University, and *both submitted theses based on original researches*. Ghose's investigation on "Electrolysis by Alternating Currents,"



Mr. Juan Chandra Ghosh, M.Sc.



Mr. Jnanendranath Mukherjee, M.Sc.

published in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, has been highly spoken of. Mr. Mukherji has struck out a new line—the chemistry of colloids. Many important chemico-physiological problems can be properly understood and solved only by a systematic study of this class of bodies, and the two papers bearing on this subject contributed by Mr. Mukherji and also published in the above journal, throw much light on the dark intricacies of the constitution of the colloids. We congratulate the governing body of the Palit Endowment on having secured the services of the two young enthusiastic workers, who have barely passed their teens, as assistants to the Palit Professor of Chemistry. It is understood that in due course they will be engaged as Assistant Professors of chemistry.

Messrs. Dhar, Ghosh and Mukherji are among the most favourite pupils of Dr. P. C. Ray. In his recent opening Calcutta University lecture on the "Pursuit of Chemistry in Bengal" the Doctor referred to them as well as other young workers in the field.

A Bombay Sculptor.

A gentleman wrote to us from Bombay last November :—

"While going over the pages of your issue for the current month, I find in your notes a paragraph advocating patronage for Indian Artists, at least in the case of Indian subjects, in statuary. You have rightly put forward the claims of Mr. Mhatre, who is an artist of great eminence. The art of sculpture seems to be progressing at a great speed in India. Almost on the heels of Mr. Mhatre I can point out to you another artist in Mr. V. V. Wagh who has opened a studio in Bombay. You have commented upon the imperfections of the bust of Sir Rabindranath Tagore made by foreign artists. I send you herewith a photograph which conveys a rough idea of the model made by Mr. V. V. Wagh of the great Poet, and you can judge yourself the merits of the likeness. This model was seen by many of the Tagores in Calcutta, the nearest relations of the great Poet, and they were all unanimous in saying that it was a faithful likeness. I remember Mr. Wagh telling me, on his completing this model, that the head of the great Indian poet



Bust of H. E. Lord Hardinge

By V. V. Wagh.

was as difficult for portraiture as it was unfathomable in intellectual power.

"Then again, Mr. Wagh had sittings from H. E. the Viceroy, when H. E. was giving sittings to another European sculptor. In spite of the fact that Mr. Wagh got very few sittings, compared with those obtained by the other, the model turned out by Mr. Wagh was so successful that after seeing this model Her Excellency the late lamented Lady Hardinge lost no time in sending to Mr. Wagh the following appreciation, through the P. S. to, H. E. the Viceroy, who writes:—

24.3.11,
Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

Dear Mr. Wagh,

Her Excellency The Lady Hardinge has asked me to let you know that she is highly pleased with the bust you have prepared of H. E. The Viceroy and thinks it is an extremely good likeness.

Please allow me to congratulate you on your success.

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. H. Dubonlay.

"As I have a copy of the photograph of this model, I send you one."



Bust of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

By V. V. Wagh.

Success in War and Aeroplanes.

The Aero Club of America (New York) tells the public in a bulletin that the earlier successes of the Germans in Russia were due to their superiority in aircraft.

The comparatively small German forces, possessing a large number of aeroplanes and experienced aviators, had such a tremendous advantage over their foe that they were able to advance through difficult country and take fortified places in spite of the overwhelming numbers of the Russian Army. In a summary prepared by Henry Woodhouse, a governor of the Club and managing editor of *Flying*, the following statements are made:

"The success of the Germans, who, with 1,200,000 men, have succeeded in forcing the Russian Army, which has more than twice as many men, to retreat, abandoning strongly fortified places, has been due entirely to:

"1. Failure on the part of the Russian army chiefs to recognize the possibilities of employing aeroplanes to good advantage for reconnoitering, and directing artillery-fire; co-operating in the work of cavalry and infantry; and in protecting the Russian lines from the prying eyes of the efficient German air-scouts, who,

unchallenged, not only mapped, but secured detailed photographic plans of the Russian positions and distribution of forces.

"2. Failure on the part of the Russian army chiefs to recognize the necessity of shifting of front and of making strategical moves to offset the advantage gained by the enemy through having more and superior aeroplanes and aviators.

"3. The small number of Russian aviators, and their lack of experience, due to not having maneuvered with the troops before the war.

"4. Lack of aeroplanes to co-operate with Russian artillery in directing gun-fire.

"5. Lack of sufficient numbers of aeroplanes and equipment at the disposal of the Russian aviators, which would have enabled them to operate with maximum efficiency.....

"At the beginning of the war there were about eight hundred aeroplanes in Russia, and about one thousand in Germany. But Germany had about one thousand fully trained aviators, whereas Russia had only about four hundred, most of whom had only qualified as pilots and had not had any experience after that in military work. The aeroplanes available in Russia were of many types, with different kinds of motors and different controls, and men who had only operated one type of machine for a short time were not able to pilot other types. Many of the machines were light monoplanes, equipped with only fifty horse-power motors, and had to be discarded.

"A few large Sykorsky aeroplanes could not be used for a time because they required large fields for starting and landing. Aside from this they are much slower than the German machines, and are easy targets for anti-aircraft guns. For these reasons, the ten Sykorsky biplanes that have been in commission during the past six months could not render maximum service.

"Whereas German aviators have each had an average of four aeroplanes ready for their use, the Russians had to wait for their machines to be 'tuned' up. The Russian aviators, lacking experience, went out only occasionally, and saw little; the German aviators maintained a constant air patrol, and brought back detailed accounts and photographs of the Russian positions."

Science counts in these days in warfare as in all other mundane affairs. The practical lesson for us in India is that India should have aeroplanes with trained Indian aviators. The aeroplanes which the Panjab is presenting to the British Empire should, when the war is over, be brought back and kept in that province in order that Panjabi young men may be trained in aviation. Elementary justice would demand the adoption of such a course.

"The Cycle of Spring."

"The Cycle of Spring," published in the present number of this Review, is a kind of exposition and synopsis which Sir Rabindranath Tagore has written of his two delightful and deeply significant Bengali dra-

matic pieces, *Vairagya-Sadhan* (Practice of Renunciation) and *Phalguni* ("Of Spring-tide"). These were played the other day in the family residence of the Tagore family in Jorasanko in aid of the famine-stricken people of Bankura. Sir Rabindranath, who is a master of the histrionic art, himself took a leading part. Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, C. I. E., and a few other members of the Tagore family also appeared on the stage. The other players were for the most part teachers and boys of the Bolpur school.

Verily, as the poet teaches, there is a cycle of never-ending rejuvenescence in the universe. Winter is Spring in the making, and Life lurks disguised in Death. Thus is Fear cast out and senility is seen to be a myth.

Mr. Mazharul Haque's Presidential Address.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

In his perfectly sane and judicious presidential address at the recent Bombay session of the Moslem League Mr. Mazharul Haque, referring to a class of critics of "the old school who had made a bogus of the Congress" said :—

They think it dangerous that the Hindus and Mahomedans should come together and unite for the progress of India and, therefore, they want to keep them as far apart as possible. These views have long since been exploded and I do not think it worth while to refute them at this late hour of the day. Now every thinking man fully realizes and is thoroughly convinced that, unless the whole country unites and strenuously works for the advancement of the motherland, no isolated effort can gather that momentum which is requisite for our regeneration.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION A COMPOSITE WHOLE.

Mr. Haque gave expression to the correct historical view that Indian civilization is "the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India." He spoke of Islam in India as follows :

The first advent of the Muslims in India was along these very coasts in the form of a naval expedition sent by the third Khalif in the year 636 A. C. This was more than four hundred years before William the Conqueror defeated the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. After many vicissitudes, into the details of which it is unnecessary to go, the Muslim Empire was firmly established in India. These invaders made India their home and did not consider it a land of regrets. They lived amongst the people of the country, mixed with them freely and became true citizens of India. As a matter of fact they had no other home but India. From time to time their number was strengthened by fresh blood from Arabia, Persia and other Muslim lands, but their ranks were

swollen mainly by additions from the people of the country themselves. It is most interesting to know that out of the present seventy millions of the Muslim population, those who have claimed their descent from remote non-Indian ancestors, amount only to eight millions. Whence have the remaining millions come, if not from Indian ranks? The Muslims enriched the happy civilization of India with their own literature and art, evolved and developed by their creative and versatile genius. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin the entire country is studded with these gems of art which remind one of the glorious period of Muslim rule. The result was a new civilization which was the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India and the product of the two greatest civilizations in the history of the world. During Muslim times all offices were equally opened to all, without any distinction of class, creed or colour. The only conditions were fitness and efficiency. So we have the spectacle of a Hindu prime minister, a Hindu commander-in-chief, Hindu finance minister and a Hindu governor of Kabul. Ethnology and folklore of India speak eloquently of manners and customs showing the influence of one people upon the other. The only link which the Muslims kept with the countries outside India was the spiritual link of their religion. This was under the circumstances inevitable. Islam enjoins a brotherhood which in my humble opinion is much wider and more catholic than the modern European notion of nationality. It embraces peoples of different races, colours and countries within its fold, whilst it does not exclude the binding forces of nationality. Arabian history is full of instances when Musalmans and Christians fought side by side to defend their country from the attacks of foreign foes. These are the facts of history written in large letters, and those who run may read them. This short historical retrospect may be succinctly expressed in two words which fully and clearly describe the elements and conditions of our existence in India. We are Indian Muslims. These words, 'Indian Muslims,' convey the ideas of our nationality and of our religion, and as long as we keep our duties and responsibilities arising from these factors before our eyes we can hardly go wrong.

"WE ARE CONQUERORS," NOT THE CORRECT ATTITUDE.

When Mr. Haque said that out of the 70 millions of the Muslim population of India those who have claimed descent from remote non-Indian ancestors amount only to 8 millions, and that the remaining millions have come from Indian ranks, he unconsciously protested against the arrogant attitude of those of his co-religionists who consider Indian Muslims conquerors and look down upon the Hindus as conquered. The fact is the majority of Indian Musalmans are only the co-religionists, not the descendants, or kinsmen of the former conquerors of the greater part of India, just as the Indian Christians are the co-religionists of the British rulers of India, not their descendants or blood relations. Moreover, as caste is not so strong among Muslims as among Hindus, of the

8 millions of Muhammadans who claim descent from foreign ancestors there can be but few who can claim continuous unmixed descent from a foreign stock. Like many of the Mughal Emperors, most, if not all of them, are partly Indian and partly foreign. And even if some could claim unmixed descent from foreign stock, it would be as unwise and absurd for them to assume airs of superiority and look down upon the Hindus, as it would be for the present-day descendants of the Norman conquerors of England to adopt a similar attitude with regard to the generality of Englishmen. Apart from the fact that when England came to be recognized as the suzerain power in India, the Indian Moslems had *really* yielded the palm to the Hindus, we all now have the same political status or rather want of status, just as in Great Britain the descendants of the Britons, Angles, Saxons, Danes and Normans are all politically equal. It is also good logic to say that if A's ancestor defeated B's ancestor, it does not follow that B is inferior to A, or that A's descendants have got the right in perpetuity to crow over and insult B's descendants.

IN POLITICS, INDIAN OR MUSLIM?

The question has often been asked and answered whether Indian Muslims are Indians first and Muslims afterwards or the reverse. Here is Mr. Haque's answer:—

When a question concerning the welfare of India and of justice to Indians arises I am not only an Indian first, but an Indian next and an Indian to the last, an Indian and an Indian alone, favouring no community and no individual, but on the side of those who desire the advancement of India as a whole without prejudice to the rights and interests of any individual, much less of any community, whether my own or another. But whenever any question arose on which there was a clear and unmistakable Divine injunction conveyed to me by my God through my Prophet, I could not even consider, let alone accept as correct, anything conflicting with that injunction, no matter on what mundane authority it was based. With Divine authority as my only guide I will be not only a Muslim first, but a Muslim next, a Muslim to the last and a Muslim and nothing but a Muslim. People may scoff and laugh, but I hold firmly to these convictions. In the affairs of my country I stand for good-will and close co-operation between all communities, with a single eye to the progress of the Motherland. If we look sufficiently deeply into the different questions affecting India we should find hardly any which does not affect all equally. Are we less heavily taxed than are our Hindu or Parsi brethren? Do the repressive measures passed during recent times weigh less heavily upon the Musalmans than upon the Sikhs or the Marhattas?

Are the newspapers of Muslims more free than those of the Hindus? Does the administration of justice produce different effects upon the different communities of India? Are the rigours and invidious distinctions of the Arms Act reserved only for the martial races, and are the non-martial free from them? No. The truth is that in essential matters such as legislation, taxation, administration of justice, education, we are all in the same boat, and we must sink or swim together.

As to the duties which Moslems owe to themselves Mr. Haque gives the first place to

SELF-RELIANCE.

For too long have we relied upon others. It is quite time that we got rid of unreliable and temporary props, stood upon our own legs and became a self-reliant people. For too long has our policy been regulated by distrust and dominated by fear. We have unnecessarily feared and distrusted the Hindus. We have had an unholy awe of authority and we have never placed any faith in ourselves, but have made ourselves dependent on others. All this must be changed. This policy has kept us from enjoying our rightful share in the public life of our country, to the great detriment of our best interests. We must have independence, and open our eyes in the fresh air.

WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DONE.

England has given to India the inestimable blessing of peace. She has maintained order amongst us. She is protecting us from external invasion and internal anarchy. She has given us a settled Government. She has brought the inventions of Science to our very doors. Lastly, she has freed the intellect of India from its cramped prison, wherein it was able to rise no higher than a blind adherence to rather out-of-date authorities. To my mind this is the greatest blessing that British rule has brought in its wake.

WHAT GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET DONE.

Mr. Haque expressed the opinion that "from an Indian point of view, the things that have been left unaccomplished are the things that really matter in the life of a nation."

England has borne the burden of India, but has not prepared her to bear her own burdens. She has not made her strong, self-supporting. She has not made her a nation respected by the other nations of the world. She has not developed the resources of the country, as it was her duty to develop them. She has not helped the Indian people to live a life of the greatest possible usefulness. She has failed to bring out the capacities of the people of Hindustan to their fullest extent. England's connection with India has lasted for about a century and a half and most parts of the country have been under her direct rule during this period. But the progress India has made with all her vast resources, material, moral and economic, is comparatively very small. Compare her with other countries. Compare her with Japan. Within 40 years Japan, from being one of the weakest and most backward countries of the world, has advanced

to the position of one of the foremost and the most highly developed nations and is counted among the great Powers. But in the case of India, the government of the country has been conducted on lines which were not conducive to any better results. The children of the soil have no real share in the Government of their own country. Policy is laid down and carried on by non-Indians which oftener than not goes against the wishes of the people and ignores their sentiments.

Policies and principles of a nobler kind may be laid down by higher authorities, but their value is determined by those who have to carry them out. Thus it has often been the case in India that noble intentions have degenerated into pious wishes and even into harmful actions. If the Indian people were real partners in the actual governance of the country, the Indian point of view would have prevailed, much that is now admitted to have been mistaken would have been avoided, the country would have progressed and the ruling classes would have been spared the bitter and sometimes undesired, criticisms hurled against them. Unless and until India has got a national Government and is governed for the greatest good of the Indian people, I do not see how she can be contented. India does not demand 'a place in the sun' in any aggressive sense, but she does require the light of the Indian sun for her own children.

INDIANS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

In addition to the ordinary higher and highest civil posts in the land which were practically closed to Indians, Mr. Haque laid claim for his countrymen to the posts of Political Residents and Agents in the Indian States and said that he saw "no reason why picked Indians should not be accredited to the courts of countries outside India, as ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and why the post of consuls should be reserved for Europeans only." The higher ranks of the military service, and the naval service should, in his opinion, be opened to Indians.

RECONSTRUCTION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The reforms which Mr. Haque demanded were, he said, "neither immediate nor peremptory."

We can wait and must wait till the end of the war, when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines; but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely. But hope deferred maketh the hearts sick, and delay deprives the reforms of all their grace. If you ask me to give you an indication of the reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards self-government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority in the Imperial Council.

We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all Indian questions from the Indian standpoint. The late Lord Minto was quite right when he recommended this very reform which I am placing before you now. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. In England the members of the Cabinet are not drawn from the official classes, but from the non-official. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called "Provincial Autonomy." Provinces are now working within the circumscribed limits allowed by the Government of India. In domestic affairs and finance they should have the fullest liberty of action. Local Self Government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by that noble Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Statute Book and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service, as I have clearly indicated in my speech. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved and Commerce and Industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory.

Sir S. P. Sinha's and Mr. Haque's Addresses.

We do not think it is either necessary, expedient, or desirable to pronounce any opinion as to the relative merits of the presidential addresses delivered by Sir S. P. Sinha and Mr. Haque, though their views may be compared, contrasted and criticized, where they lend themselves to such treatment. But several papers have extolled Mr. Haque's address at the expense and to the disparagement of Sir S. P. Sinha's, speaking of the latter as being less advanced, less courageous, less favourable to home rule, &c., than the former. We are, therefore, constrained, against our will, and in justice to Sir S. P. Sinha, to say what we think. As we had no opportunity of seeing Mr. Haque's address before it appeared in the Calcutta dailies on the 31st December, on which date our January number was published, it was not possible for us to say anything on this subject earlier than this number. We have already bestowed on Mr. Haque's excellent address the praise that it deserves. But Sir S. P. Sinha's address is not less courageous or statesmanlike than that of the Moslem leader. In fact, Sir S. P. Sinha's ideal of self-government is more clearly conceived, more thoroughgoing and fuller in outline than that of any other president of any Indian congress or conference or league that we can call to mind at the

present moment. Of course, our memory may play us false, nor can we pretend to have read all presidential addresses. Sir S. P. Sinha no doubt said : "The goal is not yet." But Mr. Haque, too, said :

Of course we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely.

Sir S. P. Sinha said exactly the same sort of thing.

In our last number we pointed out that Sir S. P. Sinha ought to have said something on the recent repressive measures and on the Indian Civil Service Temporary Provisions Act, which he did not do. Mr. Haque's address is free from this defect. Regarding the Indian Civil Service he said :

Why the examination should not be held both in England and India to give the youths of both countries equal chances is an anomaly which passes my comprehension. For a number of years the country has been loudly demanding this much delayed justice, but instead we get the recent Indian Civil Service Act which has entirely abolished the competitive system. No doubt the operation of the Act is temporary, but a wrong precedent has been created, and no one knows to what further developments it will lead.

His observations on the two recent repressive measures, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act, and the way in which they have been worked, leading to the disappearance or dragging on of a lifeless and miserable existence of several papers, and the internment of many Moslem leaders and others were just and outspoken. His criticism of the "men of blood and iron" was well deserved. It is these portions of his address which must have brought down on him the wrath of many Anglo-Indian papers.

The passages in Sir S. P. Sinha's address which dealt with the Arms Act, the right of Indians to become volunteers, to obtain commissions in the army, to enter the navy, and the right of men of all provinces to become soldiers, were, as far as our memory enables us to judge, never surpassed or equalled by any similar utterance of any other Indian leader in courage and clearness of expression and impassioned, though statesmanlike and irrefutable, logic.

Dr. Ray on the Pursuit of Chemistry in Bengal.

Professor P. C. Ray's inaugural Calcutta University Extension Lecture on the

pursuit of chemistry in Bengal was very instructive. It had the eloquence of facts and was consequently rousing and hope-inspiring. About a century ago, in Germany, to quote Liebig's words, "it was a wretched time for chemistry." But in the course of two decades, he and Wohler "by their epoch-making discoveries almost revolutionised the views of chemists on organic chemistry; in fact one may go so far as to say that they created organic chemistry."

GERMANY IN 1823.

However, neither of these great apostles could catch inspiration in their native land. The former went to Paris to learn at the feet of Gay-Lussac, and the latter preferred to repair to Stockholm in 1823, to be initiated by the great Swedish chemist Berzelius. The line which these great pioneer chemists borrowed from Paris and Stockholm was rekindled with vigour on their return to Germany and has been ever since burning with increased and dazzling brilliancy.

ENGLAND IN 1837.

England, though she could boast of a Boyle, a Priestley, a Cavendish, a Dalton and a Davy, was, however, slow to follow in the wake of the chemical renaissance in France and Germany. Up till the forties of the last century she was found lagging behind in the race. Liebig, who visited England in 1837, writing to Berzelius naively says; "England is not the land of science; her chemists were ashamed to call themselves chemists because the apothecaries had appropriated the name." According to Sir Edward Thorpe there were not in 1837 more than a couple of dozen persons in the British Isles altogether receiving systematic instruction in practical chemistry and even that supply was probably fully equal to the demand. There was in fact little to tempt men to take up chemistry as a means of livelihood. Teacherships were few in number, analytical chemistry as a profession hardly existed, and chemical manufacturing was done by rule of thumb, and for the most part very badly done."

Such, said the Professor, was the state of things in the forties in England in the last century, and such is the state of things in the India of to-day, so far as chemistry can offer attraction to young men as a means of livelihood.

It is scarcely too much to say that 99 per cent. of our University students who take up chemistry do so simply because it happens to be a branch of the Science curriculum, and they have to give it up and forget all about it as soon as they have secured a degree. Yet in the midst of such discouraging and depressing circumstances we must cultivate our favourite science.

But we must not be daunted. Where other nations have succeeded we can also attain success, provided we have the requisite devotion and zeal. Intellectual capacity we have. Our struggle is only with poverty. Scientific workers in pre-

vious ages had to carry on their investigations under much more adverse circumstances.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE PIONEERS OF SCIENCE.

If we read carefully the history of the different branches of science we invariably find that they have attracted votaries in the early stages of their progress in the midst of almost insuperable difficulties. You all know that Copernicus held back the publication of his great book "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies" for 36 years for fear of giving offence to the all-powerful Church; that Bruno was burned at the stake for teaching the plurality of worlds, and Galileo visited with the terrors of the Inquisition for his vindication of the Copernican doctrine. Nay, Roger Bacon, one of the precursors of our own science, was thrown into prison and had to rot in a dingy cell of a cloister at Oxford for practising the Black Art, as chemistry was then called. Browning in his "Paracelsus" has delineated the wrestlings and inward longings of an ideal alchemist, who is only an honest seeker after truth, who pursues knowledge for its own sake irrespective of what it brings. Voltaire tells us that at the time of Newton's death there were not 20 readers of the *Principia* out of Britain. These great and mighty interpreters of the laws of nature cared not for name or fame, but considered themselves lucky if only they could be instrumental in giving to the world the results of their lifelong labours. Kepler had imposed upon himself years of incessant toil including midnight vigils in observing and recording the motions of heavenly bodies; and after embodying the results of his labours he exclaims, "I may well wait a hundred years for a reader, since God Almighty has waited six thousand years for an observer like myself."

If Europe is what she is to-day—if she is in the van of scientific progress—it is in no small measure due to the self-denying ordinances of these great heroes in science and their worthy successors.

To those who intend to pursue chemistry in India the Professor could not promise a rich harvest in the immediate or near future.

Those who are pioneers in this field have no traditions to go by or follow up; they have to chalk out their own path and formulate their own schemes and carry them out as best as they may. Difficulties arise at every turn but with faltering steps the weary pilgrim must keep marching on towards the goal, happy if he reaches it but equally happy if he perishes in the attempt.

He added in a different connection.

I have always been reluctant to appeal to the sordid instincts of man in giving a stimulus to the cultivation of science. I prefer to take our stand on a higher platform. The heroes of science some of whose names have been mentioned in the earlier part of my address have always pursued their favorite branches with a singleness of purpose and without an eye to material gains and neither penury nor persecution could damp their ardour and they have left priceless legacies as the common heritage of mankind. As a new light flashes across the mind of the inquirer or as he hits upon a novel discovery, which has made him lose his sleep and appetite for days and months

he is seized with ineffable joy often bordering upon delirium and unconscious of all that is around him is led to exclaim—*Eureka*. "The vocation of a student of science is sacred—he is a citizen of the world—he transcends all artificial barriers of race and nationality.

Yet within the last twenty years or so during which original investigations in chemistry have been earnestly carried on in Bengal, that science has added a little to the material prosperity of the country.

MATERIAL ADVANTAGE

The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works had its birth and early struggles in the dark and dingy rooms of a house not far from this place and it started with the modest sum of Rs. 800. With the recent expansions which have already been taken in hand it will soon cover an area of 24 bighas (8 acres) and its present capital of 5 lacs will have to be doubled with a view to the installation of new plant. It has always been a fixed principle with the Directors of this business not to take in any one as a chemist whose knowledge is not up to the M. Sc. standard of our University. There is another matter—rather of a delicate nature—which may not be passed over in silence. The works has been conceived, initiated and managed solely by Bengali brains, energy and pluck and it has never been necessary to call in the aid of any foreign "experts." Perhaps you may be interested to know that owing to the serious dislocation in chemical trade due to the war and the stoppage of supplies from Germany it has been doing a roaring business in some lines; e. g., magnesium sulphate is being turned out by tons and a consignment has been shipped to England; it has also been its privilege to be of some little help to Government in the matter of supply of acids, etc., for munition. If I have at all referred to this chemical works in my address it is only to demonstrate that the successful application of science to industry is by no means incompatible with Bengali genius.

INTELLECTUAL GAINS.

In the field of intellectual progress, too, the results, though small, have not been discouraging. Among the Professor's own students can be named original investigators like Prof. Panchanan Niyogi, Messrs. Rasik Lal Datta, Nil Ratan Dhar, Rajendranath De, Jitendranath Rakshit, P. K. Dutt, Jnan Chandra Ghosh and Janendranath Mukherji, and Drs. Biman Bihari Dey and Hemendra Kumar Sen Gupta (both D. Sc.'s of London University on the strength of their theses). The Dacca Laboratory can boast of "Messrs. Brajendranath Ghosh and Sudhamoy Ghosh, who have also just won Doctorates of the London and Edinburgh universities respectively on the basis of their theses." "Mr. Anukul Chandra Sarkar, the first Ph. D. of our University in Chemistry, has amply proved that travelling abroad is by no means a *sine qua non* for completing one's chemical education." Within

some 20 years as many as 130 communications have been sent to the world's chemical journals from the chemical laboratory of the Presidency College alone. "The laboratory of my friend, Professor, Watson [of Dacca], is also responsible for two dozen or more papers." A monograph on complexions recently published in England quotes Mr. Nil Ratan Dhar as an authority.

In times of peace chemistry has played an important part in the industrial development and progress of the most advanced countries and is destined to play a similar part in all countries. As for war, "even the man in the street realises that the battles which are being daily fought and the new surprises sprung upon the wondering public in connection with this the greatest war since the creation of the world have had their rehearsals in the laboratories of chemists."

WHAT IS WANTED.

Both from the point of view of intellectual progress and material advancement, the pursuit of science is absolutely necessary. We require many colleges properly equipped for teaching up to the M.Sc. standard; we have at present only one. In the University College of Science a promising beginning has been made. But "unless the Palit and Ghosh endowments are adequately supplemented the Science College will not be in a position to start fully on its active career.

I hope Bengal has not seen the last of her great benefactors to our University. I trust another Palit or Ghosh will open his purse-strings in this hour of our dire need. I plead to our Government which has done so much in the past for the progress of education to come forward with a liberal grant.

The University Regulations should be so changed as to make the teaching of elementary science in our schools possible, if not compulsory. That will go to create a scientific atmosphere in the country, which is absolutely necessary. It will also provide honorable careers for some of our science graduates. If rich and poor alike do their part manfully, if the state does its duty in no niggardly spirit, then the dream of the great professor will surely be realized.

A DREAM.

I spoke of Physical Science as an exotic plant in India. Perhaps, I should modify or qualify the expression. Ancient India was the cradle of mathematical and chemical Sciences and I have narrated in

my "History of Hindu Chemistry" how these filtered to Europe through the medium of the Arabs. Indeed, the first Faraday lecturer of the Chemical Society in the introductory part of his lecture observes: "What an awakening for Europe! After two thousand years, she found herself again in the position to which she had been raised by the profound intellect of India, and the genius of Greece." Remember it is to India that the place of honour has been thus assigned by the illustrious French chemist, Jean Baptiste Andrie Dumas. I hope it will be hers once more to hold aloft the torch of Science and assert her true place in the comity of nations.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art.

The Report and audited accounts of the Indian Society of Oriental art for the years 1913 to 1915 form a very interesting publication. Particularly interesting and instructive are the comments of the French and English papers, extracts from which in translation and original respectively have been given in the appendix. To these we have a mind to turn in a future issue.

The Society has been doing very important and useful work in reviving and keeping up interest in the art traditions of India. It is evident that we are already in the midst of an artistic renaissance. The remark that some of the new artists have been imitating or drawing inspiration from Japanese art, though it should serve as accusation, need not discourage us in the least. From the days of Chaucer downwards English literature has owed much for its materials, forms, and inspiration, to Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German literatures. Yet the originality, greatness and power of English literature cannot be disputed or denied.

It is discouraging to read in the Report repeated references to the arrears of subscriptions due from members, the greater portion of them being in arrears. The Society has altogether 120 members, of whom some 47 are Indians, the rest being Europeans. It does not seem a natural state of things that an *Indian* society of *Oriental Art* should have 50 per cent. more non-Indian than Indian members. We do not, of course, know whether the Society has made adequate efforts to get the adherence and support of Indians. It is very easy and pleasant to fulfill the conditions of membership. It is very profitable, too. For, though a subscription of Rs. 24 per annum is said to be payable, as most of the members do not pay, we suppose it is not good form to pay. How otherwise can such large arrears be accounted for? For on hurriedly glancing

through the names of the members, both European and Indian, we can not find any particularly impecunious ones.

We have said, it is very profitable to become a member,—we mean a defaulting member. One hasn't really got to do any thing or pay anything and yet one has many solid advantages, as the following extracts from the Report will show:—

By the courtesy of the India Society, London, our Society has been able to purchase some copies of Mr. Fox Strangway's "Music of Hindustan" for sale to the members at a concession price of Rs. 7-14 per copy, the published price of the work being Rs. 15 per copy. By arrangement with the India Society, London, Mrs. Herringham's monograph on Ajanta paintings (15 colour plates and 30 collotypes) will also be available to members at £3 per copy, the published price being £4 4s. per copy.

Mr. Gangoly's monograph on "South Indian Bronzes," copies of which he has so generously presented to members, is a very interesting study of Indian sculpture based on original sources not utilised by any previous writers, and in its attractive get-up and sumptuous illustrations has met with great appreciation. This work, which has been published wholly at Mr. O. C. Gangoly's expense, and Mr. Tagore's "Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy" have been issued as free publications to members for 1914 and 1915, respectively. Members requiring additional copies of Mr. Gangoly's work may procure the same from the Secretaries at Rs. 10 per copy, the published price of the work being Rs. 15 per copy.

We have seen Mr. Gangoly's work. It is a very valuable and costly one. Apart from the labour and patience required to prepare such a book, it must have cost him several thousand rupees to produce so sumptuous and profusely illustrated a volume. The other work, a very original, illuminating and valuable essay, *viz.*, "Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy," is also really a costly production, though the members got it, too, *gratis*; for the illustrations in it having been printed from our blocks, as is the case with some reproductions published and sold by the Society, we know that the blocks alone cost us more than Rs. 200. After all this we must really confess that the *gratis* instinct is getting very strongly developed in us, and we are going to apply for a defaulting membership of the Indian Society of Oriental Art without any avoidable loss of Time.

Though we have said that we do not know whether the Society has made adequate efforts to get Indian adherence and support, we do not suggest that it is easy to get it. From the financial results of our own efforts to popularize neo-Indian Art, and the ridicule and abuse heaped upon us,

it is clear that our people do not yet appreciate it. The papers generally do not even refer to our reproductions of Indian pictures. It would, however, be a psychologically interesting study to enquire why when a publication like the first number of "Indian Ink," issued under European auspices, obtains a loan of blocks from us and reproduces some of our pictures, they meet with a chorus of praise from all those quarters which are usually unappreciative of our efforts. It is also psychologically instructive to find that when the Indian Society of Oriental Art holds its charming exhibitions the papers appreciatively comment upon many pictures which when reproduced in our pages before or after the dates of the exhibitions are entirely ignored by them. Perhaps appreciation, like many other things, has its prejudices, freaks and snobbishness.

The Nation's duty to Professor Bose.

We have said in a previous issue that we owe it to Dr. J. C. Bose to give him a laboratory and some research fellowships for students to receive training under him. He has indeed got from Government a recurring grant of Rs. 50,000 for five years for himself and his assistants and mechanics and a grant of Rs. 25,000 for a workshop. He will also have facilities in the Presidency College. But all this does not mean that a laboratory is no longer needed. Some do not even seem to understand the difference between a laboratory and a workshop. Prof. Bose requires a special laboratory for himself, his assistants and his special students to work in, with a lecture theatre where he can occasionally address both specialists and the general educated public. The laboratory has got to be built and will be built. He has set his heart upon it, and will devote to it all that he can spare. The question for the general public is, who else are going to have the privilege of being associated with him in this institution, which will be both national and cosmopolitan. This college or that may give some facilities, but where are his successors to get their training and where are they to work? Shall the special kind of research of which he is the pioneer be continued in India, or shall the lamps lighted from our torch burn in the West alone hereafter? That is the question for us to answer.

A Galileo, a Newton or a Darwin did not build factories for their nations or bequeath manufacturing processes to them. One ought not to expect every scientific discovery to be directly coinable into rupees, annas and pias. Still, those who ask whether there is any money in Dr. Bose's discoveries may try to guess what money he could have made if he had, like Marconi, followed up and commercialized his discoveries in wireless telegraphy. We expect that the Americans and other go-ahead people will get money out of his crescograph and other apparatus and investigations by improving their agriculture therewith. Should Dr. Bose have time and opportunities to prove vivisection unsatisfactory and unnecessary, by experimenting on plants with drugs, both men and the lower animals will be spared much suffering, physicians and pharmacutists will make money, and India, with her sublime teaching of *ahimsa* (non-killing), will have made a characteristic contribution to the world's treasury of knowledge and morals.

The Famine in Bankura.

We are deeply thankful to all those friends of humanity who from far and near are so generously sending us their contributions for the relief of the famine-stricken people in Bankura. Their contributions are thankfully acknowledged on another page. We regret very much that we are unable to personally thank by letter every one of the donors. We hope they will not find it difficult to forgive us when we say that being in a weak state of health it is with difficulty that we edit and conduct two monthly magazines. The work is exacting and does not leave us any surplus time and energy.

Relief-workers on the spot and others acquainted with the circumstances tell us that the work will have to be continued till July, and that the sufferings of the people will increase from March next, and consequently more help will have to be given. At present all the relieving agencies give only a quarter seer (half a pound) of rice per head per diem, whereas ordinarily the people are accustomed to take from half a seer to a seer per head per day, besides *dal* (pulse soup), vegetables and fish. An appeal has been made to the relieving agencies to increase the doles. It will be for them a pleasant duty to do so, provided they can get the money for the increased expenditure involved. Clothing and blan-

kets have also to be purchased, as the cold in Bankura is rather severe.

An Incorrect statement made by Lord Carmichael.

In the course of the address which Lord Carmichael delivered on the occasion of the prize distribution at Dacca College, he said :—

"What I want to remind you of is that whatever is the help you get from Government, whether you think it great, or whether you think it small—and for my part I think it great—I know of no country where the general mass of students on the average are proportionately so helped by Government as students are here on the average."

This is a glaringly incorrect statement. Of the general mass of students, the majority in all countries are pupils in elementary schools. Now, in the majority of civilized countries, elementary education is free, many countries supplying books, paper, pencil, etc., also free. In some countries the scholars in elementary schools get even free lunches or mid-day meals. How then can it be said that in our country the general mass of students get more help from the Government proportionately than in other countries? Next in number to the pupils in primary schools are the students in secondary schools. In the United States of America even secondary education can be had free by rich and poor alike. How then can our boys and girls be said to be in receipt of the largest proportionate amount of help from the Government? Even in British India in Lord Carmichael's province, the students pay more in fees (Rs. 95,50,070 in 1913-1914) than the contributions from provincial revenues (Rs. 64,99,336 in 1913-14) and local and municipal funds (Rs. 23,92,426 in 1913-14) combined. In every other province the contributions from public funds are larger than the income from fees. The passage quoted above, therefore, could not have fallen less appropriately from the lips of the ruler of any other province than those of Lord Carmichael. In India itself in 1913-14 the Baroda State paid nine-tenths of the total educational expenditure, while in British India, the contribution from public funds in 1913-1914 was only 55 per cent. of the total expenditure. In Baroda and some other Native States elementary education is free, which is not the case in Lord Carmichael's province and most other provinces of India.

Here is what an Englishman who has retired from the Indian Educational Service writes to us in the course of a private letter :—

"The fees here are almost prohibitive. A friend of mine, a Subadar, who had to retire on account of ill-health before he was entitled to full pension and now gets only Rs. 40 a month, has to pay Rs. 11 a month for his son's fees, that is to say, more than a fourth part of his income. I do not think an Englishman who sends his son to Eton or Harrow has to say so much *in proportion*. The young man is reading for the Intermediate."

Considering our backwardness in education and the vast population of India, the state spends exceedingly little in scholarships for sending students abroad. Japan and China, not to speak of Western countries, spend far larger amounts and send abroad a far larger number of students.

Should it be supposed that Lord Carmichael's statement was made only with reference to College or University students, it would still be incorrect. For, to give only one example, in the United States of America,

"Wide diversity prevails at present among American Colleges in regard to fees. The State Universities for the most part charge nothing except for law and medicine....., the state, principally in the West, has been taking over more and more of education, with the consequent elimination of fees from the elementary school up through the university." (*Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe and published by Macmillan & Co., Vol. II, p. 589.)

Mr. Lyon on the main duty of Government.

In an address, containing advice to students, recently delivered by the Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon, he said, "it was the inherent right of a nation to govern itself." This doctrine would be all right if it were not in practice officially interpreted to mean that "it was the inherent right of the ever-coming but never-to-come future generations of a nation to govern themselves." Yet it is to be hoped officials would be willing to consider the claim of our great-grandchildren to self-rule;—particularly as Mr. Lyon wished to impress upon his hearers that "the future of this country and the future of Bengal

depended upon themselves and not upon the Government." For, obviously, if the Government and the people were one, their joint efforts could produce results which must be unattainable if, as now in India, the Government considered themselves a different entity from the people, and told the people to depend only upon themselves. In progressive countries Governments do not preach the doctrine of self-reliance *in this form*. There a part of self-reliance consists in making the state organisation subservient to the will and conducive to the welfare of the people. For everywhere the state is the most powerful and extensive organization and the biggest capitalist. Therefore the friendliness, encouragement and direct help of the state is necessary and beneficial in every walk of life, as, for example, the history of the evolution of modern Germany and modern Japan shows; though in Mr. Lyon's opinion, "The main duty of the Government was to preserve peace and tranquillity." We think to preserve peace and tranquillity is only a means to an end, and that end is to promote human welfare, the welfare both of man's body and mind. Mr. Lyon also, perhaps unconsciously, admitted this when he went on to say that without peace and tranquillity there could be no development and progress. But this might be forgotten if it were dogmatically laid down that the preservation of peace and tranquillity was the main duty of Government without laying at least equal emphasis on the use which was to be made of this peace and order. In his recent work on "Political Ideals" Mr. C. Delisle Burns points out how the Roman ideal of law and order is the principle of permanence, as liberty is that of change, both being indispensable for civilized life.

"But order may be paid for too dearly if it is at the expense of liberty. Obviously in giving order to Europe, Rome had taken away all local vitality ... for order cannot imply the limitation of the natural development of what is set in order. If it were so, life would not be orderly, but only death; an order which is inflexible is tyranny,—or in the words of a keen Roman critic, 'we make a desert and call it peace.' " ... as liberty tends to degenerate into license, so order tends to be corrupted into unnatural fixity of the *status quo* ... the order which sacrifices originality, and therefore growth, destroys itself."

In giving order to India, the British Government ought to see that it does not take away all her vitality: already her vitality has been impaired to some extent.

Servants of India Society and the Indebted Poor.

A Press message informs the public that the efforts of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society to introduce co-operation amongst the most degraded of the wage-earners of city, viz., sweepers, scavengers and mill-hands, have produced encouraging results. After a careful study of the conditions under which this class of people live, members of the Society found there was no hope of reclaiming them except by improving their economic condition and educating them so as to organise their credit and start co-operative credit societies. In 1913 three societies for this class of very heavily indebted people were started. The results hitherto attained are full of promise. In two years 14 co-operative credit societies have been formed with a membership of 463. Of these 353 members have been redeemed entirely from debt to usurers, the average debt of each workman being rupees three hundred. Debt to the extent of Rs. 1,10,000 to usurers was reduced to Rs. 87,944 by conciliation and transferred from usurers to the co-operative society. At the same time the rate of interest was reduced from roughly an anna a rupee per month to a pice. Various societies have embarked Rs. 87,944 in redemption of debt. Of this total the members have discharged Rs. 40,033. Thus in two and a half years these societies have reduced indebtedness by nearly one-half and on the balance they are paying quite a reasonable interest. Various valuable offshoots are noted. Members who have borrowed from the societies for debt redemption have insured their lives and 247 such insurances for Rs. 250 each have been effected. A co-operative dispensary has been established and high schools set up.

The War that is always with us.

In these days of human warfare on a titanic scale, it is apt to be forgotten that we have in our midst war of a different, though not less destructive character. Plague continues to levy its terrific toll of thousands of human lives every week.

The plague mortality in India during the week ending January 22nd stood at 6,890 against 8,895 cases. Bombay Presidency and Sind report 2,265 deaths, Madras Presidency 552, Bengal 4, Bihar and Orissa 461, United Provinces 1,193, Punjab 71, Burma 243, Central Provinces 971, Mysore State 143, Hyderabad State 936 and Central India 96.

Who will fight this terrible enemy of the poor ?

U. P. Educational Conference.

It was a most important, influential, representative and successful conference which met last month at Lucknow to discuss the educational needs and formulate the educational demands of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected to the chair. By his ability, his eloquence, and his untiring industry and great sacrifice in the cause of education, he was undoubtedly the fittest man to guide the deliberations of such a conference. Raja Rampal Singh, chairman of the Reception Committee, was quite justified in declaring, "Let us have inefficient education, rather than efficient ignorance." Mr. Malaviya's speech and many of the other speeches were characterized by accurate information and cogency of reasoning. The resolutions covered the whole field of education, general, industrial and technical, for boys as well as girls, from the primary up to the university standard. The speakers rightly emphasized the duty of the state to provide education for the people in all stages. What it could not do directly, it ought to do indirectly by stimulating public liberality. We hope a complete report of the conference will be published early. The conference has shown its earnestness and wisdom by the formation of a permanent committee to look after educational matters. This has not been done a day too soon. The United Provinces were in ancient and medieval times the home of Indian civilization. Their present backwardness is not creditable either to the people or to the State. As the people have begun to show their earnestness, the State is bound to shake off its inertia, and change the obstructive attitude of its officials.

The Science Congress.

Last month Lucknow saw the sittings of the Indian Science Congress, too. This

gathering also was very successful, as men like Prof. J. C. Bose, Prof. P. C. Ray, and others were present and delivered addresses. Considering the state of scientific knowledge in India, it was necessary and fitting that some popular lectures were delivered. India does not contain a sufficient number of original scientific investigators to make it possible yet for its science congress to be a gathering for the reading and discussion only of original papers; though the number of original contributions showed that the day may come when we may have something like the British Association in our midst.

Women on the Education of their Sex.

The women of Bombay and of the Panjab have spoken on the need of education of their sex. Let their sisters in the other provinces follow their example, though it is difficult for the purdah-ridden provinces to do so. As suggested at the Lahore meeting, the Government should associate educated Indian women with itself in its efforts to promote the education of the sex.

Home Rule League still Required.

Even if the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress were both to carry on vigorously propagandist and educative work, the need for a Home Rule League would not entirely disappear. We require an organisation which would be the meeting ground for both Hindu and Moslem, and for men of all shades and degrees of progressive political opinion, which neither the National Congress (even after the recent amendment of its constitution), nor the Moslem League is. Politically, self-rule is the greatest and the most essential need of the country. Combined work for the realization of this ideal is both an education in self-government and a necessity. Combined work in co-operation with one another can alone enable us to understand, appreciate and respect one another better, and in this way produce national solidarity.

MIDDAY

(From the Bengali of Satish Chandra Ray)

BY C. F. ANDREWS, M.A. AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., D.SC.

I.

How silent is the light !
 What depth is in the clear blue sky !
 The eyes grow weary of the dazzling light,
 The forest depths are plunged in silence.

Who are these that pass so softly by the garden
 Wandering with soft whispers and still softer steps ?
 Ah, my heart, at such an hour, why yield to dark despair,
 Thy lute untouched, thy song of joy unsung.

Hushed in a sudden wonder with wide open eyes
 Life's narrow fretfulness is lost in light profound.
 What a glory of the sun fills the world !
 The light is still. How deep the sky !

II.

To day I am a lone spectator in the silent theatre of the world
 And watch the shadows at their silent play.
 They have come trooping down from the palace of the trees
 And sit still by the lake when their play is done.

The birds restrain their songs
 And fly past again and again.
 The leaves bend low upon the trees
 And hide the blossoming flowers with their kisses.

How silent are the ripples on the lake !
 How soundless is the wood !

EVENING

(From the Bengali of Satish Chandra Ray)

BY C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M.A., D. SC.

It is Evening and the tired earth with its chequer work of lengthening shade
 rests silently.

The beautiful twilight floods the sky and pours its after glow upon the tops of all
 the trees.

The birds float idly on their painted wings and hover to the ground and sink
 to rest.

Out of the depth of this still beauty the burden of an aching silence draws down
 upon my heart.

A voice that tries to speak to me is sounding through the air, inarticulate.

A scented touch seems to hold me like the blind clinging of the blind.

I have found no rest, no peace.

Where, oh where, is that wonderful word of consolation so full of sweetness
 of rest,—

That word which the sunset skies are seeking to utter ?

The bar to its speech is so frail, yet, unuttered, this silent beauty crushes my heart
 to tears.

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NOTES

Self-service as Spiritual Discipline.

There are orthodox Brahmins who spend certain periods of their lives, not taking food prepared even by their mothers, sisters or daughters, in the belief that such abstinence is spiritually beneficial. We have no such belief, but it need not be discussed here. The practice, however, has no doubt, a hygienic value; as in cooking his own food a man can be as scrupulously clean as he chooses, and can also avoid the use of stale, rotten or otherwise unwholesome articles of diet. It also to a great extent serves as a check upon luxurious living and gluttony. For though it is quite easy and pleasant to enjoy course after course of rich delicacies prepared by others, it is not quite so easy and pleasant to do the cooking of so many dishes for oneself.

If we try to dispense with the services of others even for a single day, ourselves doing the work of the scavenger, the sweeper, the scullion, the cook, we can realize what we owe to others. Some male persons are apt to have a proud feeling that they are the lords of creation, and that women have been created simply to minister to their wants. But if they attempt to do even for a single day what their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters do for them, it cannot fail to be brought home to them that those who serve are really more important than those who are served, and that the usefulness, the fame and the brilliant careers of men are built on the foundations of what women do for them in the privacy and obscurity of their homes.

A similar line of thought convinces us that we owe a great part of our usefulness to our scavengers and sweepers, to our menials, to the unskilled labourers, the peasants, the artisans, the craftsmen, the me-

chanes, the tailors, the shoemakers, the builders, the carpenters, the blacksmiths,—all, in fact, who toil to make us comfortable for a scanty remuneration. The very fact that we pay and pay small sums for their services serves to obscure and dull the sense of our great indebtedness to them. It may be bad economy for every one to try to do for oneself all that is necessary for one's existence, it may even be impossible so far as the needs and activities of a modern civilized man is concerned; but it is a good discipline for the soul to try to do even part of the work necessary for one's daily sustenance and comfort. It is sure to give one a lively sense of gratitude towards the humble workers of the world and to create true fellow-feeling, instead of that so-called sympathy which in most cases nothing but the pity which fortunate persons patronizingly feel for those who occupy humbler ranks in life.

The greater the man the more is he able to stand in the place of, to identify himself with, the meanest of men in the world's estimation. With the broadening of his fellow-feeling, he becomes more and more universal.

We find it mentioned in Pundit Sivanath Sastri's reminiscences of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, published in the *Modern Review* for November, 1910, that a sage told the Paramhansa "to believe himself to be equal to the meanest sweeper, for instance. Ramkrishna at once resolved to do the duty of a sweeper. By stealth he would enter the *paikhana* or privy of a neighbour from below, and would take away the pots to the river to wash them and put them again in their places." It is given to few to be so thorough-going in the endeavour to universalize oneself; but the effort is worth making as far as one may find it possible.

Business as Service.

Mr. John Farwell Moors, a prominent man of business of Boston, writes in an article on "Ethics in Modern Business" contributed to the *Harvard Theological Review* for January, that "though the object of business is money-making, its essence is service." Facts, he says, in support of this conception face us on every hand.

For example, follow through the day, the most typical of all citizens, the salaried man. A cook serves him with breakfast, his town with a side walk, an eager boy with a newspaper, an engineer with safe conduct to the city. "Bag earned, Sir," is his welcome there. Thereafter both necessities and luxuries are everywhere thrust upon him—collars, fish, custard pies, vacuum cleaners, pyramids of oranges and of apples vigorously shined, on anonymous trousers. A street car takes him to his office building, an elevator to his office, cleaned for him in the cheerless hours of darkness by a woman on hands and knees. Throughout the day a stenographer and office boy do his bidding. At lunch a restaurant serves him. When evening comes, superabundant theatres seek to entertain him. No socialist, however ardent, can conceive greater eagerness to serve. The very streets are congested with people bent on serving one another. The activities produced by charitable agencies are in volume as nothing by comparison. There is, however, a stern condition. The recipient of this service must pay for it. With rare exceptions, ability to pay can come only from the recompenses of service. The service of business is reciprocal.

The service of business is in one respect preferable to the service of benevolence or of friendship,—preferable to what is a "labour of love." When a man receives the service of business, he reciprocates by paying him who serves. In the case of the service of benevolence or of friendship, the person who is served receives a favour from the benevolent, involving loss of self-respect, or he remains under an obligation if the person who has served is a friend. One can do a good turn to a friend in return for his service, but the mere object of charity is rarely able to have the satisfaction of being able to serve those who have done him good as a matter of charity.

"Tiger" Jackson.

On the completion of the fiftieth year of his practice at the Calcutta Bar, his friends gave Mr. William Jackson, Barrister at Law, known as "Tiger" Jackson, a dinner. Mr. Eardley Norton read the following poem on the occasion:—

W J •

Through the thin mists of fifty years
You stand for all that makes our Bar
The stay against official jeers,
The pride of men who were and are.

In your brave hands its fame was safe,
Its proud traditions fresh and sure,
Inviolable from the chains which chafe,
The bruts which tempt, the bribes which lure
Men strive for stars and kindred chaff,
Men baffle on microscopic plan,
You set a nobler epitaph,
"Here lies the larger gentleman"
What higher praise can Envy grudge,
What clearer records lawyers show
Than yours who never feared a Judge
Nor stooped to trick or wound a foe
Still at justice all adorning
As though a boy with your first brooch,
We rise to toast your honoured name,
Impulsive, generous, dear old Chief

R N

This praise is thoroughly well deserved.

What a Criminal might have been.

The judgment in the Benares Conspiracy trial contains the following passage:

We have dealt at special length with the case of Sachindra Sanyal because we regard him as definitely the most dangerous of the accused before us. He was Rash Behari's chosen lieutenant in Benares and his activities have had both a wider and a more sinister character than those of the other accused. We find him at one time in Calcutta, at another at Lahore or Amritsar. There are elements in his character which might have made him a useful and even a noble member of society—as for instance his joining the band of volunteer relief workers in the Damodar floods. The privetized elements have however gained the upper hand and he has become an anarchist of a peculiarly dangerous type, the type of man who inherits to deeds of violence while keeping in the background himself. No sentence short of transportation for life would be at all adequate in his case.

Why men who have the making of a noble character in them become criminals, is not only an important study in psychology that is worth making, but it ought to afford food for reflection to the patriot and the practical administrator as well. Both the social leaders of a country and its statesmen can be said to attain success in their respective roles only when they are able to convert possibilities into actualities.

Nepotism in England.

In discussing the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Bill and in abusing the Indian press in connection therewith, some Anglo-Indian papers took it for granted that selection in Great Britain would secure for India the services of the best men. But nepotism exists in England as it does in other countries, as the following extract from the "Bombay Chronicle" shows:—

Nepotism in the English Courts.

The sixth and final Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in England dealing with the Legal Department contains much evidence on the prevalence of old style patronage which is very entertaining. Here for example is a dialogue between Mr. Graham Wallas and Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie:—

"Page 5 of the Return sets out the actual names of the masters and assistant masters in the Central Office

Mr. ——— has £1,000 a year, is he the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

Is Mr. ——— the son of a judge?—Yes.

He is, certainly, a near relation of a late Lord Chief Justice, but not a son.

Mr. ——— is he the cousin of a Lord Chief Justice's wife?—I do not know.

Mr. ——— is he the brother-in-law of a Lord Chief Justice?—Yes."

That accounts for seven out of nine.

How a Job was Secured.

A majority of the Clerks of Assize, most of whom get £800 a year, are also sons of Judges. A first-class clerk in the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature (£700 a year) describes how he heard of a vacancy and got the job:—

"There was a gentleman in the office at the time, who was connected with a friend of my father's and my father asked him to dinner and talked to him after dinner, he heard about the old Court of Exchequer Master's Office, and made inquiries and found that Sir Frederick Pollock had got a nomination."

Again, once the appointments are secured, says the "New Statesman," some of them appear to be very secure. A Clerk in the Probate Registry said that it would be "an act of grace" for a member of his class to retire at the age of 90, if he felt it difficult to get down to the office. As regards some light into the character of the work done in several of the Departments, the following remarks, which passed between Mr. Coward and Sir Samuel Evans, cannot be surpassed.

"We have had one or two of the clerks here, and the evidence of one I have before me. I asked him to give an account of what his day was, and you would be surprised to know how difficult he found it to give an account of what he did in the day?—You mean it would not necessarily produce brain fag."

"With the result that in the end I asked him whether any intelligent person of twenty-five could not learn all that he told us he did in twenty-four hours, and he said: 'Yes, he could', he quite agreed,—and you know these people get very substantial salaries?—They do but that is not peculiar to Somerset House. You will find it in lots of the Government offices, I should imagine."

"One of these people was asked what they did, and he said, 'Well, we help one another'?—That is a very nice feeling, but you think it too costly."

A Progressive Ruler.

The Thakore Sahib of Gondal whose munificent donation of Rs. 5,000 for the relief of the famine-stricken people of Bankura was recently appreciatively

noticed in the papers, is one of the most progressive rulers in India. He "has proved a pioneer of educational progress and of general advancement in the country." The Thakore Sahib himself studied at Edinburgh and obtained the degrees of M.D., and LL.D. He is also an F.R.C.P., and F.R.S., a D.C.L. (Oxon) and a Fellow of the Bombay University. Himself a scholar, he takes a great interest in education and has built a large college, on the hostel system, for the education of the sons of landholders. He established the only Girl's School in Kathiawar and was the first to start a Travelling Dispensary and an Asylum for the maintenance of the poor who are unable to earn their own living. The prosperity of the State can be judged from the singular fact that it is the only State free from taxation, customs, octroi duties, some 10 taxes having been abolished during the regime of the present Chief.

Hindrance instead of Help.

Bombay men who require coal for running their industrial concerns find it cheaper to obtain it from South Africa than from Bengal. If the people had a controlling voice in the affairs of the country obstructive railway freights could have been adequately reduced without any loss of time. In every direction one finds reasons why India should have Self-rule.

Our Sympathy with "Uneducated Indians."

In the course of the address which he delivered on the occasion of the distribution of prizes to the meritorious student of Dacca College, Lord Carmichael is reported to have said:—

"I do think that educated Indians, the proportion of whom is I fancy, bigger in Bengal than it is elsewhere, might do more than they have ever yet done, if they would but try more obviously to convince Englishmen as a whole that educated Indians, though they are in a minority, really have a living sympathy with uneducated Indians, who form a vast majority in this country."

We cannot say that we have no sympathy with "uneducated Indians," as they are our kith and kin, and that not merely in a figurative sense. There are not very many educated Indians who have no uneducated relatives. While many educated Indians are actively sympathetic, as is shown by their carrying on philanthropic work of various descriptions or by making pecuniary contributions to such work, it is probably true that a large number of our

educated countrymen, perhaps a majority, must be said to be rather indifferent to the lot of their poor and illiterate countrymen. As those who are comparatively prosperous are indebted, in no figurative sense, to the indigent for their prosperity, they ought to try their best to repay the debt by a more brotherly conduct.

It is a good maxim which says, "Despise not even the meanest," and Englishmen are not among the meanest. It is not, therefore, beneath our contempt to try to obtain the good opinion of Englishmen. But to sympathize with our uneducated countrymen in order that Englishmen may approve of our mental attitude is not a very worthy motive, nor one sufficiently strong to remove the apathy of the indifferent.

Among Westerners Englishmen are, for obvious reasons, among the slowest to recognize any worth in us which does not pamper their pride or promote their interest. Those of them who owe to India their careers and their wealth have sympathy of a certain kind with our illiterate countrymen. But that is because our unlettered folk have not learned to clamour for political privileges, and the profession of sympathy with them serves as an excuse and palliative for not sympathizing with educated Indians. The typical Anglo-Indian's sympathy is also sometimes of the anthropological variety.

There is no doubt that we deserve to be lectured upon our apathy; but the exhortation ought to come from those who by their *practical* sympathy with the mass of India's population have earned the right to find fault with us. Considering that India is the poorest, the most illiterate and the most unhealthy country in the world under enlightened rule, we do not see how any Englishman, occupying a high or a low official position, can with good grace lecture to us on the lesson of human sympathy. Nevertheless, we shall lay to heart Lord Carmichael's words of criticism and exhortation, but not for the reason indirectly implied in the passage we have quoted.

The Constitution of Cyprus.

In an article in the January number of *United Empire* on "Cyprus To-day" contributed by Mr. Roland L. N. Michell, C.M.G., it is said that "a Legislative Council, as created in 1883, consists of the High Commissioner and eighteen members—twelve elected and six official." Legis-

lative councils in India do not contain such a large proportion of elected members,—probably because India is India, not Cyprus.

Dreaming Bengal.

A railway, about 21 miles long, is proposed to be constructed from Khulna to Bagerhat in Bengal. For this purpose a company has been floated in—not Calcutta or any other town in Bengal, but in far off Ahmedabad. And the capital is only nine lakhs. While commending the enterprise of the wealthy citizens of Ahmedabad, one feels inclined to ask why nine lakhs could not be raised in Bengal. Was the undertaking too gigantic for Bengali brains, Bengali enterprise and Bengali capital?

Exploiters Exploited.

Not content with exploiting backward China and sleeping India, the Japanese are carrying the industrial war into the continent of the exploiters par excellence. *Commerce* says:

The Japanese "Ashabi" states that Messrs. Davis, Summers and Co., Kobe, have exported matches manufactured by the Takikawa Factory, of Kobe, and by the Fujita Factory of Akashi, to Europe, shipping 1,700 cases to Marseilles by the "Shinko-maru," which left Kobe on the 17th inst., and 1,300 cases to Port Said by the same steamer. The "Takata-maru," which sailed on the 7th inst., also carried 155 cases of Fujita matches to London. This is stated to be the first time that Japanese matches have ever been exported to that part of the world in any large quantities. The Nihon Kamijiku Match Co. and the Morita Match Factory are also in receipt of considerable inquiries from London, Paris, Holland, Egypt, etc., but are unable to conclude satisfactory business on account of the insufficiency of hold space available. Match manufacturers have been in communication with the Nippon Yusen Kaisha regarding the provision of adequate tonnage for the export of matches to Europe, and the steamship company has now decided to place at their disposal as much hold space as possible on extra steamers. It is, therefore, expected that exports of matches to Europe will increase hereafter. The "Ashabi" adds that the prices of the matches exported to England and France were about 22 yen for second-class safety matches, thick sticks, and 20 yen for third class. And pray, what is India doing in this matter? Surely India is not going to stand patiently aside and watch this new trade between England and Japan without making some effort to secure her share of the industry.

But this is crying in the wilderness. Neither the people nor the rulers of India are doing their duty. The listening to and telling of stories of the Carmichael handkerchief variety is supposed to be a good substitute for popular enterprise and practical State aid to industries.

An Exhibition of Periodicals.

It is said that an exhibition of European, American and Japanese periodicals is to be held in Baroda, to serve as a stimulant to those responsible for the production of periodicals in India. Speaking for ourselves,—and many others responsible for the production of Indian periodicals will be able to say the same thing, we may say that we have seen many of the best periodicals written in English, and the feeling we have had is that it would not be very difficult to produce reviews and magazines like those in the West if we had sufficient public support. We have, both in the case of this review and of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, often spent on a single issue more than the total price of the number of copies printed, but we do not remember to have sold even fifty copies more of these special numbers than of ordinary numbers. In one issue of *Prabasi* we printed the whole of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's brilliant and deeply significant play of "Achalayatan" in addition to the usual contents, but we could not feel that the public had become even curious as to what Rabindranath had written. That was some five years ago. In the *Modern Review*, too, we have published and are still publishing many stories and other productions of Rabindranath which when published in the West in book form are sure to sell by the hundred thousand. We have been doing all this in addition to publishing articles and paintings by some of the best writers and artists in India. What is the result? We began the publication of this review in 1907, and we printed 1,500 copies of the first number. Now after nine years of incessant toil and anxiety and worry, we print only 3,500 copies a month. We should like to ask those who are promoting the exhibition of periodicals in Baroda whether any publisher in England, America or Japan, having a circulation of 3,500 copies a month is able to give the public a better monthly than our humble review. If he can, let us please have a specimen copy of that monthly publication, and if we cannot bring out every month as good a thing as that, we shall not murmur if we are called upon immediately to stop publication. It is far easier to make bricks without straw than for an Indian periodical to emulate the get-up and contents of the Western periodicals having a

hundred times the circulation of their Indian fellows. It may be observed here incidentally that the contents of many of the well got-up Western periodicals are for the most part worthless and promote only mental dissipation.

It is not that no magazine-publisher in India has ideas or brains or even business capacity. What is wanting is sufficient public support. We have more critics and counsellors than customers. Sometimes a man who never bought a single copy of our review would patronize us with superior advice and criticism. If the man had given us cash for a copy instead of criticism, we should have been better pleased; for being in the line we can say without vanity that we have more ideas than amateurs of that ilk, though we always thankfully receive and consider advice and suggestions.

It is notorious that in India a good magazine purchased by a single person is read by ten or twenty others equally competent to pay but having the *gratis* instinct abnormally developed. Yet we have not heard that when one buys a pair of shoes ten of his solvent neighbors also use the pair. It is perhaps forgotten that both shoes and magazines require money to produce, and that both shoemakers and magazine makers depend upon paying customers for their livelihood.

Periodicals have two sources of income, subscriptions and cash sales, and advertisements. In India, Government is a dispenser of considerable patronage even in the case of newspapers and periodicals. Some provincial Governments issue lists of newspapers and periodicals which are allowed to be purchased for school and college libraries; and from one or two such lists that we have seen, it is fair to conclude that it is not the excellence of a publication which leads to its being patronized but rather the degree of fervour with which it adores the bureaucracy: for it is the belief of not a few officials, as it is that of the *Pioneer*, that the difference between the bomb-thrower and the constitutional agitator is one of degree rather than of kind. Periodicals have another and that an insidious and cowardly kind of enemy. The kind we refer to would be evident from the fact that a late Lieutenant-Governor of a certain province thought it worth his while to tell a certain public spirited landholder in a holy Hindu city to discontinue sub-

scribing for a periodical for which the police man confessed to have some liking. The practice of the police of seizing during house-searches copies of some newspapers and periodicals, though these may not contain seditious matter nor may have been ever prosecuted for any offence, checks the growth of business. It is also said that the police have another method of indirectly punishing publications which are not in the good books of official,—the method, namely, of frightening away subscribers by preparing a list of them.

Some of the Indian States seem to have a sort of index expurgatorius. A State in Rajputana for instance, does not allow some dailies and monthlies to be taken, though a certain Christian missionary, being an Englishman, could not be prevented from having his copy of the publication he liked. Though certain British officials consider liberty-loving newspapers to be their personal enemies, the Rulers of Indian States need not have any such prejudice; for even the anarchists do not generally seem to cherish the idea of dethroning these potentates.

The Gaekwar of Baroda is a progressive prince, and a friend of learning. There is no harm in an exhibition of good periodicals being held in Baroda; but an ideal periodical published from Baroda, setting the example to other Indian reviews and magazines would be far better. At present the periodicals published in that State are not better than other Indian monthlies published elsewhere. It is easy to do something sensational, something that would be talked of and furnish topics for paragraphs in newspapers; but an excellent periodical is a more solid achievement, requiring more brains and perseverance.

We have said, Baroda publications are not better than those of other places in India. It is possible, however, that the Baroda State patronizes the magazines of Europe, America and Japan more than other Indian States and British India do. We do not, however, know to what extent it encourages Indian periodicals by its support. Our review is said to be one of the passable monthlies in India. On a cursory glance at our subscribers' list, our despatcher tells us that only two libraries and three school and college reading rooms in Baroda take a copy each of our review. Perhaps Indian periodicals which are better than ours have more customers among the

libraries and reading-rooms in Baroda, but their number cannot be very much more, though there is a distinct possibility of their being more. For the Baroda administration report tells us that there are in that State 363 libraries and 62 reading rooms. Even Baroda, therefore, can do more for Indian periodicals than simply holding an exhibition of European, American and Japanese periodicals.

Most of the large businesses in India are in the hands of foreigners. They do not generally advertise in our journals. They do not like our politics. British publishers do not generally advertise in our periodicals, though some of them send us books for review, some have sent us publishers' puffs for free publication, and one has more than once requested us to buy his books at half price and review them in our columns. It is forgotten that British newspapers and periodicals are able promptly to review books because they are enabled to pay for reviews partly from the money which they get by printing the advertisements of publishers. We and our reviewers are expected to do the work with nothing to live upon. It is true the circulation of our periodicals is not as large as those of British ones. But we know some English-owned and English-edited periodicals, not having half our circulation, have very many more British advertisements than we ever had or can expect to have. British publishers do not send us books for review as a matter of charity; they are men of business and do it as a part of their business expecting indirect return. If they expect that our readers would buy the books we review, why cannot they also expect that our readers would buy the books advertised in our periodicals? As for those of our countrymen who have flourishing concerns, many of them do not advertise at all, and those who do, often prefer British-owned and British-edited journals. That is, for one thing, more "respectable" you know, and possibly more "loyal" too. Many depend for their success on the good grace of the *Burra Sahibs*, including those of purchasing departments, and do not, therefore, like to be included among the "suspects" by advertising in nationalist publications.

We may seem to have written at inordinate length on a not very important topic. But as most people unconnected with the press do not know the conditions which

circumscribe our capacity and, for that reason, ignorantly compare our productions with those of other countries, we have thought it proper to tell the public a little of what we know. All that we know it is neither expedient nor possible to print. The gentle reader will not, we hope, take this Note as a sort of begging circular. We have not in the past been famous for begging for anybody's favour or patronage, nor do we now feel like doing so directly or indirectly. If we have referred to our small circulation (and no other Indian-owned English monthly, as far as we are aware, has a larger), it is not to excite anybody's pity, but simply to show that the educated Indian public are not good appreciators and customers of things made in India. Producers of Indian periodicals are, for the most part, not beggars, they are men of business. If our periodicals are worth their price for the knowledge, stimulus and pleasure they give, men and women who want such knowledge, stimulus and pleasure are welcome to buy them. Others need not. But if they need not buy, they should also not borrow them for a free reading and free advice and criticism. It is customers that magazine-producers need, more than critics, counselors and exhibitors of goods not made in India.

Mr. Tilak on Excise Policy.

A public gathering was recently held at Poona under the presidency of Mr. B. G. Tilak, under the auspices of the local Temperance Association. Mr. Lavate quoted from Elphinstone an observation that Poona before 1818 was the abode of *all vices except drinking*.

Drinking was practically unknown in the district—that was the testimony of a European authority who knew what he wrote about and who was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Peshwas or the people of the district. But since the advent of the British Government, the sale of liquor showed a continuously rising curve. From zero in 1818 it rose to 70,000 gallons in 1878 and is now well-nigh 2 lakhs of gallons a year.

According to a summary of his presidential speech published in the *Mahratta*, Mr. Tilak said :—

The question had ceased to be one of logic or of argumentation, and people had come to a situation where they were at a loss to decide what to do. How was it that the sale of liquor increased from zero to thousands of gallons? The people were abstemious by instinct and habit, their religion was against it, public opinion also was so. If the Government thought that they could not uproot the vice, thereby

they were declaring their inability to manage the business. Let them hand over the management of the department to the leaders of the people and he would guarantee that they would see to it that before long the drunk enemy was expelled, without causing any commotion among the people. If the Government wanted the revenue, he would assure them that the people would readily consent to be taxed in any other way with a view to compensating the Government for the loss of the present revenue. If it was not love of money, what was it that prevented Government from taking successful measures against drunkenness? The Government had long tried but failed to appreciably check its growth. The situation then was this. The Government themselves could not successfully tackle the problem and would not let others do it. Themselves proved unfit for the management of the department, they would not let the Municipalities or other bodies take the matter into their own hands. If they wanted the money, the people were willing to pay the amount they wanted, by taxing themselves in other and better ways. What was to be done in such a situation? The answer was one which would take him directly into politics and he would therefore content himself on the occasion with only saying this: that unless the people made efforts to have the management of the department into their own hands, and divest the revenue authorities of that function, there would be no end to the trouble.

Education the Chief Need of India.

In writing in the *Social Reform Advocate* that "the chief need of India at the present time is a wider diffusion of education," Professor Homersham Cox says what we have thought all along and not only thought but acted upon; as, for a non-educational journal, we have always given great prominence to educational topics. Mr. Cox continues :

To remove the general ignorance of the masses is the fundamental reform without which no other reforms are possible. Some would put sanitation first. It is indeed deplorable that every year in India thousands of lives are lost by preventable diseases. But sanitation to be sufficient requires the intelligent co-operation of the people. In an army it may be possible to impose the orders of the medical officers on the soldiers. But military discipline cannot be enforced on a whole nation. Sanitary regulations, as experience shows, will always be evaded when the need for them is not recognised. The people in general cannot of course have the technical knowledge of the expert, but they must understand in some degree the reasons for the regulations they are required to obey. That is to say, they must be educated.

Many Hindus are now actively engaged in the endeavour to raise the depressed classes. When these classes are educated they will rise in the social scale, and at the same time, acquire a higher standard of manners and conduct. The best means to raise them is to educate them.

So too, if we consider any other reforms such as social reform or political reform, we shall see that the chief reason why they make such slow progress is the want of education. It is well that reformers should exert themselves in the direct advocacy of the reforms in which they are interested, but after all the

most efficient means of promoting them—the diffusion of education among the people.

Mr. Cox then asks what we can do to promote education. He asks this question as he thinks "the question is not what the government cannot or ought to do, but what we ourselves can do." To exert ourselves is less easy but more effective than making speeches about the duties of other people." He then says what we can do.

Every educated adult can give something for education, either from his time or his money. A lawyer in large practice may have no time to spare, but he can give some money without injuring himself. On the other hand, a young lawyer who is just beginning at the bar, may have very little money, but his time will not be so fully occupied that he cannot afford to spend an hour, or at least half an hour a day in teaching. If all who can would do something, it would be possible to give elementary education to, at any rate, a large proportion of the people of India. But many very rich Indians subscribe little or nothing to colleges and schools and as yet only a few Indians do any gratuitous teaching.

As to the way things ought to be done his advice is—

Let us suppose an Indian either by himself or in conjunction with one or two friends can give about Rs. 30 a month to education and consider how he should begin. He must not attempt too much at first. Even if only a few poor children are taught to read their own language something useful has been done, for there is no one even in the humblest classes who does not sometimes need at least to write a letter. By "their own language" we mean the language the children actually speak among themselves, not some official vernacular which they do not understand. Only the simplest words of every day use should be employed in the first reading lessons of a child. It is difficult enough for him to learn to associate the sounds with the written symbols, without the added difficulty of strange words. The practice that prevails in Kulu, Kashmir and the Panjab of teaching a child how to read by means of Hindustani, a language he only imperfectly understands, is deplorable. So too is the introduction into his first reading books of learned words which do not form part of his natural vocabulary. These should only be introduced at a later stage when the difficulties of reading have been overcome. Further the first reading book should not attempt to teach anything new. It should contain nothing but what the child is already familiar with. The attention of the child should be concentrated on learning to read. In all teaching the great rule is not to try to teach too much at once, and to remember that what has become easy for us may be very difficult for a beginner.

Even if an educated Indian cannot afford to give money, he can at least collect a few poor children around him and spend half an hour a day in teaching them to read and write.

Mr. Cox declares in quite unequivocal language that "it is most important that education for the poor should be entirely gratuitous. That is to say, not merely should there be no fees, but books, slates, paper, pencils, pens, should all be supplied

without charge. Even a small fee will keep away many "who would otherwise come."

When the child has learnt to read and write his mother tongue and it is possible to teach him something else, the first thing to consider is what will be useful to him in earning his living when he is older, as for almost all men, and most of all for the poor, that is the chief question. The Professor goes on:

It may not seem much to turn out lads who earn ten or twelve rupees a month; but if their fathers were only earning six it is really a great advance to advance to a higher standard of health and comfort. Now what is useful to the boy probably differs in different parts of India. In the towns, according to our own experience, the most useful thing is a little knowledge of English. A boy who can read and write some English, can almost always earn more than his father was earning, and to enable the boy to do that should, we repeat, be our main object. In shops, railways, presses, a knowledge of English, though it be only slight, is useful, and often procures higher pay. The demand for English too is increasing, as more Indian commercial men deal with England directly instead of through English firms in India.

Economy in Education.

British officials in India are accustomed to resist the demands of education by pleading the lack of funds even in ordinary times. Now that the British Empire is engaged in the greatest war in history the need of economy is felt in every direction, though that has not stood in the way of increasing the emoluments of covenanted civilians and certain other public servants drawing fat salaries. In England public spirited persons demand that there should be no retrenchment in educational expenditure. Mr. Frederick Henderson writes in the *Christian Commonwealth*:

There is this broad and vital distinction between educational expenditure and almost every other form of public expenditure. In the bulk of public work it is, generally speaking, possible to postpone expenditure with no worse result than delay. You go without the desired thing for a year or two—whether it is a street improvement, or a new road, or a public park, or the building of baths—but when you get it ultimately you get it as you would have had it now but for the delay. You can pick up your project where you dropped it. But you cannot do that with education. The work of the schools has to do with but a few years of the life of our children; but they are the formative years. It is work which cannot be postponed and picked up again later on. The child passes on into its life of adult responsibility, and the ignorance, the undeveloped outlooks, the narrowed powers due to any educational neglect during those few formative years will be a lasting handicap, affecting adversely the whole quality of the national life into which such a neglected and starved school generation grows up.

The President of a conference of some 300 working-class organisations interested in education which was recently held in London said that

very dangerous as he felt the action of the authorities in regard to educational economy to be, he was more concerned with it as a symptom than as an actual fact. It was undoubtedly true that those who cared for education were often seriously hampered by the fact that the country as a whole did not care much about the topic. Their primary object was to express so definite an opinion that public bodies would know they must put education in the forefront. They did not want the War used as a means for whittling away the small degree of education which had been secured by years of struggle. They felt bound at this crisis in our nation's history to reaffirm their faith that education was the primary public service, to which others must give way, if there was need for any to give way.

If in England people can speak of "the small degree of education which had been secured by years of struggle," what epithet shall we use to characterise the degree of education which the Indian people receive?

Curtailing Educational Expenditure in Bombay.

The Bombay Government's Resolution on the latest Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency contains the following passage:—

The obligation imposed by the present financial situation to practise strict economy in every department of the administration is placing severe limitations on the extension of activities and the initiation of new enterprises in the field of education. But the resultant state of affairs is not without its compensatory advantages. The advance in educational work has been so rapid of recent years that a period of suspension, which will afford opportunities for the examination of methods and results and the consolidation of achievement, may prove generally beneficial.

The alleged rapid advance in educational work in Bombay cannot be fully realized without some comparison. There is a book called "Education in Japan" written by Mr. W. H. Sharp, now Director of Public Instruction in Bombay. We gather from that book that in Japan in 1873 the percentage of children receiving primary instruction was estimated at 28. It rose to 51 in 1880, and to 91 in 1902-03. For some of the succeeding years the percentages are: 1907-08, 97.38; 1908-09, 97.80; 1909-10, 98.10; 1910-11, 98.14; 1911-12, 98.29. In the Bombay Presidency after, say, a century of British rule only about 26 per cent of the children of school-going age are under instruction. It is clear, therefore,

that the spread of education has been far more rapid in Japan than in Bombay. Yet what does Mr. W. H. Sharp say in his book on this rapid educational expansion in Japan? Here are his exact words:—

But speedy as the growth has been, we need not, therefore, look upon it with doubt, or fear that Japan will go back upon her steps. "The bamboo lacks not strength because of the rapidity of its growth; it is inflexible as steel, though it may sway idly in the wind." *

Evidently the Japanese people and government did not think it necessary that there should be "a period of suspension which will afford opportunities for the examination of methods and results and the consolidation of achievement"; nor did Mr. W. H. Sharp feel any misgiving about Japanese education when he wrote his book. Has he now changed his opinion regarding the risks involved in educational expansion in general, and did the Government of Bombay write the passage we have quoted after consulting him? Or should that Government be given the monopoly of the credit for inditing such a wise passage?

What the Bombay Government has actually done.

In pursuance of the policy foreshadowed in their Resolution on the Director's Educational Report, the Bombay Government issued sometime ago a circular announcing that the strictest economy was to be observed as far as the educational activities of the Presidency were concerned. It is enjoined that the strictest economy is to be observed in public expenditure on education and a similar policy of retrenchment is to be pursued in regard to aided institutions, so far as the disbursement of Government grants to them is concerned. For the present and until further notice, no educational institution can be newly placed on the aided list, nor can any building or equipment grant be promised to an institution already on such list.

We cannot sufficiently condemn this policy of misguided economy, whether pursued in Bombay or elsewhere in India.

Lord Willingdon on Education.

Some of Lord Willingdon's pronouncements are pro-education, though no hope can or ought to be derived from them. Speaking at the prize distribution to the successful students of the Bombay Scottish

* A. M. Knapp.

Education Society, and referring to the deficit anticipated in the building fund of the John Common High School of some thousands, he said :

"Let me appeal to you to wipe off in a few days this deficit entirely. War or no war, it is needless to say that the education of young children must go on, and I am perfectly confident, knowing as I do the generosity of the citizens of Bombay, that people will come forward to wipe off this deficit."

In January last His Excellency, after formally opening the building built by the Marwari community of Bombay for the Hindi School known as Marwari Vidyalyaya, congratulated them on the great step they had taken for the education of their young men.

One lesson, he said, which the present war had taught them was the need of education in this country, for it was owing to the want of education that there was an inclination among ignorant people to believe every false rumour and report that was circulated in regard to the war.

Local Self-Government and the Bengal Government.

The Bengal Government have done right in giving the municipalities greater freedom in framing their budgets. It is also better than no forward move at all that they are considering whether they ought to give all municipalities elected non-official chairmen instead of nominated official chairmen which some still have. In the Resolution on Local Self-Government issued in April last, the Government of India approved of the proposal for substituting elected non-official chairmen for nominated official ones, but left it to the discretion of provincial governments to act or not to act in accordance with this view. The reform has long been demanded by the press and public of India and is in consonance with the recommendation of the Decentralization Commission. In Bengal there are 85 non-official elected and 27 official nominated chairmen. All these facts leave no doubt as to what the people would like and what, therefore, Government ought to do. Still the Bengal Government have asked the municipalities concerned whether they would prefer elected non-official chairmen to nominated official ones. These local bodies should at once send a unanimitous express telegram to the Bengal Government in favour of elected non-official chairmen.

Judicial Reforms in Hyderabad.

We learn with pleasure from the "Bombay Chronicle" that a rather important measure of judicial reform is just about to be carried into effect in the Nizam's Dominions. Our contemporary says that in Hyderabad, as in most of the bigger Indian States, there are a number of wealthy jagirdars, who, like feudal lords of medieval days, enjoy quite wide powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the population permanently residing within their "jagirs." As is to be expected, the administration of justice, as conducted by these territorial lords, who do not possess any judicial training, is not as good or uniform as it ought to be. With a view to remedy this defect and to bring the administration of civil justice in these "jagirs" into line with that obtaining in the territories directly under the control of his Highness's Judicial Department, the Nizam, on the advice of a Committee who went into the question in all its details, in consultation with the jagirdars, has issued orders in which is embodied a scheme for the proper administration of justice in the jagirs. Irrespective of the fact whether the ancestors of any Jagirdar enjoyed any judicial powers or not, a general scheme based on the area, population and revenue of the jagir, has now been drawn up for adoption in all the jagirs.

The main features of this scheme are as follows:—

No jagirdar or paigahdar will be allowed to exercise the powers of a High Court within his estate. Powers corresponding to those of a divisional judge in civil cases and of a sessions judge in criminal cases will be granted to those estates only which have an annual revenue of five lakhs or more. The salary of these divisional or sessions judges shall on no account be less than Rs. 600 a month. If any jagir or paigah cannot maintain a judge on the prescribed pay, the jagir or paigah concerned shall forfeit its claim to exercise such judicial powers. If the amount of work is not sufficient to engage the whole time of these judges, the High Court of the Nizam may allow him to attend to other work also. While the selection of the judge will rest with the jagirdar, the appointment shall be made subject to the sanction of Government after obtaining the opinion of the High Court. The appointment of district civil judges and district magistrates, on the same system as above, but on a lower scale of pay and with lesser authority, is sanctioned for minor jagirs. Appeals from these jagir courts shall lie to his Highness's High Court and sessions courts and district courts as the case may be. There are also other safeguards provided against mal-administration of justice in the jagirs.

Our contemporary observes :—

On the whole the measure is bound to cleanse and vivify the slow moving administrative machinery of the State, and his Highness as well as his able Secretary, Mr. Hyderi, deserve credit for initiating so bold a measure which is also a step in self-government in these jagirs.

An Unmeaning and Puerile Boast

Speaking in the Imperial Council on the prevention of malaria Sir Edward Maclagan is reported to have said :

While accepting the resolution to encourage vigorous measures for the prevention of malaria, the Government of India do not wish it to be assumed that they assent in the view that their action hitherto has been remiss in this matter. It would not be possible in the first place, for the Government of India to say with any confidence that malaria is increasing in extent in the country generally. No doubt there are areas, in which there has been a marked increase of malaria, but there are others, in which there has been an equally marked decrease, and so far as the figures at our disposal go, they give us nothing upon which we can properly assume that there has been any marked increase in the disease during the last few years. This, however, is a matter into which it is unnecessary to go at present. Whether malaria has increased or not, it is notoriously a very prevalent and deadly disease, and it is our duty in any case to do the best we can to cope with its ravages. Here, I may say, that the Government has been in no way remiss.

I think it may be said without dispute that, as regards the measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, more has been done by the Government in the last ten years in India than has been done by all the Governments of this country during all the centuries that had preceded it.

If the public cannot say that, *taking the whole of India*, malaria is increasing, Government, as represented by Sir Edward Maclagan, with all their powers of collecting information, could not also say that it was decreasing. It is to be presumed, therefore, that there has been no marked decrease. In Bengal, which may be characterized as the home of malaria, deaths from fever numbered 23.40 per mille in 1914 against 21.30 in 1913 and 20.54 as the average of the past five years from 1909 to 1913. In the Central Provinces and Berar deaths from fevers were 16.86 per mille in 1914 against 14.05 in 1913. In these two provinces, then, malaria is on the increase.

But the most amusing and puerile passage in Sir Edward's speech was where he said that, "as regards the measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, more has been done by the Government in the last ten years in India than has been done by all the Governments of

this country during all the centuries that had preceded it." Sir Edward Maclagan forgot when indulging in this boast that in the ages when Musalman and Hindu kings ruled India, there was no malaria research anywhere in the world; consequently there was no such research in India, too. If he could show that in other countries, the contemporaries of the Indian Musalman and Hindu Kings had adopted measures for research and prevention in connection with malaria, while that duty was neglected in India, his boast would have some meaning and relevancy. But the fact is, as the Encyclopædia Britannica says, "the true nature of the disease remained in doubt until the closing years of the 19th century." "The first substantial link in the actual chain of discovery was contributed in 1880 by Laveran, a French army surgeon serving in Algeria." It may be said generally that the steps which have been taken in many countries to stamp out malaria are subsequent to that date, long before which India had ceased to have any indigenous independent rulers.

If an Englishman were to boast that his countrymen had laid down more miles of railway in India than any pre-British Indian government, that they had performed more surgical operations under anesthetics, diagnosed more diseases by taking x-ray photographs, sent more wired or wireless messages, or had given more bioscope performances than any Hindu or Musalman kings of India, these boastful words would be about as worthy of an adult statesman as the claim made by Sir Edward Maclagan in the Imperial Legislative Council of India in the year 1916 of Christ.

Filipino Independence.

Regular readers of this Review know that the Americans have promised to make the Filipinos independent within a measurable distance of time, that they have been preparing them for it, and that they have already given them self-rule to a far greater extent than India enjoys. Their hope of independence has come much nearer realization by the decision arrived at last month by the Senate of the United States of America to withdraw American sovereignty from the Philippines within not less than two and not more than four years. This decision will become final and have

effect only when it has gone before and been accepted by the House of Representatives, of which there is a great probability.

The Philippines were conquered and occupied by the Americans in August 1898, when a purely military government was established. In May 1899 the military authorities began the re-establishment of civil courts, and in July of the same year they began the organization of civil municipal government. To continue the work of organizing and establishing civil government the president of the United States appointed in February 1900 a Philippine Commission of five members. In July 1902 the Congress of the United States approved an act which contained a bill of rights, provided for the establishment of a popular assembly two years after the completion of a census of the Philippines, and more definitely provided for the organization of the judiciary. The first popular assembly, of 80 members, was opened at Manila on the 16th of October 1907, only nine years and 2 months after the conquest.

Since then the legislature has been composed of two branches, the upper house called the Philippine Commission, now consisting of three American and five Filipino Commissioners, and the lower house called the Philippine Assembly. All the members of the Assembly are elected by the Filipinos. The islands are subdivided into 36 provinces, besides the recently created Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Each province has a governor, who is elected by popular vote, except in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, four other provinces inhabited largely by non-Christian tribes and the Province of Batanes; in these the governor is appointed by the Governor-General of the islands, with the advice and consent of the Philippine Commission. The municipal government of the towns is practically autonomous, the officials, consisting of a president, a vice-president and a municipal council, being all elected by the qualified voters of the municipality. The supreme court consists of 4 American and three Filipino judges. In the classified civil service of the islands the proportion of the Americans is gradually falling and that of the Filipinos rising. In 1911 sixty-seven per cent. of the Civil Servants were sons of the soil. Since then their proportion has still further increased.

Filipino Civilization.

What is the history and state of civilization of the Filipinos which has permitted of this rapid evolution of self-government?

Large numbers of these islanders are still in a state of complete barbarism, of which we shall give some idea later on, the majority perhaps, semi-civilized, and a small minority may be said to be fairly educated.

The Filipinos were not wholly illiterate before the arrival of their Spanish conquerors. The influence of the civilization of India had extended to Malaysia and modified the culture of the primitive forest-dwelling and seagoing Malays. Syllabic systems of writing were in use in the Philippines. Chirino (*Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604) states, "so given are these islanders to reading and writing that there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, that does not read and write in letters peculiar to the island of Manila." "They write upon canes or the leaves of a palm, using for a pen a point of iron." These syllabaries passed quickly out of use among the peoples Christianised by the Spanish, and no actual examples have come down to us, though the form of the syllabaries has been preserved as used by Bisaya, Tagalog, Pampango, Pangasinan, and Ilokano.....

Mohamedanism had also entered the southern islands of the archipelago and sent colonists to Manila Bay. The entrance of this faith meant a new source of civilization, with writing in the Arabic characters, and books of laws, genealogies, and devotion. The Moro peoples of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago still maintain teachers and *imams*, while the proportion who can write their Moro languages in Arabic character is surprisingly large—*Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol IV, p. 674.

Though the people who were converted to Christianity forgot the kind of writing for which they were indebted to India, the *Cyclopedia of Education* goes on to say:

But the dominant influence in the civilization of the islands was destined to be European and Christian. The permanent occupation by Spain began with Legazpi's expedition in 1565.

As to the civilizing effect of Spanish rule the same *Cyclopedia* tells us:

The motives which led the Spaniards to establish secondary and high schools in the Philippines were the education of their own sons and training for the priesthood.....

Up to and past the middle of the nineteenth century, education remained wholly in the hands of the Church, and while the mass of Filipinos received instruction in the parishes in doctrine and catechism, there were practically no educated Filipinos outside of the clergy. In spite of repeated decrees of the king enjoining the use and teaching of Spanish, this language had made no progress among the natives. Travellers in the islands up to 1870 are unanimous that the Filipinos able to speak the Spanish tongue were rarely met.

Three facts, then, are clear: the Filipino tribes had no indigenous civilization or



BAGOBO WARRIORS

Though not essentially a warrior tribe, the Bagobos have curious religious beliefs which incite them to certain bloodthirsty and repulsive deeds. In warfare they take not only the head of their slain enemy but the hands and heart as well. Even within recent years they have been guilty of human sacrifice and their custom was *to eat* the sacrificial victim, all of them owned slaves obtained either by purchase or capture, and it was a slave who was usually offered at the annual festival of their god DIWATA. The people generally are clean and sober, but all classes are addicted to the betel nut, which they chew with tobacco or *buvo* leaves. Those who have killed men wear spotted red and yellow costume, and the red and yellow skirt belongs only to the wife of a man killer. A Man killer of the Bukidnon tribe wears a most remarkable head ornament fashioned from cloth of gold, with elaborate scarlet, blue or white tassels. (See portrait on the reverse page).



An Ifegao Warrior,
Note the prehensile toes.



A Bontoc Igorot Woman,
Philippines.



Old Bukidnon Chief, Philippine

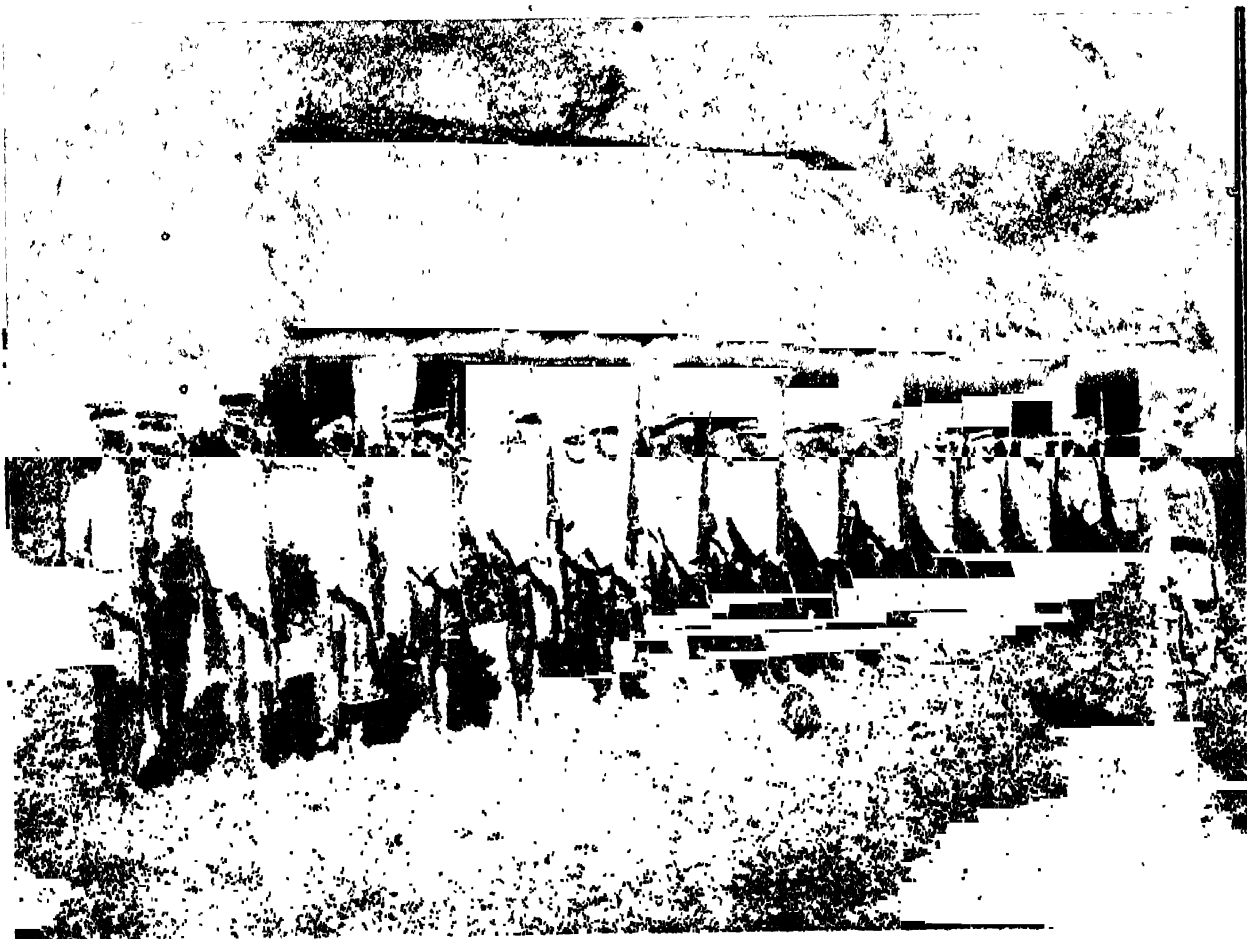


Kalanga Police Wild men recruited as police wear their ordinary but scanty costume,
merely attaching a police badge to their gee strings



AN IFUGAO HOUSE.

The Ifugao houses are raised from the ground by posts having projecting shoulders designed to prevent rats and other small animals from gaining entrance. Till a few years ago the Ifugao were persistent head hunters and the skulls thus obtained form, to this day, a prominent feature of house decoration ; sometimes they are used to form a frieze and at others they are enclosed in open-work baskets dependent from the eaves. Each house has two rooms, a living room and a store-room, the latter situated in the roof



BONTOC IGORAT CONSTABULARY SOLDIERS.

A few years ago these men were head-hunting savages; to-day they form as smart and up-to-date a body of troops as can be found anywhere.
They are not hampered with trousers.

literature; Hindu and Musalman influence had some civilizing influence on them, much of which was lost on their conquest and conversion by the Spaniards; and, the Spanish occupation did not do much to educate and civilize them.

As a result of the American government of the islands for twelve years, in 1911-12 five per cent. of the total population were at school. In British India 3 per cent. of the total population are under instruction.

The state of a nation's arts, industries, finance, etc., is also an index to its civilization. From ancient times India has been famous for her arts (applied and fine) and crafts; from time immemorial she has been a manufacturing and agricultural country. Such is not the case with the Philippines. As regards arts and industries, her ancient history is a blank; there are no monuments to testify to their existence. At present agriculture is the principal industry, but it is still generally in a primitive condition, implements and methods being for the most part antiquated, farm animals scarce, labour insufficient, and capital wanting for the proper development of the soil. Little has, as yet, been done towards the development of the mineral resources of the islands, except gold. The manufacturing industry consists mainly in preparing agricultural products for market, and in the production by the Filipinos of wearing apparel, furniture, household utensils, and other articles required to supply their primitive wants.

Filipinos not a Homogeneous People.

There is an Anglo-Indian and British Tory theory that a people cannot be a nation and a self-ruling one, unless it is one in race, habitat, language, religion, and degree of civilization. The Filipinos do not satisfy the requirements of this theory.

The total number of the islands enumerated within the Philippine archipelago is 3141. The archipelago cannot, therefore, be spoken of as a geographical unit in the Anglo-Indian and British Tory sense.

In 1914 the total population was estimated at 8,937,587. Of these approximately one-eighth are non-Christians and more primitive than the Christianised peoples. The dominant religion of the islands is the Roman Catholic, there being also followers of other Christian Churches of Western name and origin. An independent Filipino Church has also come into

existence. The Moros are Mohammedans. There are pagan tribes in some of the more remote regions. As they number about 800,000, they are not at all a negligible minority.

As regards race, the vast majority are of the Malayan or brown race; the remainder being of the yellow, black, white and mixed races.

Of the black race 97·8 per cent are Negritos, who are believed to be the aborigines of the Philippines. Nearly all of them live in a primitive state in the interior of Luzon, Panay, Mindanao and Negros. Their toes are so prehensile that they can use them nearly as well as their fingers. They tattoo themselves and wear very little clothing, usually only a gee-string. They have no fixed abodes but roam about in groups of a few families.

The brown race, which came from the south in successive waves of immigration beginning in prehistoric times, *is composed of twenty-three distinct tribes varying widely in culture, language and appearance*; their languages however belong to one common stock and there is a general resemblance in physical features and in quality of mind.

Seven Christian tribes form the bulk of the population.

The Moros were the last of the Malays to migrate to the islands; they came after their conversion to the Mahomedan religion, and their migration continued until the Spanish conquest. Slavery is common among them. They are generally miserably poor, cruel and haughty.

The Igorots are the chief representatives of the early Malay immigration to the Archipelago. Among the wildest of them head-hunting is still a common practice; but the majority are industrious farmers laying out their fields on artificial terraces and constructing irrigation canals with remarkable skill.

Some tribes indulge in human sacrifice and eat the flesh of the victims.

The Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, 1901-1913, contributed an article on "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippine Islands" to *The National Geographic Magazine* for November, 1913. Our illustrations and the descriptive matter printed beneath them are taken from this article, which contains 49 illustrations in eight colours and numerous other illustrations in half-tone.

Mr. Worcester says that at the present time approximately half of the territory of the Philippine Islands is inhabited by the uncivilized non-Christian peoples, who constitute nearly an eighth of the entire population. He adds that there are probably no regions in the world where within similar areas there dwell so large a number of distinct peoples as are to be found in northern Luzon and in the interior of Mindanao. The pictures and their descriptions taken from Mr. Worcester's article will give the reader some idea of the primitive state of barbarism in which not an inconsiderable proportion of the Filipino population still live.

Presidency College Affairs.

It is not proper or possible for a monthly reviewer to write of current affairs of which the closing scene may come any day and regarding which there are or may be fresh developments everyday. So we shall not deal with any of the details of the affairs of the Presidency College, of which the outstanding events were the students' strike, Mr. Oaten's "hellenism", the general fine of Rs. 5 per head inflicted on them, the assault on Prof. Oaten, the appointment of the committee of enquiry, the expulsion of some students by the governing body and the suspension and removal from the principalship of Mr. James.

We may be allowed to indulge in a few general reflections.

Order or Discipline Nature's First Law.

The heavenly bodies are kept in their places by discipline or obedience to law. With the growth of scientific knowledge the conviction becomes firmer that everywhere there is the reign of law. Students, like others, must obey laws or rules. But this obedience should be made to proceed from a conviction and feeling in them, that it is for their good that the rules exist, it must not be merely imposed from without in an arbitrary manner. And their teachers also must observe the rules of gentlemanliness and human sympathy. He who cannot respect the budding manhood of even an infant pupil has still too much of the animal and savage in him to be worthy of the position of a teacher.

Parents, teachers, kings, are all entitled to respect and obedience, but not under all circumstances. Among the wildest

savages parents believe that they have the right even to kill their children; and in civilized communities, too, there are still found men and women whose treatment of their children is inhuman without being reformatory. Such was and in some places still is the character of the punishments inflicted by some teachers. In civilized countries kings have ceased to oppress. "The divine right" of kings to plunder and oppress their subjects has long been exploded. But "the divine right" of parents and instructors to insult and cruelly punish their children and students is still superstitiously believed in by many. We think insulting rebukes and severe corporal punishments are a remnant of savagery. Boy nature, girl nature, and the nature of youth, require considerate, sympathetic, humane, nay, respectful, treatment under all circumstances and at the hands of parents, teachers and others alike.

It should be remembered that these are times when from childhood onwards and upwards human beings exercise the critical faculty, and it is good that it should be so. In addition, therefore, to the artificial position or natural relationship of a superior, people should see that they have the claim to respect and obedience which is based upon character and conduct.

Strikes and the Mob-impulse.

Several Indian papers have reminded Anglo-Indian journalists that students' strikes, howsoever to be regretted, are not peculiar to this country or province. They happen occasionally in schools and colleges in Western countries, and other provinces of India, too. They should not be looked upon as peculiarly ominous or portentous and should be dealt with just as they are in other civilized countries. It should not be concluded from them that we are a peculiarly unworthy lot.

We are not going to say that the Presidency College incident has covered its students and staff or our people with glory. But we may be allowed to say something to counteract the excessive condemnation of our nation by Anglo-Indians and prevent the excessive self-abasement of some of our countrymen, both based on the same regrettable occurrence. This self-abasement has the peculiarity of finding expression only when a European happens to suffer; most disgrace-

ful episodes between Indian and Indian never calls it forth. In reality, a shameful deed is shameful whoever may be the sufferer. The guilt of any man of any race ought to make all of us ashamed of human nature, the shame of one being the shame of all.

It is not proper to draw conclusions regarding the character of a whole class or community from isolated incidents. In Western countries when school boys or college students mob their teachers or professors, they too, generally do it in an unsportsmanlike manner, they, too, do not give notice beforehand, do not punctiliously observe the rules of boxing, duelling or wrestling, do not count their own number and that of the person or persons to be attacked, they too lie in ambush, they too attack sometimes in front and sometimes from behind. This is not heroic, but this is mob-nature all over the world, not peculiar to Bengal. When individuals advocating unpopular causes are attacked in Western countries by mobs, and cuffed and kicked by them, is their conduct heroic? When not long before the beginning of the present war, some women, who were suffragettes, were roughly handled by a London mob of adults, when, as Reuter cabled out, their skirts were raised and a rude shock was otherwise given to their modesty in an unmentionable manner, was that heroic? When in America, a Negro man or woman is lynched by a white mob, is that heroic? Mobs, big or small, composed of students or of other persons, do behave in an unsportsmanlike or even cowardly, and sometimes in an inhuman manner, not because they belong to this country or race or that, but because they are mobs and are driven by a wild mob-impulse. And retaliation either by individuals or bands or mobs becomes more proportionate, more open, more sportsmanlike and more self-confessed as laws and the administration of laws become less discriminating for or against classes, punishments become more proportionate, and there is an increasing approximation in the political status and means of defence of the different parties.

Of Attacks Provoked and Unprovoked.

Men who attack others without being themselves in the first place insulted, in-

jured or attacked should be considered as having an excessive proportion of the brute in them. The man who, when insulted or assailed, can, like a Buddha, strongly forgive, because he is master of himself in every sense and strong enough to forgive, has our entire and unreserved homage and reverence. Whether we can exercise the right of forgiveness or not, we ought all to have the conviction that forgiveness is the privilege of the strong. We ought therefore to acquire strength. It is doubtful whether the weak are ever able really to forgive.

The other pole is occupied by him who when insulted or assailed is too unmoved by fear to think of any kind of lawful redress or personal retaliation. He is wholly pitiable. Those who dwell in civilized countries and when injured take the law into their own hands openly or secretly, are all alike law-breakers, though some may be more sportsmanlike and more indifferent to consequences than others.

When aggrieved, a normal individual living in normal times under normal conditions, if he does not feel strong enough to forgive, seeks redress at the hands of some constituted authority. If rules or laws be unequal or are not impartially administered there is a temptation under such abnormal conditions to take the law into one's own hands. It is the duty of statesmen to produce and maintain normal conditions.

Second Edition of February Number.

The February number of the MODERN REVIEW having been exhausted, a second edition is in the press. Those subscribers who have not yet received it, will receive their copies in the course of a week.

To Students of Prof. J. C. Bose.

On account of its importance we print here a notice which we have received from Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri, D. Sc. (Edin). We hope all students of Prof. Bose, young and old will promptly comply with Dr. Chaudhuri's request.

TO PAST STUDENTS OF PROF. J. C. BOSE.

At the close of Dr. J. C. Bose's 31 years of professorship in the Presidency College it has been thought desirable that his past and present students should combine to take steps to commemorate his past services.

and perpetuate his life-long work. The undersigned will, therefore, feel highly grateful if his past students would kindly send their names with addresses to 120 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

B. L. Chaudhuri,
Jt. Secy., Provisional Committee,
120 Lower Circular Road.

"The Express" Souvenir number.

To commemorate His Excellency the Viceroy's last visit to Bankipore, the *Express* has published an interesting souvenir number. It contains several valuable historical and other articles, and a number of illustrations. Beharis and Bengalis have co-operated to produce it. May that be an augury and a happy augury for the future of Behar.

The Famine in Bankura.

It has been officially stated in the *Calcutta Gazette* that owing to the absence of timely rain, the winter harvest in Bankura will be poor. The hope of a temporary and slight relief which might have been received by the people from a satisfactory outturn of cold weather crops, has therefore vanished. We learn, both from the *Bankura Darpan*, the vernacular organ of the district, and from relief-workers in the field that the condition of the people is daily growing worse. The number of seekers of relief are fast increasing, and more relief centres have also been opened. The doles of rice have also been increased in quantity. It is now estimated that relief will have to be given till at least the end of September next.

There is a threefold scarcity; scarcity of food for men, scarcity of food for cattle, and scarcity of water for both men and cattle. If money be forthcoming, enough rice can be had in the local markets. Fodder may also be had, but not perhaps in sufficient quantities. It requires to be imported from other districts. As for water, there is nothing for it but to dig new tanks and wells and repair old ones. This will also provide remunerative work for able-bodied men and women of the labouring class; but, for this, large sums of money are required.

Forty tanks are now being excavated; but a far larger number is required. Men and women are also at work on new and old roads.

Unwholesome and insufficient food and impure water have produced cholera and other diseases in several places. Large number of persons who had left home in search of work, have now come back, some disappointed and others ill of malaria or Kalazar.

The Bankura Sammilani Relief Committee, of which the editor of this Review is vice-president and treasurer, spends at present about Rs. 300 a week. In the course of a week or two, a much larger amount will be needed every week. It is also in contemplation to try to do something in a few centres to supply good drinking water. Friends are therefore requested to kindly continue the help which they have been generously giving. Contributions received are thankfully acknowledged elsewhere in this issue.

Free meals for School Children.

Free meals are given to children in elementary schools in most civilized countries. Compulsory and free universal education makes it necessary that children should have such meals, as many parents are too poor and some too negligent to feed their children properly. To tax the brain without properly nourishing the body is like burning the candle at both ends.

Last year we were glad to read in the papers that the State of Travancore had, with the help of some villagers, begun to supply free meals at noon to the pupils of some schools. The practice has been adopted at Baroda too. A committee appointed by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda to inquire into and suggest changes, if necessary, in the system of education prevalent in Baroda pointed out the marked physical degeneration that was setting in among the rising generation and suggested that a probable cause was that school children had to go without food for many long hours. The result was the experiment of supplying free meals during the midday recess. The experiment has been quite successful. There has been an average gain in the weight of the students, and there is better discipline and more alertness in learning.

The Hindu University.

The foundation of the Hindu University is a great event. This institution is not meant simply to feed Hindu young men and women on western or eastern knowledge merely, though knowledge from no quarters will be neglected. The university is meant to conserve the best in Hindu culture and civilization, and to enable the Hindu mind to realise and express itself in literature, science and art, and give to the world by this means what it is capable of creating and giving.

Opinions will differ as to what is Hindu and what not. There will be greater differences still as to what is the best and most essential element in Hindu culture and civilization. It is therefore good that no definition of Hindu has been given in the university act. Whatever is most vital will no doubt survive.

Hindus of all classes and ranks, holding various shades of religious and social opinion, and others, too, assembled in Benares on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone by the Viceroy. The bejewelled and bedecked rulers of states were there. Commoners whose claim to distinction rests on intellectual achievement were also there. All must have reflected what makes for power in these days and may be expected to act accordingly.

Executive and Police arrangements.

The executive and police arrangements made on the occasion have annoyed a good many persons, including students, mostly Bengali. This should not make anybody dissatisfied with the University authorities, as the aforementioned arrangements were beyond their control. Nor should any innocent man feel insulted or aggrieved by what certain public servants do. For it is only those who betray signs of life that receive their attentions, which are, therefore, a kind of indirect compliment.

An Indian Body for the Hindu University.

As suggested in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, by Mr. O. C. Ganguly, the Hindu University buildings should be of some Indian style of architecture. An Indian body should enclose an Indian spirit.

Hindu University Addresses.

Many striking addresses were delivered on the occasion. Prof. J. C. Bose in his

masterly address went to the root of the matter and pointed out in an inspiring manner what should be done to make the Hindu university worthy of its name. He deprecated a repetition of the Universities of the West. He said:—

In tracing the characteristic phenomenon of life from simple beginnings in that vast region which may be called unvoiced, as exemplified in the world of plants, to its highest expression in the animal kingdom, one is repeatedly struck by the one dominant fact that in order to maintain an organism at the height of its efficiency something more than a mechanical perfection of its structure is necessary. Every living organism, in order to maintain its life and growth, must be in free communion with all the forces of the universe about it.

Stimulus within and without

Further, it must not only constantly receive stimulus from without, but must also give out something from within, and the healthy life of the organism will depend on these two-fold activities of inflow and outflow. When there is any interference with these activities, then morbid symptoms appear, which ultimately must end in disaster and death. This is equally true of the intellectual life of a Nation. When through narrow conceit a Nation regards itself self-sufficient and cuts itself from the stimulus of the outside world, then intellectual decay must inevitably follow.

Special Function of A Nation

So far as regards the receptive function. Then there is another function in the intellectual life of a Nation, that of spontaneous outflow, that giving out of its life by which the world is enriched. When the Nation has lost this power, when it merely receives, but cannot give out, then its healthy life is over, and it sinks into a degenerate existence which is purely parasitic.

How India can Teach

How can our Nation give out of the fulness of the life that is in it, and how can a new Indian University help in the realisation of this object? It is clear that its power of directing and inspiring will depend on its world status. This can be secured to it by no artificial means, nor by any strength in the past; and what is the weakness that has been paralysing her activities for the accomplishment of any great scientific work? There must be two different elements, and these must be evenly balanced. Any excess of either will injure it.

How to Secure This Status

This world status can only be won by the intrinsic value of the great contributions to be made by its own Indian scholars for the advancement of the world's knowledge. To be organic and vital our new University must stand primarily for self-expression, and for winning for India a place she has lost. Knowledge is never the exclusive possession of any particular race, nor does it recognise geographical limitations. The whole world is interdependent, and a constant stream of thought had been carried out throughout the ages enriching the common heritage of mankind. Although science was neither of the East nor of the West but international, certain aspects of it gained richness by reason of their place of origin.

Professor Bose thought:

In any case if India had to make any contribution to the world it should be as great as the hope they cherished for her. Let them not talk of the glories of the past till they have secured for her her true place among the intellectual nations of the world. Let them find out how she had fallen from her high estate and ruthlessly put an end to all that self-satisfied and little minded vanity which had been the cause of their fatal weakness. What was it that stood in her way? Was her mind paralysed by weak superstitious fears? That was not so; for her great thinkers, the Rishis, always stood for freedom of intellect, and while Galileo was imprisoned and Bruno burnt for their opinions, they boldly declared that even the Vedas were to be rejected if they did not conform to truth. They urged in favour of persistent efforts for the discovery of physical causes yet unknown, since to them nothing was extra-physical but merely mysterious because of a hitherto unascertained cause. Were they afraid that the march of knowledge was dangerous to true faith? Not so. For them knowledge and religion were one.

He concluded with a note of undying hope.

"These are the hopes that animate us. For there is something in the Hindu culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength by which it has resisted the ravages of time and the destructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be innate in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past."

It is remarkable that an orthodox Sanskrit scholar like Pandit Srikrishna Joshi of Allahabad also dwelt on the freedom of thought of the ancient Hindus on which Prof. Bose laid stress. In his paper on Indian culture and its claims which the Pandit read in Benares occurs the following passage:

No other religion can claim to allow liberty of conscience and freedom of thought and speech to the extent enjoyed by the followers of the Vedic religion. Europe has known martyrs of free thought from the time of Socrates down to the days of the Inquisition. In India even downright atheists like the Charvakas were allowed to disseminate their views unmolested. Kapila never suffered any persecution for declaring that the existence of God could not be proved. On the contrary, he has been given the unique distinction of being included among the seven fathers of Sankya philosophy called *Sanakadi Sapta manushyah*, who are offered libations known as *tarpana* by all who offer them to their ancestors. This honour is not paid to the founder of any of the most orthodox systems of philosophy or to any one else, except Bhishma, the renowned hero of the *Mahabharat*, who is so honoured for his surpassing wisdom, virtue and valour. Gautama Buddha, who broke away from the Vedic religion, and made converts of the followers of that religion, was never persecuted. On the other hand his renunciation of a kingdom, his

lofty character and his humane teachings were rewarded by his deification as an *avatar* of Vishnu. His followers were allowed to live in peace among the followers of the Vedic religion.

Another point in favour of the Vedic religion is that it does not come in conflict with science.

The Pandit's paper was a reasoned and impassioned plea for the study of Sanskrit literature.

Similar was the object of the scholarly and informing paper on "The Educative Influence of Sanskrit" read by Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Haraprasad Sastri. He dwelt on its wonderful continuity and magnificent volume, and said that Sanskrit literature contains the religious literature not only of the Hindus, but also of the Buddhists and Jainas, not to speak of other religions which have perished after doing their mission of good in India.

But we are not here to speak only of religious influence, because that is very well-known and need not be expatiated upon. Therefore, I will confine myself to the beneficial secular influence, which Sanskrit may exert on its votaries; and for that purpose I shall have to enumerate the vast number of branches into which that secular literature divides itself.

He spoke particularly of Economics, the various experimental and other Sciences, the Mechanical Arts, Arts, History and kindred subjects, Philosophy, Poetry and the Drama, and many miscellaneous branches.

A literature to be effective and complete, must reflect the entire life and action of a race. If there is any truth in this maxim, that truth has been completely realized in Sanskrit literature. Never, in the ancient world and even in the mediæval world, before the manufacture of paper, and the invention of printing, was a literature so thoroughly representative of the race as the Sanskrit literature in India. Even the art of thieving has a literature. It has two different traditions or successions of teachers, one given by Bhasa in his *Avimaraka* and another though different but more lengthy, by Sudraka in his *Mricchakatika*. When we read of them, we thought that it was a mere fancy. Would anyone care to put the art of stealing into writing? We were, however, agreeably surprised when an actual work on *Chaurasastra* was discovered. It was a thief's pocket-book on palm leaf, six inches long and about an inch and a half broad,—giving many secret chemical preparations, many incantations and many hints to avoid difficulties. Another curiosity is a work on the art of hawking which gives the life-history of the various kinds of hawks, the method of taming them and using them in sport. There are works on the game of chess and many other indoor and outdoor games, but I will not take up the time of the audience by an enumeration of these curiosities in literature,—they are not fit for occasions like this.

Prof. P. C. Ray spoke of the past glorious traditions of Benares in connection

with the sciences of medicine, surgery, chemistry and astronomy, and reminded his audience how

Alberuni, the cultured Muhammadan traveller of the 11th century, quoted the famous passage of Varahamihira which, interpreted, means, "the Greeks are 'unclean,' but the science of astronomy is their *forte*; we have to learn at their feet, and these teachers are to be adored like our own Rishis."

His peroration was an exhortation to his countrymen to give up patriotic bias and imbibe the catholic spirit of Varahamihira.

What Herbert Spencer calls the "bias of patriotism" has often been the means of leading people astray into dark paths and false moves. We must look about. The whole of Asia is astir and instinct with new aspirations, and pulsating with new life. It will not do for us tenaciously to hug the past and live like the proverbial frog in the well. We should invoke the liberal and catholic spirit of Varahamihira and learn at the feet of western teachers.

Every devout Hindu pilgrim to Benares makes it a point to drink of the "Jnana Vapi" or "Well of Knowledge." I trust the new University will be a veritable "Jnana Vapi" to the students who will flock here from the distant parts of India. To me it has been a source of sincere gratification that ample provision has been made for teaching the different branches of science and of furthering the promotion of original research. I hope, the starting of this University will inaugurate a new era and I trust it will be a sacred confluence of ideals of the East and the West and will play a prominent part in the building of the India of the future.

This is my brief and humble message.

Speaking on Agriculture in Modern Universities Dr. Harold Mann pleaded for the inclusion of practical sciences like agriculture in the University courses of study.

Nearly all modern universities, at any rate in the newer countries, and very largely in the old ones also, have realized the necessity of connecting up the best intellect and the noblest minds of a country with agriculture. Even conservative institutions like Oxford and Cambridge, steeped as they are in mediæval traditions, have created special agricultural sections. They do not, as yet, give these sections the full recognition which the older recognised branches of study enjoy, but they have been admitted to the republic of letters, and will win their way, I have no doubt, to an equal seat in the circle. Other universities, not bound by the ties of the past, have done more. In England, still more in Scotland, in the Britain beyond the seas, in the United States, already fullest recognition is given, and all I plead for in the present address is already given.

In India here we are conservatives among the conservatives. We modelled most of our universities in the middle of the nineteenth century when the older spirit was dominant. In Bombay, slowly and with very great hesitation, the recognition of agricultural studies, as being possibly a form of liberal culture, has been granted. Even there, however, the recognition has been grudging and is still incomplete. Elsewhere there has been nothing.

But as we stand today at the opening of a new university I feel we may be at the dawn of a new era where all that men can do is seen to be worthy of study and when the intellect will not merely aspire to soar in the clouds but will feel also that it can be as usefully and as nobly employed in studying the life and the occupation of the meanest of the population of the country. Trust me, this is a worthy outlook. Accepted, and the new university puts behind it the darkness of the older period of esoteric learning, and even the half lights of the waking days of the wider culture of more recent times,—and leads us, in India at any rate, into a nobler day when intellect shall be proud to serve mankind.

Mr. H. Sharp, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, the maker of the wise observation that an agricultural population does not require much education, will please make a note of the above passage.

Lieutenant-colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S. (retired), said in the course of his address :—

Professional efficiency of Indian Medical practitioners being admitted on all hands, it is desirable to ameliorate their condition and improve their status. They have proved bold operators, for many Indian medical men have performed difficult surgical operations with great success; skilled physicians, subtle chemical analysers and perfect accoucheurs. What then, stands in the way to place them in higher or more responsible posts? Give them an opportunity to display the forces which lie latent and hidden in them at present. What inducement have they to work, when all avenues of distinction are more or less shut against them? The present system in vogue, the system which denies the alumni of Indian Medical Colleges the higher appointments—is not the one to foster a spirit of original research, in the domain of medicine or science among the medical graduates of the Indian Universities. This policy of exclusion has thrown a damper upon Indian medical talent.

There were many other notable addresses delivered, but the limits of space, it is to be regretted, prevent us from noticing or mentioning them.

Russia and Japan.

Just now Japan is evincing a great fondness for Russia, her erstwhile enemy. We all know that Japan is supplying Russia ammunitions; she has even sent Japanese artillerymen to teach her friend to shoot effectively. She has raised a loan for Russia and now we learn, on reading a few issues of the *Kobe Herald*, of the magnificent reception accorded to Grand Duke George Michailovitch, the Czar's representative. We learn from the same paper that the Japanese Emperor went to the railway station of Tokio in person, to welcome the Grand Duke, a thing which could never have been credible in the days of the departed Emperor Mutsuhito. The *Kobe Herald*,

further informs us that Russian coins are going to be struck at Osaka.

Gold and silver bullion, representing a value of £20,000,000 arrived at Osaka from Tsuruga on Saturday evening. Six gendarmes and several detectives were in the train which carried the bullion. Immediately after arrival, this bullion, was transported to the Osaka Mint. It is reported that with this bullion, Russian coins representing a value of 15,000,000 roubles will be made at the Mint. Two officials of the Russian Mint have arrived in this country with the necessary dies and matrices.

Russian ambitions of territorial expansion in Asia and especially in China are well-known. Japan, too, holds similar ambitions; and that, in fact, was accountable for the Russo-Japanese War. These ambitions will not be any the whit less on the part of both countries after the conclusion of the present war. It would be to the mutual advantage of both countries if they could work out their ambitions, side by side, as friends and not as rivals. Hence the eagerness of Japan to cultivate the friendship of Russia. Russia and Japan combined would be able to place in the field the most numerous land-army in Asia. And, if China's resources in men could be secured, by treaty or force, the aggregate would be unrivalled, in our old continent at any rate. England can, no doubt, utilize the military resources of India; but it would take time for her to repose confidence in the people of India and follow a steady policy.

The Monarchical movement in China : What Japan thinks of it.

We are indebted to the *Kobe Herald* for the following interesting Japanese views regarding the efforts of Yuan-Shih-kai to establish a monarchy in China and himself as the Emperor.

The *Asahi* asks who has led China to the present state—a state in which it is neither an Empire nor a Republic—and who has thrown the people into a state of uneasiness? The present condition of things is the outcome of the highhanded action of the Yuan-Shih-kai Government in pushing forward the movement for a Monarchy! The Yuan Government still refuses to realise its failure and will not compose the public mind by stopping the movement for a Monarchy. Further, the Peking authorities assured the Powers that the Monarchy would not be adopted in a hurry. Now disturbances have already broken out, and it is doubtful whether the Chinese Government can subdue them. It may be pointed out, says the *Osaka* journal, that there are signs that some of the expeditionary troops will join the Rebels. The Peking Government has now prohibited foreigners from travelling in the provinces of South China, and has asked the foreign missionaries to leave Szechuan. It still intends to establish a Monarchy and to carry

out the plan without delay. It is hardly necessary to repeat that Japan, in co-operation with four other Powers, had addressed a warning to China, fearing the outbreak of a disturbance. The Yuan-Shih-kai Government has entirely disregarded the good will and friendship of the Powers and trampled upon their views. However, proceeds the *Asahi*, the adoption of such an insolent attitude by the Yuan-Shih-kai Government is due to the weak and yielding policy pursued by the Japanese Authorities.

The *Osaka Mainichi* says :

The Chinese Authorities seem to intend to hold the Coronation as soon as possible on the pretext that even a day's unnecessary delay is calculated to unsettle the public mind. In reality, however, this is quite false reasoning, as a day's delay should serve to compose the public mind one day longer. The Japanese Government addressed a warning to China, because it had discovered this fact. In reply to the warning, China stated that there was no fear of the outbreak of disturbances and that even if a disturbance should break out, the Government was able to subdue it. While China's tongue was still wet, Yunnan and Kweichow declared independence and Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Szechuan seem likely to follow their example. Moreover, there are indications of unrest in Hunan. And the Yuan Government is powerless to subdue the revolted provinces. Surely China must feel ashamed to meet the Quintuple Powers, especially Japan. Mr. Yuan-Shih-kai cannot ascend the throne, in view of the actual situation. In the event of Yuan-Shih-kai daring to ascend the throne, without regard to the Quintuple Powers and especially Japan, thereby fanning the flames of disturbance, Japan should interfere in China. So long as the present situation continues, Yuan-Shih-kai cannot ascend the throne, and China, cannot announce the alteration of her national constitution abroad.

Yuan seems to be very anxious to get the proposed monarchy in China recognised by Japan. To attain this end he is said to be even ready to bribe Japan. For we read in the *Kobe Herald* :

A message from Shanghai to the *Osaka Mainichi* reports that according to a Chinese newspaper, China has presented the following conditions in return for the recognition of the Monarchy :—

1.—That China will recognise Japanese jurisdiction in Kirin and Mukden Provinces and cede the Ching-Pu Railway and the coast line between Pe uan and Shantung.

2.—That China will engage Japanese as financial advisers and entrust the training of troops to Japanese officers.

3.—That China will agree to co-operate with Japan in establishing and carrying on Arsenals.

A leader of the Chinese Revolutionists in Tokio is quoted by the *Mainichi* as saying that the mission of Mr. Chou, China's Envoy, is said to be to obtain Japan's recognition of the adoption of a Monarchy by offering the Han Wei-ping mine and two railways, but it is doubtful whether the Japanese Government will accept the offer. He said he hoped that Japan would not be misled by the prospect of minor advantages, losing sight of the greater interests of the two countries.

All that has hitherto appeared in the

papers makes Yuan-Shih-kai responsible for the movement for a monarchy. But in diplomacy very often it is found that "things are not what they seem." Some six months ago information was available in our country that Japan would press Yuan-Shih-kai to ascend the Chinese throne as emperor, promising that if trouble arose in consequence she would help him to quell the disturbances; but if Yuan did not listen to the advice of Japan she would help the revolutionary party of Sun Yat Sen. Whether this information was derived in the last resort from trustworthy sources or not cannot be ascertained; but the actual event, the movement for monarchy, has, as anticipated, taken place; though it is beyond our power to discover whether Japan was at the bottom of it or not. The British Government have undoubtedly better sources of information;—at least, ought to have. For Japanese ascendancy in China is not without its bearing on Indo-Britannic politics and policy, and whatever is calculated to give Japan opportunity to interpose in Chinese affairs requires close watching.

Progressive Travancore.

To the patriotic Indian, the recent address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly is a hope-inspiring document. It gives us very welcome information regarding the progress of that State in various directions. Take education, for example.

Including unrecognised schools, the total number of educational institutions in the State during 1090 was 3,243 and their strength 3,96,753. The percentage of pupils in all denominations of schools to the total population was 8.9 and to the number of children of school-going age 50.6. There was on an average one recognised school for every 3.5 square miles of the area and for every 1,684 persons of the population of the State. 73.2 per cent of the boys and 29 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were under instruction in recognised schools. Devicolum is the only taluk with less than 30 per cent of its children of school-going age attending school, while Tiruvalla, which takes the second rank among the taluks of the State in point of population, shows the greatest progress, with 99.8 per cent of its children of school-going age attending recognised schools. In this connection, it will be of interest to you to know that the last Administration Report of Baroda states that "Travancore deservedly represents the highest watermark yet obtained in India by the voluntary principle in education."

This is a much better record than any that any British Indian province can show. Take Abkari.

In connection with reduction of country-liquor shops, the following figures will be interesting :—

Year.	Number of Shops.
1083	7,050
1084	5,103
1086	4,634
1088	2,462
1090	2,273

It will be seen that, in the course of seven years, the number of these shops in the State has been reduced by 68 per cent.

Can any province or district in British India show such a record?

An All-India Music Conference.

The wonderful musical talents of Moula Bux found recognition and encouragement in Baroda. The Gackwars have been munificent patrons of music. It was in the fitness of things therefore that a meeting was held at Baroda on the 10th January last to consider the question of an All-India Music Conference at which it was resolved that the Conference should be held on such dates during the second week of March, as may be convenient to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib. His Excellency the Dewan Sahib on behalf of the State was pleased to indicate that the travelling and entertainment expenses of the guests, which were estimated at about Rs. 5,000, would be met by the Government of His Highness. This was only to be expected.

History of Aurangzib.

The third volume of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's original history of the reign of Aurangzib is in the press and will be out in April next. It covers the twenty-four years forming the first half of the reign (1658-1681) which the Emperor passed in North-east India, and deals with an immense variety of subjects and interests. Three chapters of it were published in this *Review* in 1915. The Mughal conquests of Assam and Chittagong, the Rajput Wars that followed the death of Jaswant Singh, the relations of India with the outer Muslim world and the Frontier Afghans in the 17th century, Aurangzib's repression of the Hindus and demolition of temples, and the risings of the Jats, Satnamis and Sikhs are fully dealt with in the volume and much curious and new information given.

Price of Milk in England.

When I was in England, more than two decades ago, I found milk was much cheap-

er in London than it was in Bombay or Calcutta. I was unable to find an explanation. But not long ago, reading a book on Agricultural Economics, I came across the following passage which gave the true explanation of the fact, which had greatly puzzled me for many a long year. The author writes :—

"Since the fall in the price of cereals, about thirty years ago, the European field-system has been quite upset. Those articles which will not stand long shipment, such as milk, vegetables, etc., prove most profitable because foreign countries cannot compete so successfully upon the European markets. As a result gram land has, in many instances, been converted into pastures. A good example of this is found in eastern England where many old wheat fields have been converted into permanent pastures for dairy cows. The production of green fodders for cattle has proved relatively more profitable in recent years than formerly." (An Introduction to the Study of Agricultural Economics, by H. C. Taylor, p. 75). B.

Sven Hedin in Simla.

"How fascinating is this sight, but how much more imposing as a symbol of the power of the British Empire! Here the eagle has its eyry, and from its point of vantage casts its keen eyes over the plains of India. Here converge innumerable telegraph wires from all the corners and extremities of the British Empire, and from this centre numerous orders and instructions are daily despatched "On His Majesty's Service Only"; here the administration is carried on and the army controlled....."

—*Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. Chap. I.*

Sven Hedin on the Tashi Lama.

The Tashi Lama, the head of the monastery at Tasi-lunpo, whose temple roofs glitter with gold and where 3800 monks dwell, is the spiritual lord of Tibetan Lamaism, as the Dalai Lama is its political pontiff. He is elected by a college of cardinals partly by nomination and partly by lottery, and is regarded as the incarnation of the Amitabha. We should add that the celebrated explorer Sven Hedin does not suffer from an excess of humanity or of regard for the feelings and the civilisation of oriental nations, and might, from remarks made everywhere in his books, be easily mistaken for hidebound Anglo-Indian bureaucrat.

"Wonderful, never-to-be-forgotten Tashi Lama! Never has any man made so deep and ineffaceable an impression on me. Not as a divinity in human form, but as a man, who in goodness of heart, innocence, and purity approaches as near as possible to perfection. I shall never forget his expression: it displayed unbound kindness, humility, and philanthropy; and I have never seen such a smile, a mouth so delicately formed, so noble a countenance. His smile never left him: he smiled like a sleeper dreaming of something beautiful and desirable, and whenever our eyes met,

his smile grew broader, and he nodded kindly and amiably, as much as to say: "Trust in my friendship implicitly, for my intentions are good towards all men."

"The incarnation of Amitabha! The earthly shell in which the soul of Amitabha lives on through time! Therefore a deity full of supernatural wisdom and omniscience. The Tibetans believe that he knows not only what is and has been, but also all that is to come. Can he be Amitabha himself? This much is certain, that he is a very extraordinary man, a singular, unique, and incomparable man. I told him that I thought myself fortunate to have seen him, and that I should never forget the hours I had spent in his company.....For my part I could hardly think of anything else but the Tashi Lama and the powerful impression he had made on me. I left the Labrang, his cloister palace, intoxicated and bewitched by his personality. This one day was worth many days in Tibet, and I felt that I had now beheld what was most remarkable in the country....." *Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. Chap. XXV.*

Again Sven Hedin writes, after more than a month's acquaintance and intimate association,

"...he was one of those rare, refined, and noble personalities who make other people feel that their lives are fuller and more precious. Yes, the memory of the Tashi Lama will cleave to me as long as I live. His friendship is sincere, his shield is spotless and bright, he seeks for the truth honestly and humbly, and knows that by a virtuous and conscientious life he renders himself a worthy temple for the soul of the mighty Amitabha." *Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I. chap. XXVIII.*

The Tibetan Prayer Wheel.

"In one particularly small room stand two colossal cylindrical prayer-mills before which a crowd is always collected—monks, pilgrims, merchants, workmen, tramps, and beggars. Such a praying machine contains miles of thin paper strips with prayers printed on them, and wound round and round the axis of the cylinder. There is a handle attached, by which the axle can be turned. A single revolution, and millions of prayers ascend together to the ears of the gods."—*Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, chap. XXVIII.*

Spiritual Slavery of the Lamas.

"The people are kept by the Lamas in spiritual slavery, and the lamas themselves are docile slaves to the tomes of narrow-minded dogmas which have been stereotyped for centuries, which may not be interfered with or criticised, for they are canonical, proclaim the absolute truth, and stand in the way of all free and independent thought. The clergy form a very considerable percentage of the scanty population of this poor country. Without the Peter's pence Tibet could not make both ends meet. Tashi-lunpo is, then, a huge savings box, in which the rich man places his pile of gold, the poor man his mite. And with what object? to propitiate the monks, for they are the mediators between the Gods and the people. Scarcely any other land is so completely under the thumb of the priests as Tibet."—*Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, chap. XXX.*

The Civilisation of the Tibetans.

And yet, poor as the people may be, the glimpses that we get of life in Tibet from

the author's book show that the people are not so badly off after all as may be imagined. The solid white houses of stone, the vast and imposing monasteries many stories high and with massive towers and golden roofs, the terraced gardens, the solemn religious processions and soul-stirring hymns, the brilliant New Year's festival, where the dignified movements of the monks, amidst the vast concourse of people impressed Dr. Sven Hedin who writes: "their gestures are noble; when they converse, bending slowly towards one another, an air of genuine, striking nobility pervades the whole picture without the slightest touch of anything vulgar," their horse races and shooting competitions and other manly amusements, their religious disputations and solemn convocations for the conferring of degrees—each monk must take a vow of chastity and abstinence and study the Kanjur and other sacred books for a number of years—all these betoken a state of civilisation which, both in its material and spiritual aspects, is not altogether despicable. Dr. Sven Hedin himself says at one place:

"It is astonishing to find in Tibet so much cultivable land, and such a number of inhabited villages with solid stone houses and gardens."

We read of 'pictured galleries', 'towns of white sanctuaries,' 'numerous pictures of the Buddha painted in fresco on the walls,' 'suits of armour with shirts of mail, iron rings, maces, spears, tridents, and lances', 'pillared halls, statues of monks and images of Buddha, handsome banners on Chinese silk, 'extremely finely executed frescoes which cover the walls' of monasteries, and again and again, of the "grand, lovable, divine Tashi Lama."

The Monasteries of Tibet.

"The whole broad valley at Ye is begirt by a circle of monasteries" [and, as the context shows, of nunneries also]. There is the "wonderful monastery of Tashi-gembe, which, after Tashi-lunpo, is the richest and finest I have seen in Tibet. As to cleanliness and good taste, it surpasses all." "The Monastery of Lingayompa is placed on the uppermost ledge of a steep flight of terraces, and is as fantastic, fascinating and attractive as a fairy castle." Of the sanctuary of Tarting-gompa ['Gompa' is a monastic cave, cf. the 'Hasti-Gompa' or Elephant Cave at Udaygiri in Orissa] Sven Hedin writes:

"I started with surprise in the portal, for we had seen many halls of the gods in Tashi-lunpo, but never yet one so large, ancient, and so wonderfully fascinating in its mysterious light.

"What rich and subdued coloring! The Sego-Chummo-thakang, as it is called, is like a crypt, a fairy grotto, recalling to mind the rock temples of Elephanta, but here all is of repainted wood, and 48 pillars support the roof. The capitals are green and gold, carved in intricate and tasteful designs, and carved lions, arabesques, and tendrils adorn the projecting beams of the ceiling. The floor consists of stone flags, their cracks filled up with the dust of centuries, so that it is smooth and even as asphalt. The daylight falls into the hall through a square impluvium, spanned by a network of chains. . ."—Vol I, chap XXXII.

The Cavedwelling Monks.

The lifelong immurement of some monks in cave dwellings in entire seclusion from day-light and the world and human association, leads Sven Hedin to indulge in the following reflections:

".....his tremendous fortitude, compared with which everything I can conceive, even dangers infallibly leading to death, seems to me insignificant. For, as far as I can judge, less fortitude is required when a hero, like Hirose, blockades the entrance of Port Arthur, knowing that the batteries above will annihilate him, than to allow oneself to be buried alive in the darkness for forty or sixty years. In the former case the suffering is short, the glory eternal; in the latter the victim is as unknown after death as in his lifetime, and the torture is endless, and can only be borne by a patience of which we can have no conception..... Waddell, who has a thorough knowledge of Lamaism, believes that the custom of seclusion for life is only an imitation of the practice of pure Indian Buddhism, which enjoins periodical retreats from the world for the purpose of self-examination and of acquiring greater clearness in abstruse questions. In his opinion the Tibetans have made an end of the means."—Vol II., Chap. XXXV.

"Such a life seems hopelessly sad and gloomy. And yet a man who will venture to shut himself day and night within the walls of a dim convent must possess faith, conviction, and patience, for it is a prison which he in the tumult of his mind has chosen of his own free will. He has renounced the world when he allows himself to be walled in alive in the dark courts of Tarting; and when the smoke of his pyre ascends, it must, if equal justice be meted out to all, be a pleasant savour before the eternal throne. Vol I., Chap. XXXII.

Indian Explorers.

Important geographical explorations and discoveries in Central Tibet were made by Indian Pandits, of whose exploits passing mention is to be found everywhere in Sven Hedin's book, of one of them specially, Nain Singh by name, who discovered the great lakes in Central Tibet in 1874, Sven Hedin speaks in rapturous terms. He is 'the immortal

Pundit,' 'the incomparable and wonderful Nain Sing.' Colonel Sir Henry Trotter has described the famous journey from Leh to Lassa performed by Nain Sing in 1873.

"The great Pundit A. K., or Krishna, who contends with Nain Sing for the foremost place, crossed the most easterly parts of the Trans-Himalaya on his journey in 1881." "A pundit also went between Manasarowar and Tok-jabung—past the [lake of] Ruldap-tso. . . . It seems likely that he crossed the Trans-Himalaya by a pass called Sar-bung."

Dr. Sven Hedin concludes that two Frenchmen, two Englishmen and half a dozen Pandits had crossed the trans-Himalayan range of mountains before him, but he claims that not only had he crossed eight passes while none of the others had crossed more than seven, but seven out of the eight passes crossed by him were unknown before. Sven Hedin does not mention Babu Sarat Chandra Das, whose geographical expeditions into Tibet are so well-known.

Maharashtra Women's University.

The Maharashtra Women's University inaugurated by Prof. Karve deserves success, as it cannot but be productive of great good. Similar schemes, with changes made according to local conditions, ought to be elaborated for all the other provinces of India and carried out with steady zeal. The scheme of university extension lectures in the vernacular advocated by Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar in his presidential address at the last Theistic Conference is based on a similar idea. The Committee appointed by the Bengal Government for suggesting methods, means, and courses for the education of Hindu girls and women in Bengal, finished their labors towards the close of last year. They are of opinion that Bengali should be the medium of instruction at all stages, English being taught only as a second language. The highest courses of study outlined by them are equivalent to the B. A. courses of Indian Universities. Their scheme of a model school includes (1) a general department, (2) a technical department, and (3) a training department. Great

stress is laid on the teaching of domestic science.

Exhibition of Indian Paintings in Madras.

Art is one of the important elements by which the civilization of a country is known. Utterly neglected by our educated men at first, Art is gradually obtaining their recognition. The works of Bengali painters have been exhibited in Calcutta, Paris, London, and Lahore. They are now on exhibition in Madras. Everywhere they have received both praise and adverse criticism. Both are welcome. At Madras they are calling forth both. In the course of an address on "Modern Indian Painters and their message to young India" Mr. J. H. Cousins said:—

The first quality of the modern Indian painters to which he would call their attention was their *Indian-ness*. He knew that some good judges had seen Europe and Japan reflected in the exhibition, but this was a matter of technique. He, the speaker, with a fresh eye for Indian life and scenery, and a long and loving study of Indian thought, was not bothered by the experiments that every artist would make: he found the paintings to be full of India, and that was as it should be. India had risen far beyond the stage of the "sedulous ape." The Indian artists only found themselves when they gave up imitating poor Western copies. India could also be herself by clinging to her own ideal of spiritual realisation, and by seeing, as the modern painters saw, one life in multitudinous forms.

Mr. W. S. Hadaway, Superintendent of the Madras School of Arts is very critical in *New India*. But he admits that

"The best work in painting and drawing which India has produced in modern times is undoubtedly the work of this group of Bengali artists."

Mr. Johan van Manen also contributes a critical article to *The Commonweal* which concludes:—

The joyous message proclaimed by these pictures tells us that there exists around us, at the present day in India, a group of artists, dissatisfied on the one hand with dead national traditions, on the other hand with mere mechanical copying of unassimilated foreign models, a group which is striving and groping for new formulae for the expression of beauty and truth in pictorial form and whose productions—quite apart from the question as to what has been reached and what has not been reached as yet—shows that healthy and continuous ferment which is the token of life and the promise of growth. Not yet a school itself, this group may prepare the arising of a school of modern Indian pictorial art.

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(8) MY FIRST OUTING.

ONCE, when the dengue fever was raging in Calcutta, some portion of our extensive family had to take shelter in Chhatu Babu's river-side villa. We were among them.

This was my first outing. The bank of the Ganges welcomed me into its lap like a friend of a former birth. There, in front of the servants' quarters, was a grove of guava trees; and, sitting in the verandah under the shade of these, gazing at the flowing current through the gaps between their trunks, my days would pass. Every morning, as I awoke, I somehow felt the day coming to me like a new gilt-edged letter, with some unheard-of news awaiting me on the opening of the envelope. And, lest I should lose any fragment of it, I would hurry through my toilet to my chair outside. Everyday there was the ebb and flow of the tide on the Ganges; the various gait of so many different boats; the shifting of the shadows of the trees from west to east; and, over the fringe of shade-patches of the woods on the opposite bank, the gush of golden life-blood through the pierced breast of the evening sky. Some days would be cloudy from early morning; the opposite woods black; black shadows moving over the river. Then with a rush would come the vociferous rain, blotting out the horizon; the dim line of the other bank taking its leave in tears; the river swelling with suppressed heavings; and the moist wind making free with the foliage of the trees overhead.

I felt that out of the bowels of wall, beam and rafter, I had a new birth into the outside. In making fresh acquaintance with things, the dingy covering of petty habits seemed to drop off the world. I am sure that the sugar-cane molasses, which I had with cold *luchis* for my breakfast, could not have tasted different from the ambrosia which *Indra** quaffs in his heaven;

for, the immortality is not in the nectar but in the taster, and thus is missed by those who seek it.

Behind the house was a walled-in enclosure with a tank and a flight of steps leading into the water from a bathing platform. On one side of the platform was an immense Jambolan tree, and all round were various fruit trees, growing in thick clusters, in the shade of which the tank nestled in its privacy. The veiled beauty of this retired little inner garden had a wonderful charm for me, so different from the broad expanse of the river-bank in front. It was like the bride of the house, in the seclusion of her midday siesta, resting on a many-colored quilt of her own embroidering, murmuring low the secrets of her heart. Many a midday hour did I spend alone under that Jambolan tree dreaming of the fearsome kingdom of the Yakshas* within the depths of the tank.

I had a great curiosity to see a Bengal village. Its clusters of cottages, its thatched pavilions, its lanes and bathing places, its games and gatherings, its fields and markets, its life as a whole as I saw it in imagination, greatly attracted me. Just such a village was right on the other side of our garden wall, but it was forbidden to us. We had come out, but not into freedom. We had been in a cage, and were now on a perch, but the chain was still there.

One morning two of our elders went out for a stroll into the village. I could not restrain my eagerness any longer, and, slipping out unperceived, followed them for some distance. As I went along the deeply shaded lane, with its close thorny *scora* hedges, by the side of the tank covered with green water weeds, I rapturously took in picture after picture. I still remember the man with bare body, engaged in a belated toilet on the edge of the tank, cleaning his

* The Jupiter Pluvius of Hindu Mythology.

* The King of the Yakshas is the Pluto of Hindu Mythology.

teeth with the chewed end of a twig. Suddenly my elders became aware of my presence behind them. "Get away, get away, go back at once!" they scolded. They were scandalised. My feet were bare, I had no scarf or upper-robe over my tunic, I was not dressed fit to come out; as if it was my fault! I never owned any socks or superfluous apparel, so not only went back disappointed for that morning, but had no chance of repairing my shortcomings and being allowed to come out any other day. However though the Beyond was thus shut out from behind, in front the Ganges freed me from all bondage, and my mind, whenever it listed, could embark on the boats gaily sailing along, and hie away to lands not named in any geography.

This was forty years ago. Since then I have never set foot again in that *champak*-shaded villa garden. The same old house and the same old trees must still be there, but I know it cannot any longer be the same—for where am I now to get that fresh feeling of wonder which made it what it was?

We returned to our Jorasanko house in town. And my days were as so many mouthfuls offered up to be gulped down into the yawning interior of the Normal School.

(9) PRACTISING POETRY.

That blue manuscript book was soon filled, like the hive of some insect, with a network of variously slanting lines and the thick and thin strokes of letters. The eager pressure of the boy writer soon crumpled its leaves; and then the edges got frayed, and twisted up claw-like as if to hold fast the writing within; till at last, down what river *Baitarani** I know not, its pages were swept away by merciful oblivion. Anyhow they escaped the pangs of a passage through the printing press and need fear no birth into this vale of woe.

I cannot claim to have been a passive witness of the spread of my reputation as a poet. Though Satkari Babu was not a teacher of our class he was very fond of me. He had written a book on Natural History—wherein I hope no unkind humorist will try to find a reason for such fondness. He sent for me one day and asked: "So you write poetry, do you?" I did not conceal the fact. Since then he would now

and then ask me to complete a quatrain by adding a couplet of my own to one given by him.

Gobinda Babu of our school was very dark, and short and fat. He was the Superintendent. He sat, in his black suit, with his account books, in an office room on the second storey. We were all afraid of him, for he was the rod-bearing judge. One day I had escaped from the attentions of some bullies into his room. The persecutors were five or six older boys. I had no one to bear witness on my side—except my tears. I won my case and since then Govinda Babu had a soft corner in his heart for me.

One day he called me into his room during the recess. I went in fear and trembling but had no sooner stepped before him than he also accosted me with the question: "So you write poetry?" I did not hesitate to make the admission. He commissioned me to write a poem on some high moral precept which I do not remember. The amount of condescension and affability which such a request coming from him implied can only be appreciated by those who were his pupils. When I finished and handed him the verses next day, he took me to the highest class and made me stand before the boys. "Recite," he commanded. And I recited loudly.

The only praiseworthy thing about this moral poem was that it soon got lost. Its moral effect on that class was far from encouraging—the sentiment it aroused being not one of regard for its author. Most of them were certain that it was not my own composition. One said he could produce the book from which it was copied, but was not pressed to do so; the process of proving is such a nuisance to those who want to believe. Finally the number of seekers after poetic fame began to increase alarmingly; moreover their methods were not those which are recognised as roads to moral improvement.

Nowadays there is nothing strange in a youngster writing verses. The glamour of poesy is gone. I remember how the few women who wrote poetry in those days were looked upon as miraculous creations of the Deity. If one hears to-day that some young lady does not write poems one feels sceptical. Poetry now sprouts long before the highest Bengali class is reached; so that no modern Gobinda Babu would have taken any notice of the poetic exploit I have recounted.

* Corresponding to Lethe.

(10) SRIKANTHA BABU.

At this time I was blessed with a hearer the like of whom I shall never get again. He had so inordinate a capacity for being pleased as to have utterly disqualified him for the post of critic in any of our monthly Reviews. The old man was like a perfectly ripe Alfonso mango—not a trace of acid or coarse fibre in his composition. His tender clean-shaven face was rounded off by an all-pervading baldness; there was not the vestige of a tooth to worry the inside of his mouth; and his big smiling eyes gleamed with a constant delight. When he spoke in his soft deep voice, his mouth and eyes and hands all spoke likewise. He was of the old school of Persian culture and knew not a word of English. His inseparable companions were a hubble-bubble at his left, and a *sitar* on his lap; and from his throat flowed song unceasing.

Srikantha Babu had no need to wait for a formal introduction, for none could resist the natural claims of his genial heart. Once he took us to be photographed with him in some big English photographic studio. There he so captivated the proprietor, with his artless story, in a jumble of Hindustani and Bengali, of how he was a poor man, but badly wanted this particular photograph taken, that the man smilingly allowed him a reduced rate. Nor did such bargaining sound at all incongruous in that unbending English establishment, so naive was Srikantha Babu, so unconscious of any possibility of giving offence. He would sometimes take me along to a European missionary's house. There, also, with his playing and singing, his caresses of the missionary's little girl and his unstinted admiration of the little booted feet of the missionary's lady, he would enliven the gathering as no one else could have done. Another behaving so absurdly would have been deemed a bore, but his transparent simplicity pleased all and drew them to join in his gaiety.

Srikantha Babu was impervious to rudeness or insolence. There was at the time a singer of some repute retained in our establishment. When the latter was the worse for liquor he would rail at poor Srikantha Babu's singing in no very choice terms. This he would bear unflinchingly, with no attempt at retort. When at last the man's incorrigible rudeness brought about his dismissal Srikantha Babu anxiously inter-

ceded for him. "It was not he, it was the liquor," he insisted.

He could not bear to see anyone sorrowing or even to hear of it. So when any one of the boys wanted to torment him they had only to read out passages from Vidya-sagar's "Banishment of Sita"; whereat he would be greatly exercised, thrusting out his hands in protest and begging and praying of them to stop.

This old man was the friend alike of my father, my elder brothers and ourselves. He was of an age with each and everyone of us. As any piece of stone is good enough for the fletcher to dance round and gambol with, so the least provocation would suffice to make him beside himself with joy. On one occasion I had composed a hymn, and had not failed to make due allusion to the trials and tribulations of this world. Srikantha Babu was convinced that my father would be overjoyed at such a perfect gem of a devotional poem. With unbounded enthusiasm he volunteered to personally acquaint him with it. By a piece of good fortune I was not there at the time but heard afterwards that my father was hugely amused that the sorrows of the world should have so early moved his youngest son to the point of versification. I am sure Gobinda Babu, the superintendent, would have shown more respect for my effort on so serious a subject.

In singing I was Srikantha Babu's favorite pupil. He had taught me a song: "No more of **Raja** for me," and would drag me about to everyone's rooms and get me to sing it to them. I would sing and he would thrum an accompaniment on his *sitar* and when we came to the chorus he would join in, and repeat it over and over again, smiling and nodding his head at each one in turn, as if nudging them on to a more enthusiastic appreciation.

He was a devoted admirer of my father. A hymn had been set to one of his tunes, "For He is the heart of our hearts." When he sang this to my father Srikantha Babu got so excited that he jumped up from his seat and alternately violently twanged his *sitar* as he sang: "For He is the heart of our hearts" and then waved his hand about my father's face as he changed the words to "For *you* are the heart of our hearts."

When the old man paid his last visit to

* Krishna's playground.

my father, the latter, himself bed-ridden, was at a river-side villa in Chinsurah. Srikantha Babu, stricken with his last illness, could not rise unaided and had to push open his eyelids to see. In this state, tended by his daughter, he journeyed to Chinsurah from his place in Birbhoom. With a great effort he managed to take the dust of my father's feet and then return to his lodgings in Chinsurah where he breathed his last a few days later. I heard afterwards from his daughter that he went to his eternal youth with the song "How sweet is thy mercy, Lord!" on his lips.

(11) OUR BENGALI COURSE ENDS.

At School we were then in the class below the highest one. At home we had advanced in Bengali much further than the subjects taught in the class. We had been through Akshay Datta's book on Popular Physics, and had also finished the epic of Meghnadvadha. We read our physics without any reference to physical objects and so our knowledge of the subject was correspondingly bookish. In fact the time spent on it had been thoroughly wasted; much more so to my mind than if it had been wasted in doing nothing. The Meghnadvadha, also, was not a thing of joy to us. The tastiest tit-bit may not be relished when thrown at one's head. To employ an epic to teach language is like using a sword to shave with—sad for the sword, bad for the chin. A poem should be taught from the emotional standpoint; inveigling it into service as grammar-cum-dictionary is not calculated to propitiate the divine Saraswati.

All of a sudden our Normal School career came to an end; and thereby hangs a tale. One of our school teachers wanted to borrow a copy of my grandfather's life by Mitra from our library. My nephew and classmate Satya managed to screw up courage enough to volunteer to mention this to my father. He came to the conclusion that every-day Bengali would hardly do to approach him with. So he concocted and delivered himself of an archaic phrase with such meticulous precision that my father must have felt our study of the Bengali language had gone a bit too far and was in danger of over-reaching itself. So the next morning, when according to our wont our table had been placed in the south verandah, the blackboard hung up on a

nail in the wall, and everything was in readiness for our lessons with Nilkamal Babu, we three were sent for by my father to his room upstairs. "You need not do any more Bengali lessons," he said. Our minds danced for very joy.

Nilkamal Babu was waiting downstairs, our books were lying open on the table, and the idea of getting us to once more go through the Meghnadvadha doubtless still occupied his mind. But as on one's death-bed the various routine of daily life seems unreal, so, in a moment, did everything, from the Pandit down to the nail on which the blackboard was hung, become for us as empty as a mirage. Our sole trouble was how to give this news to Nilkamal Babu with due decorum. We did it at last with considerable restraint, while the geometrical figures on the blackboard stared at us in wonder and the blank verse of the Meghnadvadha looked blankly on.

Our Pandit's parting words were: "At the call of duty I may have been sometimes harsh with you—do not keep that in remembrance. You will learn the value of what I have taught you later on."

Indeed I have learnt that value. It was because we were taught in our own language that our minds quickened. Learning should as far as possible follow the process of eating. When the taste begins from the first bite, the stomach is awakened to its function before it is loaded, so that its digestive juices get full play. Nothing like this happens, however, when the Bengali boy is taught in English. The first bite bids fair to wrench loose both rows of teeth—like a veritable earthquake in the mouth! And by the time he discovers that the morsel is not of the genus stone, but a digestible bon bon, half his allotted span of life is over. While one is choking and spluttering over the spelling and grammar, the inside remains starved, and when at length the taste is felt, the appetite has vanished. If the whole mind does not work from the beginning its full powers remain undeveloped to the end. While all around was the cry for English teaching, my third brother was brave enough to keep us to our Bengali course. To him in heaven my grateful reverence.

(12) THE PROFESSOR.

On leaving the Normal School we were sent to the Bengal Academy, a Eurasian



institution. We felt we had gained an access of dignity, that we had grown up—at least into the first storey of freedom. In point of fact the only progress we made in that academy was towards freedom. What we were taught there we never understood, nor did we make any attempt to learn, nor did it seem to make any difference to anybody that we did not. The boys here were annoying but not disgusting—which was a great comfort. They wrote ASS on their palms and slapped it on to our backs with a cordial "hello!" They gave us a dig in the ribs from behind and looked innocently another way. They dabbed banana pulp on our heads and made away unperceived. Nevertheless it was like coming out of slime on to rock—we were worried but not soiled.

This school had one great advantage for me. No one there cherished the forlorn hope that boys of our sort could make any advance in learning. It was a petty institution with an insufficient income, so that we had one supreme merit in the eyes of its authorities—we paid our fees regularly. This prevented even the Latin Grammar from proving a stumbling block, and the most egregious of blunders left our backs unscathed. Pity for us had nothing to do with it—the school authorities had spoken to the teachers!

Still, harmless though it was, after all it was a school. The rooms were cruelly dismal with their walls on guard like policemen. The house was more like a pigeon-holed box than a human habitation. No decoration, no pictures, not a touch of colour, not an attempt to attract the boyish heart. The fact that likes and dislikes form a large part of the child mind was completely ignored. Naturally our whole being was depressed as we stepped through its doorway into the narrow quadrangle—and playing truant became chronic with us.

In this we found an accomplice. My elder brothers had a Persian tutor. We used to call him Munshi. He was of middle age and all skin and bone, as though dark parchment had been stretched over his skeleton without any filling of flesh and blood. He probably knew Persian well, his knowledge of English was quite fair, but in neither of these directions lay his ambition. His belief was that his proficiency in singlestick was matched only by his skill in song. He would stand in the sun in the middle of

our courtyard and go through a wonderful series of antics with a staff—his own shadow being his antagonist. I need hardly add that his shadow never got the better of him and when at the end he gave a great big shout and whacked it on the head with a victorious smile, it lay submissively prone at his feet. His singing, nasal and out of tune, sounded like a gruesome mixture of groaning and moaning coming from some ghost-world. Our singing master Vishnu would sometimes chaff him: "Look here, Munshi, you'll be taking the bread out of our mouths at this rate!" To which his only reply would be a disdainful smile.

This shows that the Munshi was amenable to soft words; and in fact, whenever we wanted we could persuade him to write to the school authorities to excuse us from attendance. The school authorities took no pains to scrutinise these letters, they knew it would be all the same whether we attended or not, so far as educational results were concerned.

I have now a school of my own in which the boys are up to all kinds of mischief, for boys will be mischievous—and schoolmasters unforgiving. When any of us are beset with undue uneasiness at their conduct and are stirred into a resolution to deal out condign punishment, the misdeeds of my own schooldays confront me in a row and smile at me.

I now clearly see that the mistake is to judge boys by the standard of the grown-ups, to forget that a child is quick and mobile like a running stream; and that, in the case of such, any touch of imperfection need cause no great alarm, for the speed of the flow is itself the best corrective. When stagnation sets in then comes the danger. So it is for the teacher, more than the pupil, to beware of wrong doing.

There was a separate refreshment room for Bengali boys for meeting their caste requirements. This was where we struck up a friendship with some of the others. They were all older than we. One of these will bear to be dilated upon.

His speciality was the art of Magic, so much so that he had actually written and published a little booklet on it, the front page of which bore his name with the title of Professor. I had never before come across a school-boy whose name had appeared in print, so that my reverence for him—as a professor of magic I mean—was

profound. How could I have brought myself to believe that anything questionable could possibly find place in the straight and upright ranks of printed letters? To be able to record one's own words in indelible ink—was that a slight thing? To stand unscreened and unabashed, self-confessed before the world,—how could one withhold belief in the face of such supreme self-confidence? I remember how once I got the types for the letters of my name from some printing press, and what a memorable thing it seemed when I inked and pressed them on paper and found my name imprinted.

We used to give a lift in our carriage to this schoolfellow and author-friend of ours. This led to visiting terms. He was also great at theatricals. With his help we erected a stage on our wrestling ground with painted paper stretched over a split bamboo framework. But a peremptory negative from upstairs prevented any play from being acted thereon.

A comedy of errors was however played later on without any stage at all. The author of this has already been introduced to the reader in these pages. He was none other than my nephew Satya. Those who beheld his present calm and sedate demeanour would be shocked to learn of the tricks of which he was the originator.

The event of which I am writing happened sometime afterwards when I was twelve or thirteen. Our magician friend had told of so many strange properties of things that I was consumed with curiosity to see them for myself. But the materials of which he spoke were invariably so rare or distant that one could hardly hope to get hold of them without the help of Sinbad the sailor. Once, as it happened, the Professor forgot himself so far as to mention accessible things. Who could ever believe that a seed dipped and dried twenty-one times in the juice of a species of cactus would sprout and flower and fruit all in the space of an hour? I was determined to test this, not daring withal to doubt the assurance of a Professor whose name appeared in a printed book.

I got our gardener to furnish me with a plentiful supply of the milky juice, and betook myself on a Sunday afternoon, to our mystic nook in a corner of the terraced roof, to experiment with the stone of a mango. I was wrapt in my task of dip-

ping and drying—but the grown-up reader will probably not wait to ask me the result. In the meantime, I little knew that Satya, in another corner, had, in the space of an hour, caused to root and sprout a mystical plant of his own creation. This was to bear curious fruit later on.

After the day of this experiment the Professor rather avoided me, as I gradually came to perceive. He would not sit on the same side in the carriage, and altogether seemed to fight shy of me.

One day, all of a sudden, he proposed that each one in turn should jump off the bench in our schoolroom. He wanted to observe the differences in style, he said. Such scientific curiosity did not appear queer in a professor of magic. Every one jumped, so did I. He shook his head with a subdued "h'm." No amount of persuasion could draw anything further out of him.

Another day he informed us that some good friends of his wanted to make our acquaintance and asked us to accompany him to their house. Our guardians had no objection, so off we went. The crowd in the room seemed full of curiosity. They expressed their eagerness to hear me sing. I sang a song or two. Mere child as I was I could hardly have bellowed like a bull. "Quite a sweet voice," they all agreed.

When refreshments were put before us they sat round and watched us eat. I was bashful by nature and not used to strange company; moreover the habit I acquired during the attendance of our servant Iswar left me a poor eater for good. They all seemed impressed with the delicacy of my appetite.

In the fifth act I got some curiously warm letters from our Professor which revealed the whole situation. And here let the curtain fall.

I subsequently learnt from Satya that while I had been practising magic on the mango seed, he had successfully convinced the Professor that I was dressed as a boy by our guardians merely for getting me a better schooling, but that really this was only a disguise. To those who are curious in regard to imaginary science I should explain that a girl is supposed to jump with her left foot forward, and this is what I had done on the occasion of the Professor's trial. I little realised at the time what a tremendously false step mine had been!

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

KALIDASA, THE SPIRIT OF ASIA

BY PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

[T was a New India, the India of the Guptas—a new stage, new actors, and what is more, a new outlook. Extensive diplomatic relations with foreign powers, military renown of “digvijaya” [conquest of the four quarters] at home, overthrow of the ‘barbarians’ on the western borderland, international trade, maritime activity, expansion of the motherland, missionising abroad, the blending of races by which the flesh and blood of the population was almost renewed, and social transformation as epoch-making as the first Aryanisation itself—all these ushered in in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era a thorough rejuvenation and a complete overhauling of the old order of things in Hindusthan. The Indians of the Vikramadityan era started their life afresh—with young eyes and renovated mentality. Hindu tradition has ever known this to be the age of “Navaratna” (or Nine Gems, *i. e.*, celebrities). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar of Bombay, calls it the age of Hindu Renaissance. Mr. Vincent Smith says :

“The Gupta period, taken in a wide sense as extending from about A. D. 300 to 650, and meaning more particularly the fourth and fifth centuries, was a time of exceptional intellectual activity in many fields—a time not unworthy of comparison with the Elizabethan and Stuart period in England. In India all the lesser lights are outshone by the brilliancy of Kalidasa, as in England all the smaller authors are overshadowed by Shakespeare. But, as the Elizabethan literature would still be rich, even if Shakespeare had not written, so in India, if Kalidasa’s works had not survived, enough of other men’s writings would remain to distinguish his age as extraordinarily fertile in literary achievement.”

If it is at all necessary to single out one name as a synonym for India and Hindu culture, it is not that of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Sakyasimha, Asoka, Samudragupta, Sankaracharya, Tulsidasa, Sivaji or Chaitanya, but of Kalidasa, the poet of the 4th-5th century A.D. If it is at all possible to regard any one work as the embodiment of Indianism, it is not the *Rig Veda*, the *Arthashastra*, the *Tripitaka*, *Gita*, *Vedanta*, *Kural* (Tamil work—3rd century A.D.) *Sakuntala*, *Dasa-bodha* (Marathi work—17th century), or *Kavikankana Chandi* (Bengali work—17th century), but the *Raghu-vamsam* of Kalidasa. And if it is required to point to single passages in this epic which may

be regarded as the most convenient *Sutra* or mnemonic formula for *Indono Damashii* (the spirit of Hindusthan), these are :—

A-samudra-kshitishanam
*A-naka-ratha-vartmanam**
Vardhakye muni-vrittinam
Yogenante tanutyajam.

i. e., Lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea,
Commanding the atmosphere by chariots of air;
Adopters of the life of the silent sage when old,
And passing away at last through Yoga’s aid.

These four phrases occur in the very prelude to *Raghu-vamsam* where the poet invokes the deities to help him in describing the achievements of the House of Raghu. The following English translation is by Griffith :

“Yes, I will sing, although the hope be vain
To tell their glories in a worthy strain,
Whose holy flame in earliest life was won,
Who toiled unresting till the task was done.
Far as the distant seas allowed their sway ;
High as the heaven none checked their lofty way,
Constant in worship, prompt in duty’s call,
Swift to reward the good, the bad appall,
They gathered wealth, but gathered to bestow,
And ruled their words that all their truth might know.
In glory’s quest they risked their noble lives ;
For love and children, married gentle wives,
On holy lore in childhood’s days intent,
In love and joy their youthful prime they spent,
As hermits, mused, in life’s declining day,
Then in Devotion dreamed their souls away.”

Here is a Hegelian synthesis of opposites—the Machiavellian Kautilya shaking hands with the *Nirvanist* Sakyasimha. Here are secularism and other-worldliness welded together into one artistic whole, a full harmony of comprehensive life. This is Indianism ; and if ‘the East is East,’ this is that East.

European travellers in ancient and mediæval times were impressed by the “wealth of Ormus and of Ind” and the “barbaric pearls and gold” of “the gorgeous East.” They had no philosopher like Matthew Arnold going out of his way to poetise about ‘the legion,’ nor a stylist like Kipling to write pseudo-anthropological stories about foreign races and to start fascinating theories of race-psychology. They, therefore, did not notice any abnormal mentalities in the Orient, but found activity and the joy of life scattered

* Literally, whose chariot-tracks went up to the skies. Pseudo-scientists may read in this and similar other passages in Sanskrit an anticipation of aeroplanes.

everywhere. The globe-trotters of the steam-age, however, begin their first lessons in Oriental lore with the dictum that "the East is East, and the West is West." They, therefore, make it a point to find evidences of 'Oriental Sun,' 'Oriental atmosphere,' 'Oriental lethargy,' 'Oriental intrigue,' 'Oriental superstition,' 'Oriental corruption,' and 'Oriental immorality.' To make "confusion worse confounded," historians and philosophers who ought to be able to dive beneath the surface have been misled by the theory of Schopenhauer about Hindu pessimism. Though Schopenhauer's ideas do not count for much in the present day life and philosophy of the western world, the cue supplied by him regarding the Orient bids fair to be a permanent superstition with those who should understand better.

That Hindu culture could have expressed itself in an objective philosophy of energism and positivism would, therefore, appear paradoxical to those who have been taught to know India only in her subjective metaphysics of Nirvanism and mysticism. Strictly speaking, each represents 'the truth, and nothing but the truth,' but not 'the whole truth'; for, as the poet has said, "we are but parts and can see only but parts." As for the travellers of ancient and mediæval times, or the tourists and scholars of the modern world, they have certainly seen only parts, because they came to see only parts. They were *specialists* commissioned to study definite interests. Thus there have been political ambassadors like Megasthenes, commercial agents like Marco Polo and Tavernier, sightseers, curio-hunters, and sensation-mongers, newspaper-reporters who are deputed to get the 'inside view' of things, Christian missionaries who must force their gospel, archaeologists whose interests, if really honest, must only be the unearthing of 'fossils' from the dead past, and others, who like all these have been born into the faith that the Oriental human beings belong to a fundamentally inferior race.

The whole India is an organic synthesis of the two philosophies. That synthesis cannot be interpreted fully by bringing about a mechanical adjustment of the conflicting reports of tourists and scholars. To unbiased students of the philosophy of history, however, that is the only frame-

work through which the signs of life have to be read. Besides, the synthetic race-ideal can be studied only in the representative creations of constructive national imagination. Hindu Culture found its best expression in the mind and art of Kalidasa. For the complete view of Indian life and thought, therefore, one should turn to Kalidasan literature. And to do justice to it one must apply the same method of literary criticism as is used in the interpretation of Dante, Shakespeare, Voltaire and Goethe as exponents of their times. A part of my remarks on the *Raghu-vamsam* of Kalidasa made elsewhere * may be reproduced in this connexion.

"It is impossible to study it from cover to cover without noticing how profoundly the greatest poet of Hindusthan has sought to depict this Hindu ideal of synthesis and harmony between the positive and the transcendental, the *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *tyaga* (renunciation). *Raghu vamsam* is the embodiment of Hindu India in the same sense that *Paradise Lost* is the embodiment of Puritan England. The grand ambitions of the Vikramadityanera, its colossal energies, its thorough mastery over the things of the world, its all-round economic prosperity and brilliant political position, its Alexandrian sweep, its proud and stately outlook, its vigorous and robust taste are all graphically painted in this national epic, together with the 'devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow,' the 'light that never was on sea or land,' the *sanyasa*, *vairagya*, *ahimsa*, *yoga*, the preparation for the other world, the idea of nothingness of this world, and the desire for *mukti* or the perpetual freedom from bondage.

This antithesis, polarity or duality has not, however, been revealed to us as a hotchpotch of hurly-burly and pell-mell conflicts and struggles, but presented in a serene, sober and well-adjusted system of harmony and synthesis—which gives 'the World, the Flesh, and the Devil' their due, which recognises the importance and dignity of the secular, the worldly, and the positive, and which establishes the transcendental, *not to the exclusion of*, but only *above*, as well as *in* and *through*, the civic, social and economic achievements."

It was when this synthetic idea of the One in the Many, the Infinite in the Finite, and the Transcendental in the Positive, was uttering itself in literature, sculpture, mythology and philosophy, that Hindusthan first became what may truly be called the school of Asia. Kalidasa as the embodiment of Hindu nationalism is thus the spirit of Asia. Nobody understands Asia who does not understand Kalidasa. He is the "God-gifted organ-voice" of the Orient.

* Foreword to *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Panini Office, Allahabad, India).

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN HINDU CASTES AND SUB-CASTES

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HINDU society, from times immemorial, has been divided into the four main castes or Varnas, viz., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra. These castes were in their origin elastic, but in the course of time, they became rigid and were themselves sub-divided into a number of sub-castes. Castes of mixed origin grew up, and the system became crystallised into the present multiple caste-system. Under the older Smritis like that of Manu, the marriage of a male of a higher caste with a female of a lower caste was allowed, while the marriage of a female of a higher caste with a male of a lower caste was discountenanced. The former type of marriages was called Anuloma, while the latter type was known as Pratiloma. Although Anuloma marriages were permitted by Hindu law in the days of the Smritis, they became obsolete in the course of centuries, and during the confusion created by successive Mahomedan invasions, every group tried to protect itself against any admixture of blood by strictly restricting the field for marriage. The result has been that not only intermarriage has become obsolete between interdining sub-castes, but in some parts of India and especially in Gujarat, persons of the same sub-caste belonging to some limited number of towns and villages have formed themselves into "rings" for purposes of marriage, beyond which no person can give girls in marriage, even to persons of the same sub-caste as themselves without incurring the penalty of a fine and in some cases excommunication. The "rings" many times defend this restriction on the ground that it ensures a sufficient supply of marriageable girls for their boys. The result is that girls have sometimes to be married to illiterate persons, who may not be able even to support a family, owing to the paucity of suitable husbands in the "ring." Very few people have the moral courage to kick at these intolerable fetters, and educated Hindu India suffers the evils in silence.

The Social Reform Conferences piously pass a resolution about intermarriage between interdining sub-castes every year but no practical results have yet been achieved. This is a reform in which both the orthodox and reformers can co-operate, since there is no text of Hindu law or religion that prohibits intermarriage between interdining sub-castes. I will go further and say that there is no reason why we should not have intermarriages between subdivisions of the same main Varna whether they interdine or not. We may also restore the practice of Anuloma-marriages which was prevalent in ancient India. But before we deal with the steps that may be taken in these directions, it will be well to examine the legal aspects of the question.

Later authorities have laid down that the twice-born shall marry girls of equal caste (सम्बन्ध) in the Kali age. Some writers only admit the existence of the Brahmin and Sudra castes at present and say that the Vaishya and Kshatriya castes do not exist. But this question has been set at rest by the Privy Council in 7 M. L. A. P. 18 (Chuturya Run Murdan Syn v. Sahab Puhulad Syn) where it judicially recognises the existence of the Kshatriya caste and says "the courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain."

But the practical question now in such cases is "what constitutes a difference of caste sufficient to prevent intermarriage." And this is a very difficult point to decide. Whether some of the castes such as the Kayasthas and others are really Sudras or not, whether the Vaidyas are a mixed caste or are genuine Vaishyas are questions which are sometimes keenly contested in the courts in India.

In Bengal, in 9 Suth. W. R. 552, Melaram v. Thanooram, where a Dome Brahmin had married a girl of the Haree caste, the High Court held that local custom is the only authority by which such marriage can be sanctioned, the general Hindu law being against it. In another case (Narain

Dhara v. Rakhal Gain I.L.R. 1. Cal; 23 W.R. 334) where the legality of a marriage between a man of the Kaivarta caste and a woman of the Tantee caste was one of the points for decision, Mr. Justice Romesh Chunder Mitter said:

"Marriage between parties in different subdivisions of the Sudra caste is prohibited unless sanctioned by any special custom, and no presumption in favour of the validity of such marriage can be made, although long cohabitation has existed between the parties."

And although Justice Markby expressed a doubt on the point, he concurred in remanding the case to the first court to try whether by any usage or custom there could be any valid marriage between the parties in question. The first of these cases was decided, before the Privy Council took the contrary view in two Madras cases, while the latter case seems to have been decided after the Privy Council decisions. The first of the Madras cases was that of Pandaiya Telavar v. Puli Telavar (1 M.H.C. 478) where Sir Colley Scotland C. J. said:—

"It is not, however, to be understood that supposing the late Zamindar and the second plaintiff had been of different castes, the marriage would, in my opinion, have been invalid. The general law applicable to all the classes or tribes does not seem opposed to marriage between individuals of different sects or divisions of the same class or tribe, and even as regards the marriage between individuals of a different class or tribe, the law appears to be no more than directory. Although it recommends and inclines a marriage with a woman of equal class as a preferable description, yet the marriage of a man with a woman of a lower class or tribe than himself appears not to be an invalid marriage, rendering the issue illegitimate (Manu Ch. III. Cl. 12, et seq; Mitakshara, Ch. I. Sec. 11 Clause 2 and note; 1 Strange's Hindu Law, p. 19). According to this view of the law, there being no proof of special custom or usage, the marriage would be valid, even though the parties had been of different sects or caste divisions of the fourth or Sudra caste."

And Justice Holloway in his judgment in the same case observed:

"Moreover, it is not invalid if it took place because of the difference of class. The opinion of the Plaintiffs, as usual, vague and unsatisfactory. As the twice-born is instructed to marry a wife of the same class with himself, the reasonable inference is that upon one who is not twice-born the precept is not binding."

"Further I am of opinion that the classes spoken of are the four classes recognized by Manu and not the infinite subdivisions of these classes introduced in the progress of time. I think, therefore, that being a Sudra, the woman was of the same class in the sense of the authority quoted."

On appeal to the Privy Council (13 M.I.A. p. 141, 12.W.R.&P.C. 41) their Lordships of the Privy Council observed:—

"Then if there was a marriage in fact, was there a marriage in law? When once you get to this, viz., that there was a marriage in fact, there would be a presumption in favour of their being a marriage in law. The opinions are matter of reasoning, and where they refer to authority which applies to persons of two different but higher castes, not to the Sudra caste at all, and still less to what may be called different classes or divisions of one and the same Sudra caste."

"It would be a most unlikely thing for a person of his (Zamindar's) caste to go through the ceremony of marriage which was invalid in law; ... and on the whole, seeing that these parties are both of the Sudra caste and that the utmost that has been alleged really is that the Zamindar was one part of the Sudra caste, and the lady to whom he was married was of another part, or of a sub-caste, their Lordships hold the marriage to have been valid; to hold the contrary would in fact be introducing a new rule and a rule which ought not to be countenanced."

In 14 M. I. A. 346, the Privy Council held that a marriage between a Zamindar of the Malavar class, a sub-division of the Sudra caste, with a woman of the Vellala (superior) class of Sudras was valid by Hindu Law.

The above Privy Council decisions seem to take a view contrary to that of Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter in the two Bengal cases quoted above, and in (I. L. R. 15 Cal. 708, Upoma Kuchain v. Bholaram Dhubi), where the marriage of the plaintiff, a Dhubi or washerman, with the defendant, a fisherwoman, was held valid, the Calcutta High Court observed:

"We think that these decisions (13. M. I. A. 141, 14 M. I. A. 346) are conclusive as to there being no rule of law regarding such marriages being invalid. It is true that the cases referred to were cases from the Madras Presidency; but it has not been shown to us, that in this respect any principle of Hindu Law followed in that Presidency is inapplicable to the Presidency of Bengal; nor has any case or any authority from ancient writers been cited to show that such marriages are invalid. Mr. Mayne in his work on Hindu Law treats such marriages as obsolete; and most probably they are so in the more advanced parts of Bengal in which castes have been sub-divided in such a way that the sub-divisions are regarded as distinct castes in themselves. But the fact that these marriages are not resorted to is no ground for holding that they are invalid according to law..... We hold, therefore, that there is nothing in the Hindu Law prohibiting a marriage between the parties to this suit."

On this, Dr. Gurudas Banerji, an eminent authority on Hindu Law, in his "Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan," observes,

"This may be true for the Madras Presidency, but in Bengal the state of things is very different, and Mr. Justice Mitter's opinion is quite in accordance with the prevailing practice of the people of that province. The case under notice came from Assam where the sub-divisions of the Sudra caste may not be so well marked as in Bengal proper. But it would

create quite a revolution in Hindu Society in Bengal, if the rule laid down in this case were to be applied generally."

In 18 Cal. 264, *re* Ramkumari, it was held that where one or both parties to a marriage are illegitimate, it will be valid if they are in fact recognized by their castemen as belonging to the same caste.

Turning to Bombay, we find that in I. L. R. 22 Bom. p. 277 (*Fakir Ganda v. Gangi*) the Bombay High Court held that according to the Hindu Law, marriages between members of different sects of Lingayats are not illegal, and where it is alleged that such a marriage is invalid, the onus lies upon the persons making such allegation of proving that such marriage is prohibited by immemorial custom. Hosking J. in that case said that the status of Lingayats as Sudras was determined by the judgment of the Bombay High Court in *Gopal v. Hanumant*, I.L.R. 3 Bom. p. 273. In another case (I. L. R. 33 Bom. P. 693), a marriage between a man of the Panchal (artificer) caste and a woman of the Kurbar (shepherd) caste was held to be valid. The Panchals and the Kurbars are sub-divisions of the Sudra caste. It was also held that the onus lies upon the party alleging the illegality by reason of immemorial custom to prove such prohibiting custom.

In the foregoing cases we have dealt with the intermarriage between different sub-divisions of the Sudra caste, and now we shall turn our attention to the law relating to the intermarriage between the upper classes. In *Ramlal Shookool v. Akhoy Charan Mitter* (7 Cal. W.N. p. 612) the question was as regards the marriage of Kayasthas and Vaidyas. The Sub-Judge had treated them as Sudras and hence held a marriage between them valid. On the case going up in appeal to the High Court, it said,

"It cannot be disputed that his (Chandrakant Sen's) mother a Kayastha and therefore a Sudra married his father a Vaishya. The ancient Hindu law did not regard such marriages with the condemnation expressed by later authorities which have been accepted by our courts so as to make children born from such unequal marriage illegal. But however that may be, there is ample evidence set out in the judgment of the Sub-Judge, on which it must be held that such marriages as in the present case are recognised by local custom in the District of Tippera and that there is no instance in which their validity has been questioned. We agree with the Sub-Judge in holding that such marriages are in accordance with local custom in Tippera and are valid."

On the other hand, in I. L. R. 28 All. p. 458, *Padamkumari v. Surajkumari*, the Allahabad High Court held that whatever may have been the case in ancient times, and whatever may be the law in other parts of India, at the present day the marriage between a Brahmin and a Chhettri is not a lawful marriage in these provinces and the issue of such marriage is not legitimate. While the Calcutta High Court holds the marriage of a Vaishya and Sadra valid by custom, the Allahabad High Court declares the marriage of a Brahmin and Chhettri illegal, apparently irrespective of custom.

In a Punjab case (*Haria v. Kanhya*, Punj. R. Vol. 13, p. 325) it was held that the marriage of a Rajput with a Khatriani woman was valid and that the onus of proving a custom to the contrary lay on the defendant.

In 130 C. 375, it was held that marriages between persons belonging to two of the four primary castes are invalid, but that this rule does not apply to marriages between persons of hybrid castes or between a person of hybrid caste and a person of one of the four principal castes.

The last case to be noted in this connection is that of *Muthusami Mudaliar, v. Masalmani* (I. L. R. 33 Mad. 312) in which the Madras High Court held that a marriage contracted according to Hindu rites with a Christian woman, who, before marriage, is converted to Hinduism, is valid when such marriages are common among and recognised as valid by the custom of the caste to which the man belongs, although such marriage may not be in strict accordance with the orthodox Hindu religion. It was also held that under the Hindu law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law. The court further held that apart from custom, such a marriage between parties who do not belong to the twice-born classes is valid under Hindu Law; it is only persons who belong to the twice-born classes that are enjoined to marry in their own class; all other persons must be treated as Sudras, and marriages between different classes of Sudras are valid. The court also held that where a caste accepts a marriage as valid and treats the parties thereto as members of the caste, the court will not declare such a marriage null and void.

We have already quoted Dr. Gurudas

Banerji's observations on the leading Privy Council cases and shall now quote his final remarks on the subject in which he says :

"It may perhaps be laid down as a general rule, that so far as the prohibition of intermarriage between different castes is concerned, a marriage would be valid or void according as the parties to it are or are not in point of fact recognized as belonging to the same caste, irrespective of the propriety of such recognition."

Mr. J. C. Ghose in his "Hindu Law" says that sub-castes, formed by intermarriages in former times or otherwise and regarded as such should be considered distinct castes, and that English Judges have fallen into the error of considering these as sub-divisions of the same caste.

On a review of the whole law on the subject, we may safely lay down the following propositions as established at present:—

1. Intermarriage between persons belonging to different sub-divisions of the Sudra class is valid, the onus of proving invalidity by immemorial custom lying on the person who alleges such invalidity;

2. Intermarriage between persons belonging to different primary castes is invalid unless allowed by local custom as in the case of Kayasthas (Sudras) and Vaidyas (Vaishyas).

3. Intermarriage between different castes would be valid or void according as the parties to it are or are not in point of fact recognised as belonging to the same caste, irrespective of the propriety of such recognition.

4. The marriage of a Brahmin with a Chhettri is not lawful in the United Provinces.

To these, Mr. Trevelyan, in his "Hindu Family Law," adds a fifth proposition, viz.

5. That intermarriage between persons belonging to different sub-divisions of the same primary caste is valid.

As regards the first proposition, I have quoted the remarks of Dr. Gurudas Banerji at length, and in view of these observations and the opinion of Mr. J. C. Ghose, it cannot be said that the law on the subject has been finally settled. In an extreme case as that of an intermarriage between a Kayastha (Sudra) with a person belonging to one of the untouchable classes (such as a Pariah), it is very likely that the courts will hesitate to hold the marriage valid although it may be true that all Hindus who are not twice-born must be regarded as Sudras as held in 33

Madras 342. Even among the touchable Sudras in some of the advanced provinces of India like Bengal and Gujarat where the caste system prevails in all its rigidity, the different sub-divisions are regarded as distinct castes in themselves, some of whom do not even interdine with each other, it will be hazardous to say that the courts will not take a different view in future than the one taken by the Privy Council in the Madras cases, if the Privy Council chooses to over-rule their former rulings on the point taking into consideration the views of such eminent Hindu Jurists like Dr. Gurudas Banerji and Mr. J. C. Ghose.

As regards the second proposition, all intermarriages between persons belonging to different primary castes are invalid, unless allowed by local custom. It is very difficult to prove an immemorial custom so as to override the general provisions of Hindu Law, so that practically, such marriages are prohibited. Again it is only the Calcutta High Court that allows a local custom in such cases, while in Allahabad the marriage of a Brahmin with a Chhettri has been expressly held to be invalid, apparently irrespective of custom.

According to the third proposition the validity of each intermarriage will have to be decided on the merits of each case and not under a general law. It will turn upon the evidence adduced, and very few people can be tempted to try the uncertainties of the law and the varying views of different courts.

The fifth proposition will turn upon the question what present day castes belong to a particular primary caste. This is the most difficult question to solve. There are many communities which are on the border-line and it may be impossible to say whether they belong to this or that primary caste. There are other communities who claim to belong to a particular primary caste but whose claims are denied by other sister communities which have been generally recognized as belonging to that particular primary caste.

The only safe way at present of intermarrying lies in taking advantage of the provisions of the Indian Civil Marriage Act of 1872. This law is explicit and while it legalises the marriage, it avoids bastardy for the children. But the Hindus are a pre-eminently spiritual people, and they would rather do without such intermar-

riages than declare that they do not belong to any of the recognised religions of the world. Another difficulty is that the incidence of divorce attaches to all marriages under the Civil Marriage Act, which must prevent the vast majority of the twice-born classes from taking advantage of the Act inasmuch as they rightly or wrongly believe that marriage is a sacrament which can not be dissolved by divorce. These people may be very willing to intermarry, provided that all the incidents of a Hindu marriage under the Hindu Law do attach themselves to such a marriage. The present stage of the law can only allow a safe intermarriage between interlining sub-castes which recognise themselves as belonging to the same primary caste from times immemorial.

Apart from the legal aspect of the question which has been thoroughly dealt with above, there are difficulties of language, customs and manners, diet whether vegetarian or otherwise, and sometimes fundamental differences of religious faith which come in the way. A Bengal Brahmin worshipping Kali, for instance, will not be able to intermarry a strictly vegetarian Vaishnava Brahmin girl of Gujarat nor will such a marriage turn out a happy one. In such a case all the difficulties enumerated above will supervene, and it is quite necessary that these difficulties should be overcome.

Yet another difficulty is of the unwillingness of the Aryans of Northern India to intermarry with the Dravidian Hindus of Southern India where in addition to the aforesaid difficulties, the questions of race-pride and colour may prove sometimes insuperable.

I have dealt with the legal and social aspects of the question, and shown the practical difficulties that prevent intermarriage from becoming general. I shall now proceed to suggest what we should do to encourage such marriages.

The first step that suggests itself to me is the appointment of Commission by the Government of India enjoying the universal confidence of all Hindus whether orthodox or otherwise. Such a Commission should be composed of the most impartial persons, well-versed with the sacred literature of the Hindus and the actual social conditions prevailing in India. It may very well include some of the most enlightened religious heads of the Hindus

and an equal number of eminent educated Hindus like the Maharaja of Durbhanga, Dr. Gurudas Banerji, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya. It should also have a sprinkling of enlightened Pandits and Shastris. It may be presided over by an impartial European Savant saturated with the Hindu sacred lore, or an impartial progressive Shankaracharya of any of the four Maths. Such a Commission should be empowered to report after taking evidence on the question "which present day Hindu castes and sub-castes belong to which primary caste," dividing the Sudras into touchable Sudras and untouchable Sudras. The untouchable Sudras may be treated as belonging to a fifth primary caste. I doubt how far it will be practicable to secure such an impartial Commission, but if we are really able to secure such a Commission, it will settle many delicate and thorny questions that prevent intermarriages. On the findings of the Commission, legislation may be initiated expressly declaring that intermarriage between communities found by the Commission to belong to a particular primary caste is lawful and will have all the incidents of a Hindu marriage attached to it. This will be a first step in the building up of a homogeneous Hindu nation as it will reduce much of the narrow caste spirit, and in the course of time we shall only have to deal with the question of only four or five big primary castes instead of the present thousands of castes and sub-castes. At least, so far, both the orthodox and reformers can join hands and work harmoniously together for the common national end. *Steps will have to be taken to get similar enactments passed in all the Native States, in order to secure uniformity of law for the Hindus throughout India.*

As intermarriage between persons belonging to the same primary caste is not prohibited by any text of Hindu Law, an Act should be passed enacting that any present day Hindu caste, sub-caste, or sub-division of such a caste or sub-caste or any "ring" excommunicating or in any other way punishing any person for such intermarriage will be liable to be mulcted in damages in a civil suit by the injured party as if on a recurring cause of action and on a decree being passed, the person will have to be restored to his former status and in case of refusal, the injured

party will have the right to sue for damages and restitution to his status as many times as the caste, sub-caste, sub-division or ring refuses to obey the successive decrees of the courts. Such a provision is quite essential in view of the terrors of caste-tyranny that prevail, in some parts of India and especially in Gujarat. I would even propose that members of a community taking part in excommunication or in any other way punishing a person for such intermarriage should be liable to prosecution and sentence in a criminal court on a complaint lodged by the injured party. But thinking that this may be considered too harsh, I do not press for it. Unless the law restricts the powers of the autonomous Hindu caste in some way, there is no chance of intermarriages becoming popular, and very few persons will have the moral courage to brave the terrible punishment of social ostracism passed by their caste-fellows.

Under the present circumstances, the legalising of Anuloma marriages under Hindu Law will rouse intense opposition from the orthodox classes and so it will be well to enact that local custom shall govern the validity or invalidity of such a marriage throughout India. Those however, who are desirous of contracting Anuloma or Pratiloma marriages, and wish to put them beyond doubt, should get an enactment on the lines of the celebrated Basu Bill passed for their benefit,

so that they may not be compelled to declare that they are not Hindus. They will have, however, to decide whether they wish to have the provisions relating to divorce made compulsorily applicable to such marriages or not. The scope of such an enactment will have to be confined to Hindus only, since there is a large majority of educated Hindus who abhor the idea of intermarrying with non-Hindus except Jains, Sikhs, Aryasamajists and Brahmos, who are to all intents and purposes Hindus in their ways of living and thinking.

To remove the difficulty of language, Hindi should be made the lingua franca throughout the length and breadth of India. No efforts should be spared to achieve this end, as it will go a long way in building up the future nation. Education is bound to spread, and in the course of time all other difficulties of customs and manners, diet, religious faith, race and colour will disappear at the magic touch of education. We will become more tolerant in future in such matters, more catholic in our ways of living and thinking and a day will come when a happy Hindu India will have been evolved out of the present chaos. I fervently hope that the day may soon come, and I earnestly request my fellow-countrymen to take into consideration my suggestions, and, if found feasible, to try to work them out in any way they think practicable.

THE LONDON MONEY-MARKET AND THE WAR

By K. M. PANIKKAR.

THOSE of us who take any interest in the economic world will remember with great interest the situation that arose in the early days of the international crisis. The month of August, 1914, can without hesitation be called the most critical period in monetary history. How the crisis was met and what permanent results it will have are the things that I propose to consider in this paper.

The whole fabric of international commerce is based on the assumption that peace is the normal state of things. The primary and essential characteristic of the

relations of hostility between nations, which we call war, is that it is a dislocation of the delicate mechanism of trade on which the prosperity, nay, the very existence, of the chief European States depends. War, therefore, even on a small scale, is bound to make itself felt in the economic world; and a European war in which all the leading Powers are engaged will, it is clear, automatically destroy the big edifice of international commerce.

Commerce, since it developed to its present dimensions, has unquestionably become international. Professional paci-

fists, we know, built their 'great illusions' on the fact that the economic relations of the Powers had become so intricate that war between them was impossible. Mr. Norman Angel worked out this point with consummate skill and wonderful elaborateness, to show that the Powers in future would shrink from war, because a war between two economically developed nations—not to think of a European war—would be disastrous, not only to themselves but to the whole world. When questioned about the validity of his arguments, in the light of actualities at the beginning of last August, when the unthinkable had happened, Mr. Angel triumphantly pointed out the closing of the Stock Exchange, the extension of the Bank Holiday, the raising of the bank rate, and the proclamation of the Moratorium as conclusive evidence of the truth of the economic arguments he had advanced in favour of pacifism. Therefore we have to preface our study of the crisis in the monetary world by a few words on the international position of English Banking, and consequently that of London.

It need not be said that *gold* is the ultimate basis on which all the commercial life of the world is built. It is *the only* form of payment acceptable everywhere, and therefore all international transactions depend upon the ability to procure gold. As the metal itself cannot easily be had, the commercial genius of the English nation hit upon a wonderful system to which is due the enormous growth of the commercial life of the world. All important business is now done on credit, that is, a promise to pay gold on demand. Bills, drafts, cheques, notes, and other credit instruments depend for their value on their immediate convertibility into gold.

London is the only place in the world where these instruments can be turned into gold without either question or delay. Hence it is clear that London is the Centre and Capital of the monetary world, in the same sense as it is the political Capital of the British Empire. It gives gold to all the other countries and thus finances big enterprises all over the world. It is the world's banker, and never once has its position been questioned. How, then, is it that the Bank of England had to raise its rate from 3 per cent on July 29th to 10 per cent on August 1st? How is it that the London Stock Exchange had to close? And why

is it that the unheard of financial instrument, the moratorium, was brought down from the armoury?

Before attempting to deal with these points, it is necessary, for the sake of clearness, to point out one very important fact. We saw that the credit instruments in general use in the monetary world depend for their value on their convertibility into gold. It is clear, therefore, that London, being the world's market for gold, must keep in stock a very great amount of cash to meet the demands on it. But the English system, as is well known, is based on very small gold reserves. All the "cash" deposits of the big banks are with the Bank of England, which holds them, to a large extent, as its own notes. It must be remembered that Bank of England notes, though legal tender to any amount, are only credit instruments, and not bullion tickets, because of the "fiduciary" nature of their issue. They are issued against Government security, and not against gold, up to £18,450,000. Therefore, under certain conditions, Bank of England notes themselves would not do for international transactions.

In ordinary times those notes are, for all practical purposes, equal to bullion certificates. The inadequacy of cash reserves will not in the least matter, for London can at any time draw in any amount of gold, by simply raising its discount rates. The unquestioned predominance of London was in itself the reserve for all calls on her gold. It was hoped that if a crisis arose, London had only to beckon to other monetary centres to fill its vaults with coins. City editors optimistically prophesied London's ability to meet any situation.

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, on July 25, came to the monetary world as a bolt from the blue. The people of all countries had been for a long time fearing a European rupture, but the quickness with which it overtook the world surprised even the cool-headed men who control "the City." It was pretty clear from the beginning that the small spark lighted at Serajevo was going to spread a conflagration and would possibly consume the whole world.

Banking is an economic experiment performed on the psychology of the crowd. The fear of war—the fear of a plunge into the future, to be settled by the God of

Cannon and Ammunition—upsets the whole state of mind which the banker takes for granted. Every one rushes for gold and accepts nothing but gold; cheques become of no value, because no one will accept them; the position of the banks themselves becomes a matter of question, and depositors begin to withdraw their money and hoard it up in family chests. Such a change in the minds of the people is in itself sufficient to shake the soundest and best-managed money market.

Such an extraordinary run on the banks caused them to call in their money lent to bill-brokers and other Stock Exchange dealers, whose usual custom is to pay into one bank by borrowing from another. As the crisis was universal, they had to declare their inability to pay, for the money which they had borrowed was already in the shape of bills, which, as is clear, were of no use. From the time of the Austrian ultimatum the Stock Exchange had begun to suffer: sales from abroad poured in to London; all foreign stock fell tremendously; and the securities which London banks had held against them became unsaleable and hence of no value. The Stock Exchange had therefore to close.

Thus the "collateral securities" of the banks—which consist of stocks, and which in ordinary crises could be realised in gold—became useless. The only reserve on which they could depend was the cash deposited in the Bank of England. But, as we have seen, the Bank of England does not itself hold gold for its notes up to £18,450,000, and hence the matter became extremely critical. This raised the "run" into a wild panic, and extraordinary measures were found necessary to cope with the situation.

There is generally a very great demand for gold at the end of July, for holiday purposes, and this, together with the general state of mental confusion, caused an enormous run on the Bank of England. The refusal of some country banks to pay gold instead of paper increased it. The Bank of England found itself handicapped by the Bank Charter Act, which had laid down that for every note issued over £18,450,000 the bank must keep coin or bullion in its vaults. Recognising its inability to comply with these conditions, the Bank of England applied to the Treasury (then under Mr. Lloyd George) to suspend the operation of the Act. The Treas-

ury pointed out that the Act had never been suspended when the bank rate stood below 10 per cent; and thus the Bank of England was forced to raise its rate from 3 per cent to 10 per cent in three days. It was a very clumsy operation—one that destroyed the prestige of the London money market before the world.

The Bank Act was then suspended, that is, the Bank of England was allowed to issue notes, on Government guarantee, over £18,450,000, without having gold in coin or bullion behind it. But after the suspension the Government took in hand the provision of new currency and began to issue Treasury notes, thus making the suspension of the Bank Act and the clumsy raising of rate that preceded it entirely meaningless.

On August 6th the Government extended the partial moratorium which it had already issued on August 3rd, and safeguarded the position of the banks till arrangements for a new currency were made. The moratorium, as everybody now knows, is an instrument by which all payment of debts contracted within a specified time is postponed till a specified date. We have seen how some such arrangement was forced on the City by a variety of causes which were on the whole unforeseen. Perhaps its declaration was in itself a confession of inability, and, coming as it did to support the strongest money-market, must have caused a good deal of surprise outside the circle of experts who knew the intricacies of the exchange machine.

Looking now from a distance, after the tornado in the market has to a certain extent passed away, we can without much difficulty see the causes that led to it. When London became aware of the demands made upon her, she naturally called upon her debtors (and all the world except Paris owed her money) to pay up their debts. The exchange was in favour of Paris, and New York found that she could pay London only by drafts on London—which was evidently a move in a vicious circle. Thus London was unable to realise the money she had advanced against securities; and the securities themselves, because of the defection of the exchange, were unsaleable and hence of no use in strengthening the position of the banks against demands on them. Thus London was thrown back on her own reserves—on

the gold within her own vaults. Moreover London had to ship gold to Paris, because the exchange, as we have said before, was in favour of the latter. Thus we see that the edifice of the money market broke down completely under the weight of such an unthought-of pressure.

The situation was unexpected, and in the bewilderment caused by the shock of the crisis the banking community—a community characterised by extreme sanity and cool-headedness—lost their balance for the time. The result was the muddle-headed proceedings which we have noted before. In the meantime the gold that the Secretary of State for India holds at the Bank of England was transferred, and South Africa, Canada, and the United States sent all the gold they could collect. The financial expert of the "Times" calculated the amount imported to be 52½ millions.

The crisis, however, did not affect Berlin in such a serious way. It remains one of the many surprises of the war that German bankers avoided a moratorium and kept the exchange open. The wonder is greater when we consider that English financial experts used to assert that if Germany wanted to fight England, it could be done only if London furnished the money. This has proved to be more illusory than any other expectations connected with the war. Not only was Germany able to conduct the war, finance Turkey, and advance money to Bulgaria, but also to avoid all the confusion that "the City" experienced. The fact cannot now be explained in any satisfactory manner: we have to wait till the war is over to study the preparation that Germany made to stand the crisis. But we have to acknowledge this, that, with little or no help from outside, German bankers were able to preserve their financial system from breaking down.

London soon found her feet, and the City soon came back to conditions as normal as is possible during these abnormal times. It is perhaps profitable to consider what results it will have permanently on the position of London and the money market as a whole.

Before the crisis financial experts amused themselves by speculating on the possible conditions that would arise in case of a European war. When the crisis actually came they were surprised to find

that all their calculations were as far as possible from the truth. It is still more difficult to say with any amount of certainty what permanent results this war will leave in "the City." Most of them, of course, depend for their seriousness chiefly on the length of the war. However, we will try to enumerate some of the possible results which the City will have to face when peace is again restored to the world.

There is, first of all, a great diminution of wealth. This is negative as well as positive. Negatively the nation will suffer from the loss of the wealth which might have been accumulated. This may seem an unimportant consideration, but remember that a great majority of the English bourgeoisie depend for their incomes on some sort of investment in foreign lands, we shall have to recognise a great loss of wealth in that way.

Positively, finance will suffer in two very important ways:

(1) There will be a great amount of foreign indebtedness, due either to monetary help derived from other Powers (such as the subscription of the British War Loan in New York, etc.), and indebtedness incurred by placing big contracts with foreign firms. On the latter point we have to bear in mind the great amount of ammunition and other things for war supplied by the United States to the British Government. It is said that Great Britain and the Allies have placed an order of £300,000,000 for munitions in America. After the war, therefore, London will have to pay all this debt back, which means that for a long time after the war the exchange will be moving against London, in favour of New York.

(2) Then, again, we must remember that England and France are less self-supporting than the Central Empires. England has to import all her food from foreign countries. This will show itself in an enormous amount of foreign indebtedness after the war. England, for example, has to import wheat from the Argentine and U.S.A.; cotton from Egypt and America; and various other things from various parts of the world. In ordinary times these things are paid back by goods and services, and as this is impossible during war-time, it is clear that there will be great outstanding liabilities after the war.

Add to this, the chances that New York is standing to take the place of London in the international money market. We have seen that when the banking world settles down after the conclusion of peace, New York will be in a position of vantage in every respect. It will undoubtedly be a great credit market, and if the Federal Government removes the difficulties under

which New York banking is now labouring, we have to face seriously the problem of New York taking the position of London.

After this was written comes the news of the fall in the sterling exchange in New-York. The news has caused considerable alarm in the monetary world on both sides of the Atlantic.

PAPER-PULP FROM THE BAMBOO

D. STRICTUS BAMBOO OF THE DANGS.

By DHIRVA SUMANAS, *Paper Pulp Expert.*

TO put the industry of paper-making in India on a proper footing, the Government of India has been investigating for the fibrous materials suitable for production of paper-pulp for the last 50 years and over. Complimentary to *Ischæmum Angustifolium* and *Saccharum Munja*, the chief paper-making materials which are not obtainable in large quantities on a remunerative scale, *Bambusa* has been found out to be the proper material for the manufacture of paper-pulp and no fibre available in quantity at the present moment can be superior to bamboo. It received special attention since 1905, when the Government of Burma invited Mr. R. W. Sindall F.C.S. (London), a paper-pulp expert, to make an inquiry into the possibility of manufacturing paper-pulp from bamboo growing in Burma. In 1906, his report was published, followed by a booklet printed on paper made from bamboo, in 1909. Interesting experiments on the subject were made by Mr. W. Raitt, F.C.S., the cellulose expert attached to the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, and the results of his labours are chiefly embodied in his valuable Report on the Investigation of Bamboo as Material for Production of Paper-pulp, in the Indian Forest Records Vol. 3, pt. 3; followed by Vol. IV. pt. V., containing information about the bamboo-forest areas and the results of several tests carried on in the Titaghur Mills.

In January 1914, the Government of Bansda State requested me to visit Bansda

for the purpose of investigating into the possibility of utilizing bamboos growing in their forests, as a suitable raw material for making paper-pulp and to determine if the industry could be established there successfully.

The Dangs forests are situated in the Northern circle of the Bombay Presidency and are surrounded principally by the boundaries of Baroda, Bansda, Dharampore and Sulgana States and Nasik and Khandesh collectorates.

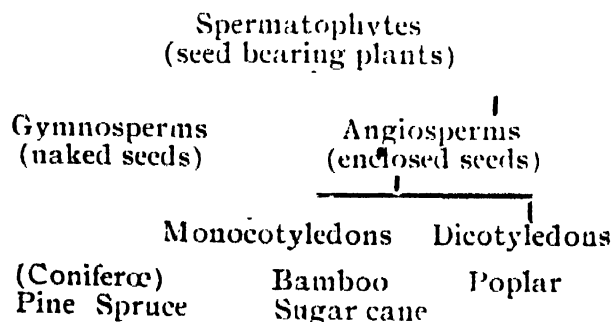
The principal variety of bamboo growing in is *Dendrocalamus Strictus*. This is the most common, most widespread and most universally used of all Indian bamboos. It is deciduous, densely tufted, gregarious, and has strong often solid culms which average from 20 to 40 feet high and 4.5 to 5.5 inches in girth, weighing nearly 6 to 10 lbs. It flowers about every 30 years and is reproduced by seed. A forest of surprising splendour is transformed into one of desolation and death, soon followed by fire, until the charred stems, dust and ashes are all that remain. The seeds which somewhat resemble wheat are edible and have a high food value after the removal of the husk. The leaves are very largely employed as food for buffaloes and elephants.

Here it is not necessary to enter at any length into the question of suitability of bamboo-fibre for the manufacture of paper. This has been fully demonstrated by previous experimentists. Every one who has

handled the material has agreed that it is admirably adapted for the purpose of and especially so for high class printing and illustration work requiring a close even texture and surface, and a minimum of stretch and shrinkage under the damping operation. Again it makes into any kind of paper by itself and does not require blending with other fibres. The one serious objection hitherto advanced against it was the cost of bleaching. With the soda process, this difficulty is almost removed. The quantity of bleach required now is not 9 to 40 per cent., but is nearly 5 to 10 per cent., only. Esparto boiled with 15 to 18 per cent. soda requires 5 to 10 per cent. bleach according to the standard of whiteness of the paper required. Now it can be said that bamboo is treated quite similarly as is esparto, except that bamboo requires a higher temperature though lower than what is needed in boiling wood. Thus it can be seen that the bleaching expenditure has been considerably brought down to a figure which compares very favourably with esparto or any of the raw materials now in use.

The serious and special difficulties hitherto experienced with bamboo, viz., irreducible nodes, irregular yields, irregular digestion of mixed ages and high cost of bleaching can all be overcome by splitting, crushing and shredding and further by treating the substance by the alkali process under varying conditions of time, temperature and liquor.

Wood Pulp is a comparatively modern product called into existence as a paper maker's raw material. Of the four great groups of modern botanical classification the spermatophytes are the most conspicuous and widely distributed. Again, the trees which furnish wood pulp are of two sub-groups.



The ordinary flowering plant as a complex structure is an assemblage of units

known as cells and its work as a plant is to grow, to build up tissue. Variations and differentiations of the typical forms of cells correspond with infinite diversity of functions and conditions. More extreme variations in the form of cellular tissues lead to the structural forms classed as fibres and vessels. Fibres are the strengthening elements of plant substance and are of relatively simple form. Vessels are the seat of complex vital functions and operations involved in nutrition, and are much more diversified in form. The monocotyledonous stem is composed essentially of a ground tissue known as parenchyma made up of thin naked cells showing equality in their dimensions, though occasionally elongated and scattered but closed fibro-vascular bundles, i.e., with no connecting combium. This arrangement implies an absence of provision for large increase of diameter, and the stem of a perennial of this type is columnar or cylindrical. The vascular bundles generally develop seterome tissue, i.e., sclerenchymatous thick-walled fibres which in association with the vessels, contribute the fibres and vascular bundles. In bamboos and canes they run parallel to each other up the internodes.

In structure, bamboo presents several features which markedly differentiate it from any of the raw materials now in use. It is porous, thereby differing from coniferous woods; its pores run vertically in close, straight and regular series throughout their whole length, which in the green culm are filled with sap, and in the dry with air. Dry bamboo is therefore largely impregnated with air in a state of capillarity, a condition rendering its expulsion difficult. Drying and seasoning does not cause a collapse or flattening of these pores by shrinkage as is the case to a considerable extent in the rice straw. In bamboo they retain their shape and size and therefore their air-holding capacity, and no other material in common use carries so large a quantity of imprisoned air. Therefore in addition to the mass and colloidal resistance common to all materials, we have in bamboo a resisting force peculiar to itself, since complete penetration of the tissues by the chemical solvent cannot take place until the whole of this capillary air has been ejected. When means are not adopted to force the whole contents of the digesters by screens in

stationary ones, the last chips to sink have been found badly digested, not only because they get two hours' less treatment than the bulk of the contents but because they fall into a liquor already weakened by two hours' previous work,—and even when the whole contents are brought under liquor from the start there is found some irregularity in result between the outer and inner tissues of the chips unless the liquor of greater strength is used than would be necessary if rapid penetration were secured, so as to ensure it still being of sufficient strength when the interior of the chip is ultimately reached. This irregularity in digestion is removed by using rotary digesters instead of stationary ones.

Bamboo has little mass resistance to the action of solvents in comparison with other impervious hard woods in spite of its high specific gravity. Bamboo is a hard and heavy material but is strongly resistant to mechanical force in the transverse direction only. To a splitting or crushing force acting longitudinally, it has scarcely any resistance whatever and it is possible by careful dissection to isolate individual fibre-bundles, and to follow them up along the nodes and through the internodes for the whole length of the culm.

The monocotyledonous fibre-aggregates, whether fibro-vascular bundles (*Alx* fibres, *Musa*, &c.) or entire plants (*Esparto*, *Bamboo*, *Sugarcane*, *Straw*,) are largely made up of pectocelluloses. The general characteristics of the pecto-celluloses are that they are resolved by boiling with dilute alkaline solution into cellulose (insoluble) and soluble derivatives of the non-cellulose (pectin, pectic acid, and metapectic acid): they are gelatinised under the alkaline treatment; they are "saturated compounds" not reacting with the halogens, nor containing any groups immediately allied to the aromatic series; and are colloidal forms of the carbohydrates, or closely allied derivatives of lower molecular weight, and belonging to the series of 'pectic' compounds or hexoses, &c. Pectose is of a gelatinous nature, lignin being more like resin, and like glue and resin, the first effect of solvent action is with both to produce a partially dissolved waterproof colloidal film which protects the tissues it encloses from the further action of the solvent. The influences which overcome this resistance are strong liquors, high temperatures, and prolonged duration, of digestion each being

within certain limits complimentary to the others and capable of being substituted for each other. Ligno-celluloses, such as spruce, contain much lignin but no pectose, while pecto-celluloses such as the smaller fibrous grasses have a large quantity of pectose and little or no lignin. Bamboo contains both in considerable amount, and its resistance from this cause alone is equal to that of spruce, while its total resistance from mass, colloids, and capillary air is greater than spruce. The pectose is readily soluble in boiling NaOH solutions, but gelatinises at the higher temperatures employed in digestion and is therefore liable to become mechanically bound to the cellulose and difficult to wash out in the case of material treated in chip form. When this occurs, the difficulty of the subsequent bleaching is considerably increased. The smaller the particle, the less will this mechanical binding occur in the interior, hence the advantage of crushed material is very marked upon this point. With pectose, fat and wax may conveniently be grouped, as the latter is insignificant in amount and is soluble under similar conditions. Together they neutralise or abstract from the digestion liquor 32 per cent. of NaOH on the raw material for each 1 per cent. found on analysis. Unlike pectose, lignin is not soluble in weak solutions nor at temperatures below 130° and with strong solutions and high temperatures the danger of serious hydrolysis and destruction of fibre comes into play. The weaker the solution and the lower the temperature, the higher the cellulose yield, but the minimum limit with both is the point at which lignin is no longer soluble. Its resolution is essentially a process of saponification and it must be borne in mind that it has to be transformed into a soap which remains soluble in the cold, otherwise precipitation on the pulp would occur during the subsequent washing. Crushing entirely eliminates the two difficulties peculiar to bamboo, viz., its capillary air and also very largely reduces its colloidal resistance. With their colloidal and air resistance gone, their additional pectries and ligneous contents sink into insignificance in relation to the whole mass. But the crushed material, by its large bulk, entails the use of a large volume of comparatively weak liquor, and this, to a considerable extent eliminates the hydrolysing tendency of strong liquor. In general the digestion

liquor will not exceed 12°. In liquors of this strength, the lowest temperature at which the permanently soluble saponification of the lignin can be effected is 150° and the consumption of NaOH is equal to 66 per cent. on the raw material for each 1 per cent. found on analysis. The duration of digestion required is three hours. Estimating on the analysis Mr. Raitt has shown that 17.58 per cent. NaOH on air-dry bamboo is the irreducible minima with which bare but complete resolution can be accomplished under nearly perfect conditions of resistance. Anything in excess of these amounts which may be found necessary will be due to conditions of material or digestion other than the non-cellulose contents of the material.

The processes of pulping are of two kinds: (1) a simple disintegration by wet or hot grinding to a "mechanical" pulp. Such pulps are substantially the original wood substance, deprived incidentally of water soluble constituents; (2) chemical processes which attack the ligneous constituents and convert them into soluble derivatives, leaving the cellulose which preserves the form and dimensions of the original fibres constituting a "chemical" pulp composed of the fibrous structural elements of the wood in the fully resolved condition.

Out of these two processes of pulping, bamboo is subject only to the chemical process; and such methods employed are of two kinds, viz., acid, of which the so-called "sulphite" process is typical; and the alkaline, exemplified by the well-known "soda" process. Whichever system is used the preliminary operations for preparing the bamboo are the same. The stems of bamboo are crushed and flattened under rollers and these are afterwards cut into chips and shredded into fine shavings. The unsuitability of the acid treatment has been finally determined by previous experimentists, in spite of its possessing certain advantages along with the cheapness in cost. Sulphite process exercises a less destructive effect on the fibre, so its yield of cellulose is slightly higher and it does not degrade the solubles of the material to a brown colour which stains the pulp. The material therefore is of a fairly good yellowish white colour in the unbleached state and can be used for many purposes (such as the cheaper grades of newspaper) without further bleaching. But this advantage is

largely lost where better grades are concerned which entail bleaching to a white shade, for it is frequently the case that the brown soda pulp is more easily bleachable than the pale yellow sulphite. So it is not suitable unless a market exists for the pulp in its yellow unbleached condition. But the bamboo pulp is so emphatically suitable for better uses that it would be misplacing it entirely to devote it to purposes for which an unbleached yellow cellulose is good enough, and the cost of bleaching bamboo sulphite pulp is so much greater than for bamboo soda that any economy of sulphite over soda is lost.

The alkaline treatment of bamboo for the manufacture of soda bamboo-pulp is similar to that used for the manufacture of esparto-pulp. The crushed bamboo in the form of fine shreds is heated in large rotary digesters with a solution of caustic soda. The non-fibrous constituents of the wood are completely dissolved, and a brown coloured pulp is obtained. The spent liquors are preserved and the soda recovered to be used over again as required. All kinds of wood and other fibrous materials may be converted into pulp by this process. Caustic soda combines with the acid products derived from the non-fibrous constituents of the wood until the alkali is neutralised, so that the insoluble portion of the wood left is cellulose in a more or less pure condition, containing much less resin than the pulp obtained by the sulphite process.

It has been said before that for digestion of material which has had its mass, air and colloidal resistance almost entirely destroyed and from which the starchy contents have been extracted, a temperature of 150° is essential for at least 3 hours, with consumption of NaOH 17.58 per cent. on the crushed bamboo. The condition of treatment vary according to the nature of the material and the requirements of the manufacturer. For pulp that will bleach readily the process of digestion is carried out to a greater extent than for pulp which is required in the manufacture of wrapping papers. The yield of pulp and the quality are influenced by these conditions. The increase of pressure results in a diminution of yield, the quantity of pulp obtained being reduced considerably. The excess of Alkali causes rapid destruction of the fibres. With lower pressure the resulting pulp though

higher in yield requires a greater quantity of B.P. Saving of time also is a most important factor in the economic conditions governing modern factory practice. The fixed charges increased by a factory for interest and depreciation of plant, salaries, wages, &c., bear so high a proportion to the total cost of pulp per ton that the quantity of output becomes a question of supreme importance. The greater the production the less the ton cost for these items, and it may easily be of so much importance that it may pay to sacrifice chemicals, or even yield, in order to save time and thus increase the output. The problem therefore is to arrive at those conditions which most economically balance the two.

Instead of giving all the details of the long series of my experiments which were made to obtain results to compare with the results obtained by Mr. Ratt, in con-

nection with the other five species he treated, it would be desirable to give the final conclusion drawn from the series of my experiments with the *Dendrocalamus Strictus Bamboo*.

And that conclusion is that *D. Strictus* bamboo of the Dangs requires a treatment less severe than any of the other varieties of bamboo, bleaches more economically, and costs less. It is quite safe now to say that any kind of bamboo can be treated without difficulty to produce pulp of the highest quality and that no fibre available in quantity at the present moment can be superior to bamboo. It is suitable for the highest qualities of paper, and when properly treated, can also be converted into excellent kraft paper. As a matter of fact when properly handled, bamboo can be used for practically anything for which cellulose is suitable.

THE STRUGGLE

By J. J. BELL, AUTHOR OF "THOU FOOL," "A KINGDOM OF DREAMS," &c.

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"**T**ALKING of conscription," the handsome, white haired guest remarked, helping himself to a walnut, "just as I was leaving the club to-night I heard that General Farrar, one of its most strenuous advocates, had died suddenly this afternoon."

"General Farrar!" exclaimed the young host, and simultaneously a cry came from the hostess.

"Dear me! Pray forgive me." The guest looked apologetically from one to the other. "I was not aware that the general was a friend——"

"Oh, that's all right, Sir Philip," the host hastened to say reassuringly. "We know the general only by name, though we happen to have the acquaintance of some of his relations, the Stanfords. Do you know them?"

The question seemed to miss Sir Philip's

ears; his attention was all for his hostess. "Mrs. Lennard, I fear I have upset you," he was murmuring self-reproachfully.

"Oh, no not really, Sir Philip. I can't think why I should have been startled——"

"Why, Hilda," said her husband, "you look as if you had seen a ghost!"

"Nonsense, Frank!" She laughed almost easily. Her colour was already coming back.

"I'm afraid you are developing those nerves again," he said smiling, albeit anxiety lingered in his eyes. "Just as well, perhaps, that we no longer need to go out to-morrow." He turned to his guest, remarking: "Mrs. Stanford was to have given a dance in the Ritz to-morrow evening."

"Ah!" said Sir Philip, his eyes still on his hostess.

And the truth is," said Hilda, with another uncertain laugh, "I'm frightfully

disappointed. Am I not heartless person, Sir Philip?"

"I should not have a thought so," the old man replied, "trifle drily. "You are fond of dancing, Mrs. Lennard?"

"Well, this was to have been a special affair," put in Lennard, who was obviously puzzled by his wife's manner. "Apart from the dance itself, Hilda and I were going to regard it as a sort of celebration of the anniversary of our wedding——"

"We shall have been married five whole years," Hilda interrupted as one who feels speech absolutely necessary. "What shall we do by way of celebration now, Frank?"

"What do you say to a quiet evening at home, Hilda?" It was a serious question lightly put.

"How horrid!" She pouted. "Of course, I didn't mean that, dear, but surely we ought to celebrate such an occasion in festive fashion. Don't you agree with me, Sir Philip?" Her smile was charming.

"I am afraid I must ask you to permit me to agree with your husband's suggestion," Sir Philip answered with gentle gravity. "A quiet evening together seems to me a real celebration after five gay and happy years." He raised his glass. "My dear Mr. and Mrs. Lennard, I drink to you both. May your future be as happy as your past, and—if possible—happier." Once more his gaze lingered on the young woman, and suddenly she flushed to her dark hair.

"Thanks, Sir Philip; thanks from us both." Lennard tried to speak brightly, but he was feeling dissatisfied, irritated; he could not have told why. Until five minutes ago he had been in the best of spirits, and the informal little dinner had gone merrily, as their little dinners had always gone with Sir Philip as a guest. Was the old man to blame? Nonsense! How should the announcement of an unknown person's death that involved no more than the cancellation of a dance upset his wife? Hilda had shown similar signs in the past; during the last two years she had suffered from brief attacks of nervousness, especially before and after big entertainments. She must really see a doctor this time.

Hilda broke the short but somewhat strained silence. "Shall we have coffee in the billiard room or in the library?" she asked, pressing the electric button beside her plate.

"Let's have it in the Library, Hilda. Percival is coming in for a game, but before he arrives I want to show Sir Philip your necklace."

"My necklace!"

"Why, yes, Hilda. I brought it from the bank to-day, because I thought you would want it for the Stanfords' dance." He paused to allow of her giving the order to the man who had entered and was standing attentive at the door.

"Yes, yes, of course. I—I expected you would bring it from the bank." She appeared to be unaware of the servant's presence: "I suppose you have left it in your safe in the library. Do you think Sir Philip would really care to see it, Frank?"

"My dear, Briggs is there."

"Oh! . . . Briggs, we shall take coffee in the—the billiard-room."

"Yes, ma'am." The servant bowed and retired. Sir Philip, who had given him more than one casual glance, made a slight grimace.

"I thought it was to be the library." Lennard was looking at his wife. She was pale again; her fingers toyed restlessly with a wine-glass. His heart smote him. He had been allowing her to overdo it. "All right, dear," he said kindly; "the billiard-room will do excellently. We should have been going there in any case on Percival's arrival. Meanwhile I'll take Sir Philip to the library and show him the necklace. He is a judge of diamonds, and I want his opinion."

"Delighted!" said Sir Philip. It seemed almost as if he had turned his back on his hostess. "You are speaking, I presume, of the necklace you gave your wife just after you were married. You have more than once promised to show it me."

Mrs. Lennard rose. "Don't wait for me, she said, her hand on the back of her chair. "I'll follow you immediately."

"Hilda," said her husband, "you are feeling fit enough?"

She contrived a semblance of a smile. "Perfectly. A little tired, perhaps. Nothing serious, I assure you."

Lennard hesitated, then left the room with the guest.

Hilda's grip on the chair tightened; her body relaxed and drooped. "Oh, my God," she whispered, "help me to do something, quickly."

When she reached the library her husband was stooping behind the open door

of the safe. Her ears informed her that he was fitting a key into a drawer. Sir Philip was standing by the hearth, and to him she went directly. She was now very pale.

Aloud she said: "I shall wait for you in the billiard-room, Frank." In scarce a whisper: "Read it now."

She turned and went, leaving in her guest's hand a narrow slip of paper.

There was the sound of a steel drawer sliding open. Sir Philip scanned the hurriedly penciled words:

"For God's sake, pretend you think the stones are real."

II.

About ten o'clock she excused herself to her guests on the plea of feeling the billiard-room too warm.

"I will write to Mrs. Stanford and then go to bed," she told her husband, who was "making" for the others.

"Go to bed, dear, and leave everything else till the morning," he said tenderly. "And perhaps we shall do something moderately festive to-morrow, after all. In the afternoon, we'll have a look at the jewellers' shops. You want a new ring."

"Oh, no, no!"

He laughed. "And then I've decided to have the necklace reset—Sir Philip thinks the stones don't get their proper chance; so——"

"Seven to go, old man," interrupted Percival.

"All right. . . What! are you off, Hilda?"

"Yes. Good-night, all," she managed to say from the doorway, her hand pressed hard to her heart.

* * * * *

Ten minutes later Sir Philip found her in the library, cowering over the fire, though May was near its end.

"Frank is playing a hundred, with Mr. Percival," he remarked, seating himself on the other side of the hearth. "Like you, I found the atmosphere of the billiard-room a little oppressive."

She did not respond, save with a glance, and the misery in her eyes shocked him.

"Mrs. Lennard," he said softly.

"Well?" she whispered at last.

He took a bit of paper—a narrow slip—from his waistcoat pocket and gave it deliberately to the fire. "My dear," he said gently, "to-night I have lied to your husband, whom I have known and loved since

he was a little boy. His mother was the lady I would fain have married. I remember her when she was a girl like you—very like you. I think it was partly for her sake that I did what your note asked me to do."

Hilda put a hand to her head. "I thank you," she said: "I am very grateful. . . But, oh! why did you advise him to have a new setting? Now I am ruined—utterly ruined. To-morrow he will take it to the jeweller, and then—Well, I suppose I ought not to have expected you to think of everything, Sir Philip."

"I tried to think of everything, Mrs. Lennard. Can't you guess why I suggested resetting the stones?"

She started. "Surely—surely you did not want to betray me?"

"No; to save you. My motive was simply to force your hand."

"To force my hand!"

"In other words, to compel you to tell your husband everything."

"Oh, never! How cruel!" She covered her face.

"My poor child," he said in a low voice, "there is no other hope for you. I'm an old man, and I know. You must tell him everything."

"He would detest me!"

"Ah, no! I beg you to believe me when I say that he would neither hate nor despise you. I would ask you to believe also that it would be easier for me to give you a blank cheque than this advice——"

"A blank cheque?"

"Yes. I'm surely an old enough friend to be permitted to do that. A cheque with which to redeem the real necklace—so that you might, in some sly and underhand fashion, substitute it for the false."

"Stop! Sir Philip, you don't understand—of course, you can't understand. I—I have the real necklace——" Involuntarily she raised her voice.

"Sh!" Sir Philip, holding up a hand for silence, rose and tiptoed to the door, which he opened softly, suddenly. Closing it he nodded. "All right. But I don't like your man-servant, Mrs. Lennard. Has he been long in your service?"

"Only a month. Why—" She uncovered her face.

"I may be wrong. I'm an old man, and old men have fancies." He came back to the hearth and seated himself. "You have

the real necklace— Where?" he asked gently.

"In my room, upstairs."

There was a silence for some seconds. Then Sir Philip said: "Do you wish to tell me more?"

"I will tell you everything."

He sighed. "That is what you must tell Frank."

Her head drooped. "I am hoping that when you have heard everything you will no longer think it necessary for me to—to kill Frank's love."

He shook his handsome white head, smiling faintly. "Oh, thou of little faith! But tell me what you will, my dear."

Presently, with lowered gaze, she began to speak. "I suppose you have guessed that it started with cards—bridge. But it was bridge in the afternoons. Women's parties. I think women are worse than men. I was. At first I didn't like playing for money. I don't think I ever played for money until I had been married for two years. And then—I didn't know where to stop. At the end of one year I was deeply in debt and—terrified." She paused for a moment. "At that time I kept the necklace with my other jewels. I didn't know its value. I don't know it now. But—"

"Seven thousand pounds." Sir Philip remarked quietly.

"Oh! I had no idea it was worth nearly so much. Well, when the debts were driving me crazy I—I decided to pawn the necklace. I had heard of people getting paste copies made of their valuable jewels, and a woman—the one I owed the most money to—showed me the way. The day after I got home with the false necklace there was a burglary in the neighbourhood. Frank insisted on keeping the necklace in future at the bank. I—I had to give him the false one, for the real one was already pawned. I paid all my debts—and I wasn't a bit happy."

"Poor thing!"

"But since then," she went on, "I have never played bridge. Since then I have scraped together every penny I could from my allowance—Frank is very generous—and all the interest on my own tiny little bit of money, and I have pretended to be awfully extravagant and frightfully charitable, when I've been really economical and mean. And yesterday I was able to get the real necklace back from pawn." Once

more she covered her face. "You think that was nothing?"

"My dear!" Sir Philip rose and stood looking down on her with infinite pity. "And then?"

"And after the Stanford's dance I was going to give back Frank the real necklace."

"And then?"

She dropped her hands and turned up a pale, indignant face.

He gave her no time to speak. "You have done a great thing, Hilda," he said, "but it cannot take the place of confession. I am thinking of you. Tell Frank, and he will forgive you. Tell him everything to-night."

"Oh, you are hard—hard! You have made it so that I must either tell him I have been a wicked little fool or be discovered as a wretched cheat."

"We have all been wicked and foolish.... Tell him to-night."

Suddenly she slipped to her knees before him. She caught his hand. "It—it would be so simple a thing for you to—to ask to see the necklace again, and exchange it for the real one."

"Ah!"

"It would be my salvation, Sir Philip. Could you not—"

"You do not know what you are saying, my dear," he said firmly. "If you actually saw a person deliberately deceiving your husband, you would want to kill that person. Is it not so?"

She let go his hand and rose slowly to her feet. "Then I had better kill myself." She took a few steps away from him and threw herself on a couch.

Sir Philip wiped his brow. "Mrs. Lennard, do you love your husband?"

"Have I not been saying as much ever since I told you my secret?"

He sighed. "I have heard a woman speak like that in a play," he said. "I'm an old man and old-fashioned. If I did what you suggest, I could never face Frank again. As it is, his eyes can shame me now. Oh, Hilda, Frank's wife, let this old fellow go on being as proud of you as he has been since that happy wedding day! Be brave, be brave, my dear. For Frank's sake, as well as your own. Make his future happiness and your own secure against any ugly whisper out of the past. Remember your secret is known to at least one woman." He moved to where she sat and laid a hand

on her shoulder, for now her head was bowed and her breath was coming sobbingly. "You will tell him to-night?" he said very softly.

It seemed that he had won.

"I will, I will!" she murmured.

"That is grand of you," he whispered, and took her hand and kissed it, and went from her presence with wet old eyes.

III.

"I will tell him everything!"

Lying in bed, Hilda heard midnight strike, and soon thereafter voices and the clang of the hall door. Mr. Percival had taken his departure.

"I will tell him everything!"

Voices again, nearer at hand. Her husband was conducting Sir Philip to his room. Then a door closed softly, and there was a long silence. Evidently her husband had gone downstairs again.

"I will tell him everything!"

But when at last Frank entered the room her eyes were shut, and she was lying very still. She was conscious of his looking down at her, but not of the infinite tenderness in his eyes. Presently he bent over her; she heard him sigh, felt the touch of his lips on her hair. As he moved away she nearly cried out. He passed into the adjoining room.

One o'clock. She thought she heard a sound on the stairs and listened; but all was quiet.

"I will tell him everything!" she repeated feverishly, staring at the nightlight; yet she lay still, and the seconds of another hour trod wearily past.

Suddenly the question smote her: What if she were to be taken ill—so ill that she could not tell him anything? What if she were to die?

She got up and slipped on her pretty dressing-gown. From its secret hiding-place—which an inquisitive infant would have discovered—she took the real necklace in its case. The door was not shut; to her cautious pressure it yielded soundlessly. She stole into her husband's room.

He was fast asleep. But she would go down on her knees at his bedside and waken him gently, and—tell him everything.

A feeling of weakness assailed her, and she sought support. Her hand fell on a ledge of the dressing-table. Her fingers touched something cold. Her ears caught

the faintest of faint metallic sounds. Her eyes dropped to the cause of it. A shiver passed through her body. In the dim light she stood staring downwards, as though fascinated.

A small bunch of keys.

* * * *

The tiny light that was wont to burn in the hall throughout the night may have served her as she descended the staircase and crossed to the library; yet a spy would have deemed her progress to be that of a sleep-walker. The door of the library swung silently before her; as silently it closed behind her. In the darkness her hand groped for the electric switches on the wall. A pause of hesitation ended in a click.

The bulbs on either side of the mantelpiece leapt into luminance. And the woman staggered.

"Sir Philip!" she gasped.

The old man was seated in an easy-chair in front of the dead fire.

"Ah," he remarked, rising, "it is you, Mrs. Lennard. I got it into my old head that your servant Briggs might come to-night and try the safe, which is not a particularly strong one. I warned your husband about Briggs, whom I am certain I have seen in less reputable service than the present, but I fear he did not take me seriously. However, I do not now think Briggs will attempt anything to-night. The lights will scare him off. Still, I would recommend you to part with him as soon as possible, unless you are satisfied that the whole thing is an old man's delusion. But"—he moved towards her—"permit me to retire, Mrs. Lennard. I fear I may be in the way."

She was leaning against the door, her eyes half closed. Possibly her mind did not grasp what he had been talking about.

"Do not be afraid," he said suavely. "Any attempt at burglary has been at least postponed. Will you allow me to pass, please?" He stood waiting, watching.

All at once her eyes opened wide, like the eyes of a hunted creature. Her strength seemed to fail, and the leather case and bunch of keys she had been holding to her bosom fell at her feet.

He stooped, picked them up, and offered them to her, saying: "It won't take you two minutes to open that safe, make the exchange, and close it again—"

"Oh, but you are killing me," she breathed. "I hate you!"

"—and those two minutes will poison all the hours of your life."

"How dare you meddle—"

"Perhaps because I am an old man who loves your husband—and you."

She moved aside from the door. "Oh, go!" she whispered. "I can bear no more. At first I thought you were right, but now—oh, I dare not risk losing Frank. Can't you understand that? And if I've got to suffer all my life—"

"My dear," he interrupted gently, "how much do you love your husband?"

She stared at him. "Can't you see that I love him above everything?" She spoke almost irritably.

"Then," he said calmly, "you cannot open that safe."

There was a silence while she took the keys from his hand, crossed the floor, and stooped before the steel door.

"I care nothing for honour or anything else so long as I keep his love," she muttered, choosing the key.

"Whose honour?" the old man softly asked. "Whose is the honour when you and he are one?"

"Oh!" It was as if he had struck her. She wavered and sank to her knees. Presently she began to sob. "Oh, God, I can't do it!"

"Poor child, poor child!" he sighed. "Of course you can't do it." But he waited for a little while ere he approached her.

She allowed him to lead her from the library, wherein he left the light burning, and upstairs, and to the door of her room.

"I am going to tell him now," she whispered.

"Wait till the morning," he murmured, in spite of himself, in spite of all that had

passed, for he was torn with pity for her.

She shook her head and passed from his sight.

* * * *

Her husband had not stirred since her last glimpse of him. She knelt by the bedside, clutching the necklace and seeking to summon the courage she still required to utter his name. She was in torment.

She sought to waken him by gazing at his closed eyes until her brain seemed about to fail her, and her head drooped against the edge of the pillow.

Time passed, and despite her mental agony she became conscious of a slight physical discomfort; something hard was pressing against her cheek. Involuntarily her free hand made inquiry.

She lifted her head. Her whole body stiffened, for her fingers recognised the case that held the false necklace.

The safety she had sought through two dreadful years was literally within her grasp; it offered itself; it awaited her acceptance. And her husband would never know; he was sleeping so soundly—so soundly.

But even as she glanced stealthily at his face an awful horror of herself seized her.

"Save me, Frank," she cried, and gripping his shoulder she shook him frantically.

In the dawn Lennard watched over his wife in her slumber of utter exhaustion. At last her breath was beginning to come naturally, a faint colour was gaining upon the pallor of her face, the shadows of suffering were passing away.

"Thank God," he said softly, and bent to kiss her.

Which may suggest, among other things, that Sir Philip had not meddled altogether unwisely.

"Like the star
That shines afar,
Without haste
And without rest,
Let each man wheel with steady sway
Round the task that rules the day,
And do his best."—Goethe.

WHEN a man is in that period of his life when he seriously considers it necessary to enter upon matrimony,

he has need to have his eyes wide open and to set his brains a-thinking, so that the great responsibilities and duties devolving on him as a family man may reveal themselves to him in their true colours and that the great moral obligations and responsibilities lying behind the outward glitter of married life may not be left unreckoned; for, the glory of manly character depends

upon the honest performance of an individual's duties in life.

Great and solemn are the duties of a family man, and his responsibilities and obligations towards his wife and children are of such a serious nature that it should well nigh stagger even the stoutest heart if he carefully pre-surveys them. Nevertheless, many a young man, with hardly any knowledge of the troubles and anxieties of married life, rushes in for wedlock with an avidity and thoughtlessness that is most astonishing.

Almost the first thing that a young man, about to enter upon married life, should consider about, is whether he has the means to keep a home and maintain a family. It is only after he has this assurance that he should consider the question of his choice of a partner in life. Unfortunately, several of our young men first make their choice of a partner; the necessity for a home, the wherewithal for the maintenance of a family are made subjects for later consideration. Domestic life can not have any charms with the lovely looks alone of a wife. There must be grist in the mill. She might sing all day, but her songs will be strained and lifeless; she might, out of love for her husband, smile and ring the house with her laughter, but her smiles and laughter will lack the mirth of contentment and peace of mind; and the poor thoughtless husband who dragged her life to share his misery will feel, in his inmost heart, a pang at the strained songs and the forced smiles. Instead of one struggling soul, there would be two and, perhaps, more in future years; and where happiness was expected, misery would sit enthroned. The neglect on the part of a young man to consider this important aspect of married life is not only a crime to his family but an offence to society in general; as by his thoughtless action he drags a young woman from the care and protection of her parents to share his misery, and introduces, by and by, into this sad lot a number of young people—the fruits of his marriage—who, for want of proper education and sufficient means, contract evil habits,—the general concomitants of an impoverished and miserable life—and retard the course of civilization.

Another equally important, if not far more serious, question that should engage the attention of young men is the choice

of a suitable partner in life. The success or failure of a married life hinges upon this all important question. This is the more-so in the case of those whose religion admits of no divorce, or, in other words, who have to take a wife "for life, for good," or for bad, until death do them part." The smallest want of prudence and forethought in the selection of a wife would land a young man in future years to untold miseries, troubles, and anxieties. Following the principle of Keats, that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," young men generally go in for good-looking damsels, forgetful, oftentimes, of the virtues in a woman, so necessary to make a home happy and peaceful. Beauty in a wife is, no doubt, a good thing; but it will be tarnished the next day after marriage, if it is not embellished by the good qualities necessary in a wife; for, "handsome is that handsome does" more than that handsome looks. Beauty would be an additional charm in a wife, if she has the necessary, or more important, good qualities. The lady, a young man selects, should be of an amiable nature. Amiability does not mean her tendency to flirt with you all day long, nor can it be gauged by her sweet words and winning ways. Amiability consists in obedience, honesty, and frankness, and a desire to please (morally) those with whom she comes in contact, whether it be her husband, her children or strangers. She must also be one who does not put a high premium on her own comforts and luxuries, but should be one who loves self-sacrifice and self-denial, not to speak of self-help. She must be pure and virtuous. Well has it been said that "purity of heart and mind elevates man"; how much more does this noble attribute do for a woman? It simply glorifies her. There can be no sight more consoling than that of a woman, pure in heart, presiding as the mistress of a home. Her purity of heart and mind would be the halo of grace that would shed its lustre on her husband, and cast its reflection on her sons and daughters. Her virtue would be to her husband, a crown richer than those on the heads of Kings. Her purity will be the firm rock on which the moral fabric of her offspring shall be raised. Her moral lustre will penetrate not alone the inmost recesses of her home, but even farther outside it, shedding a glory for several to profit by. What, if

she is ill-clad and undecorated with jewels? What if powders, perfumes and pomades have not done her the work of beguiling? The ancient artists painted Madonna, that paragon of womanly purity, in plain clothes and undecked hair, and still was the Virgin Mother shining in all the splendour of her heart.

To know that a young lady has these attributes which alone can make home happy, it is essential for a young man to know her intimately. If a close personal knowledge, which must, as far as possible, be resorted to, is not feasible, the young man is morally bound, at least by patient and diligent enquiries, to ascertain the ways and manners of his intended partner-in-life. Young men, unfortunately, fall in love with young maidens at first sight and promise marriage—nay, some foolish thick-headed young men would even decide their choice through proxys or, perhaps, a look at the young lady's photograph, not knowing whether it is a counterfeit.

A young man once went into an institution to find a mate. The Lady Director in charge of the Institution arraigned before him a number of women belonging to the Institution, and when he had surveyed them and they had dispersed, he told the Director that he had chosen No. 3. After the young man left, the Director asked the women to re-arrange themselves as they did in the presence of the young man, and she selected No. 3, but, unfortunately for our young man, from the *wrong* end. No words are needed to portray the young man's consternation when, after the marriage service was over, he lifted up the bridal veil for the bridal kiss, and discovered the serious blunder that was made in substituting a very elderly matron for a young blooming maiden whom he had hit upon.

Worse still would be the fate of a man or woman who, in the "wanted" columns of a newspaper advertises his or her virtues in order to secure a partner in life. If brides are selected without even the care usually bestowed in the purchase of commodities, without even, I may add, either the guide of an illustrated or descriptive catalogue, is there any wonder in the serious blunders of married life, and the never-ending troubles and vexations that result therefrom?

Educational attainments are certainly an accomplishment requisite in a young

lady about to enter upon married life. Education would enable her to rightly understand her responsibilities and obligations. It would furnish her with resources to mitigate her troubles by enabling her to view them in their proper lights and deal with them accordingly. It would be an inducement for her to educate her children and bring them up in the right course of life. It would enable her to assist her husband in his struggle for the moral and mental up-lifting of the members of his household. It would be a great factor in the explanation of differences of opinion between husband and wife and parents and children.

If young men, about to enter life as married men, will only remember that taking a wife means taking her for ever; that, unlike commodities, she cannot be exchanged, replaced, sold, or transferred; and if they will only look around them and take into careful account the several mistakes made by their neighbours and friends, and the irretrievable nature of such blunders and the deep misery into which unsuitable matches have landed such people, they will pause and think a hundred times over before leaping into matrimonial entanglements.

The happiness of the young man himself, the peace and comfort in his home, the moral and mental education of his children, the economic regulation of his expenditure, the godliness, orderliness and cleanliness of his house and its members,—in fact, the success or failure of every conceivable item and aspect of married life centres in the wife. She it is who is the internal master of the situation. Her head heart and hands work oracles of success. A good wife is the angel that harmonises every chord in the music of the home. Man toils all-day long, and brings home whatever he could to meet his household demands, and—be, it more or be it less—a capable woman, willing, self-sacrificing, and dutiful, will be able to show the very best results. Give a thousand rupees into the hands of a squandering, luxurious, easy-going, and indifferent wife; it will vanish in a couple of days and on the third day there will be nothing left but the seeds of trouble and discord. While a good wife is the best ornament in a family, a bad one is a curse and a ruination. Young men will do well to remember that by

making a bad or a wrong selection, not only do they court unhappiness and misery for themselves, but they also expose their children to the danger of receiving a bad training from her and imbibing her perverted ways. The children of such women, unless they come under other salutary influences, are apt to turn out to be bad characters, as they grow up.

Men have oftentimes a tendency to marry women who are more accomplished than themselves or who have large fortunes. In the former case they run the risk of becoming mere puppets in the hands of their superior wives, while, in the latter, the natural course would be for the man to become the hand-maid of the woman, who is sure to run the show with her money. Accomplishments and fortune in a wife are, no doubt, good things when she has sufficient good sense as not to become hare-brained on that account. A woman may be beautiful *par excellence*, she may be highly educated and well accomplished in the fine arts, she may be rich and respectfully connected; but if she is not pure and virtuous, if she lacks the sense of duty as wife and mother, and if her character is open to question, all her beauty, education and wealth counts for nothing. One had rather go to a girl in poverty and rags, with no other accomplishments than the purity of her heart and the virtuousness of her character,—for these are the angelic glories of womanhood. Their lustre will eclipse her other deficiencies.

As it is necessary for a young man to take all possible precautions and care in the selection of a wife, so is it incumbent on a young lady to see that her suitor comes forward for her hand after mature deliberation and after providing himself with a home and the means for the support of a family that would soon spring around them. If she ignores this grave consideration she indirectly connives with him at dragging poor innocents into misery. She should also be watchful of her suitor's habits and temperament; for a great deal of her happiness and the welfare of the children she may have later on will depend upon them. Her suitor should be one that is willing to work and provide for the family, and if he has wealth of his own, he should not have a tendency to squander it. Let the young lady also see that the man is not intemperate in his habits. A drunk-

ard is a bane not alone in a family but even to society in general. Women are generally weak in their powers of discrimination, and oftentimes prefer gallantry to sound intelligence, and fall victims to the style of young men's clothes, his cigarette cases, and his perfumes, in preference to real sound substance in other suitors. She should see that he is a true gentleman as contained in the following lines:—

"We see him as he moved,
How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise,
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits and how tenderly ;
Not making his high place a lawless perch
Of winged ambitions, nor a vantage ground
For pleasure ; but thro' all this tract of year,
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life.

In an old number of an illustrated journal there was a picture of a lady seated in the centre of a garden-seat, with two suitors of the same age on either side of her. The one was a judge of high repute with his wig and cloak on. His broad and bulging forehead bespoke intelligence, wisdom, and learning and his clear countenance beamed with honesty, frankness and sobriety. The other was a soldier—a red-coat with a physiognomy indicating deficiency of intellect and lack of purpose, with his face flushed with the effects of wine. And yet, the wonder of the situation was that the young lady was smiling in ecstasy to the soldier, with her back against the judge. What an instructive picture for our young sisters to draw a moral from? But unfortunately for them, they very often draw in the great lottery of matrimony the blanks of the 'redcoats' and rarely, the prizes of the 'wigs'.

And again, a young lady often takes sooner to a "gas-pot" of a young man than to a really grave, quiet, and unpretentious but sound and substantial suitor. She presumes that the quiet and unpretentious young man is a dullard and in spite of several other necessary accomplishments he will not do well in society, much less for exhibition among her girl-friends, little knowing that a short while after her marriage, very few people would care to talk about her acquisition, and that, as years go on, a society man, if he has not other requisite acquisitions, would be a signal failure as a family head, and that she herself would begin to rue her choice. On the other hand, there have also been

several instances of very quiet-looking young men turning out real tyrants and demi-gods after marriage. They put on a sheep's clothing during their courting days, and once the nuptial knot is tied, they cast off their disguise and reveal themselves in their wolfish ferocity.

The choice of a husband or wife, therefore, is a matter beset with several difficulties; and as it is a question that affects one's whole future life and the welfare of the progeny, no man or woman would be justified in hastily drawing conclusions, and blindly selecting or accepting partners in life under the popular conviction that "marriages are made in heaven" and the parties are not, therefore, responsible for the folly, if any, in the choice of suitors. Whatever the popular opinion of this all-important institution may be, there can be little doubt, that if the parties are well-chosen and suitable to each other, and if there has been no precipitated hurry whereby details of each other's nature and character have been ignored, the union, in the majority of cases, would be happy. Let no man or woman, about to enter into the state of matrimony trifle with this all-absorbing and highly important question which would mean to two grown-up individuals happiness or misery, to a number of children a bright or a blighted future, and to society in general a satisfaction or a mortification.

When man and woman have made up their minds to be husband and wife, and when the irrevocable tie has bound them together for life, (of course, only such sects with whom the marriage bond is irrevocable is meant) it behoves each of them to make the best of their alliance. The man conscious of his responsibilities as husband, must ever have before his eyes the image of his dear wife, and work and economise for the sake of her whom, among all women in the world, he has chosen for his companion in life, his adviser in times of need, his nurse in sickness, and his comfort and help in old age. He should also bear in mind the undeniable fact that, being married, he will have children whom it will be his duty to maintain and bring up in the right path, making such provisions for their future career as may be necessary. He should lead a scrupulously upright life so that its noble traits may be reflected on his wife and children.

The wife also, as soon as she has settled

herself in her new home should assume her obligations as mistress of the household. Of course, by that she is not to boss over husband when he is at home, or her servants; on the other hand, it is her duty to love, honour and obey her husband who is none other than her friend and colleague, and rule her servants kindly yet firmly. It is also her duty to give good counsel and direction to her husband whenever needed; for well has it been said that the wife is primeminister, to her husband. It is equally her duty to manage her servants efficiently, displaying kindness towards them, when needed, and treating them not as beasts but as beings deserving of sympathy and compassion, in spite of their being placed under her in a subordinate and menial position. She should take pains to keep her home in cleanliness and order. She should have an eye on the several departments in her home. She should avoid incurring debts by regulating her expenditure, and should practise thrift and economy. She should endeavour to attain the maximum of comfort with the minimum of cost. Let her also remember that a cheerful countenance is a great consolation to her husband. Wives would do well to maintain this great asset in want and in plenty. Her face may be very pretty and bewitching, but if she suffers it to be clouded with moroseness, it would despirit her husband and, perhaps, annoy him. The disagreeable combination would certainly not be conducive to domestic felicity. Nothing pleases a tired man after his day's hard labour more than to see his wife cheerful and contented, and his home neat and tidy.

The equipment of a home should be on a scale directly proportional to the income of the family. Good taste in furnishing it, is necessary and would be pleasing to all; but all pleasure would be lost, if thoughtless extravagance is restored to for the purpose. Whether the young wife is brought to a palace or cottage, she can so arrange everything as to be pleasing to all. A lady of high repute has said that "cleanliness, plenty of air, neatness and quiet are indispensable in a well-ordered home. A dirty window, a stuffy atmosphere, a littered floor, noisy children, clattering servants, are enough to spoil the comfort of the most elegant house in the world."

Women, after giving birth to a couple of children, often put forward the plea of want of time to rectify the untidiness of their homes or the disorderliness of the children and servants: but in ninety cases out of a hundred it will be found that the real cause lies in the fact that such women are idle dolts, unwilling to spend a few minutes a day in this important direction.

Wives must also learn to have a great command over their tongues. Many a difference of opinion has ended in open quarrels and unseemly fights, because women did not realise the importance of bridling their tongues. George Eliot says "we are apt to be kinder to the brutes that love us than to the woman that love us. Is it because the brutes are dumb?" Wives should get an insight into their husband's nature and should know exactly when to speak and what to speak and more than all, when *not to speak*, for, in this tact will depend much of the peace in a family. Most effective lessons were taught by great men when they were silent.

Husband and wife must remember that they have to work conjointly for their domestic happiness. It is idle to expect the husband to work all day while the wife recklessly keeps on spending whatever he brings; it is equally idle to expect the wife to economise when the husband goes head-long into extravagance. One cannot expect the wife to keep home clean and tidy and the children in orderliness if the husband returns home every day the worse for liquor. One cannot expect the husband to work harder day by day and to deprive himself of his little luxuries for the sake of his children, if his wife's millinery and perfume bills run up to colossal figures. No, these divergent tactics of husband and wife will never run smoothly. They must end in want, disorder, dissatisfaction, and rupture in the family. Hand in hand, in work, in labour, in spending in saving, in management, and in every conceivable matter regarding the home, both husband and wife must go, in order to attain domestic felicity. Be they rich or poor, there is no deviation from this rigid path; and there cannot be.

After the first few months, and in some exceptional cases, few years, of marriage, when the delusive charm of married-life has passed away, troubles are likely to

follow. The honeymoon period and a few succeeding months are, as a rule, happily spent, but as days go on either the husband or the wife assumes towards the other an attitude quite different from what it had been up to that. It may be either due to difference of opinion, lack of interest in each other, or to that devil suspicion who has found one of them susceptible to his vagaries. This period is a turning point in married life, and if husband and wife do not use all their intelligence, prudence and tact at such a critical moment, one does not know when they would be needed at all. One false step taken at this period by either party may lead to trouble ever after. There should be a frankness in explaining differences of opinion so as to win the opposite party; there should be love mingled in all the explanations and actions; the woman should go back to her maiden days and behave towards her husband as if they were starting their courtship afresh; the man should likewise take the standpoint of his bachelor days and behave towards her as if he just began his suit to her, and would lose it if he did not acquit himself well. One of the worst evils that can enter the minds of married people is Suspicion. "Wrong thoughts are painful in their inception, painful in their growth, and painful in their fruition." faults or offences on either side should be fairly and squarely set before each other and corrected—not in a manner to wound the feelings of any party, but with the intention to heal the differences. There must be a certain amount of forgiveness from either side, especially when an amendment is promised. Young men, having some differences to settle, have often been known to pull off their coats and take to boxing in order to settle their disputes, and then regain their friendship after a cordial drink together. Quarrels in married life can rarely be settled in this manner. The pacification after the broil will never be complete; the additional offences committed in the brawl would rankle in the mind and assert themselves sooner or later. It is one of the worst things for a married couple to fight over any matter. It not only spoils the effect of the love and regard between them which ought to be everlasting, but it lowers each in the other's estimation besides lowering both

in the eyes of their children and servants and of the public who come to know about such misbehaviour. There are couples who take a delight, as it were, in fighting over the most trivial affair—even over the accidental breaking of a tea-pot or a sherry-glass. Constant quarrels in the house mar considerably the happiness of a home besides setting a bad example to the youngsters. Several matters which misguided couples make the basis of quarrels and fights can easily be settled by a little explanation and a patient hearing of it.

Both husband and wife must remember that they are but human, not divine, beings, and slight errors and deficiencies cannot but happen even in the best regulated families. There must be a certain amount of forgiveness from either side and in some cases husbands and wives if anxious to maintain domestic peace and happiness, will have need to exercise much patience in settling several matters which, for want of this mother-virtue, would end in great trouble, disagreement and disunion in the house. The fact must be well remembered that in cases of family feuds the best umpire to refer to for deciding the points at issue is their own conscience. The arbitration of relatives and friends will more or less, be intrusive and mortifying to self-dignity. The disputants can consult their conscience at such times and obey its dictates with a spirit of patience, forgiveness, and readiness to make amends.

A family is the primitive element of society and its relations are derived from Nature itself. All bodies of organic composition whether in the animal or of vegetable kingdom, while living however rudimentary their life may be—require mating and union of male and female or equivalents thereto for the propagation and continuance of species. Man, being not exempt from the operation of this physical law, as was proved, according to the Bible, from the beginning of the world, when Adam found it worthless to live without the existence of an Eve by his side, could not be a perfection in species without union with woman. The one calls for and presupposes the other who, between them, make one unity in two bodies. The offspring resulting therefrom are, in reality, a prolongation and continuation of the primal union. The same process is, of course, repeated in successive generations *ad infinitum*.

Marriage is not, therefore, an arbitrary institution, but the observance of a physical law, having for its end the propagation of children to supplant the parents and so continue the race by constant succession. In thus perpetuating the race, it is an important factor of evolution that each succeeding generation should be better fitted in its relation to its environments—or, in ordinary parlance, more perfect—than its preceding one. The responsibilities of parents in the matter of bringing up their children properly is, therefore, even greater than what their mutual obligations are; for, supposing a married couple sends out to the world half a dozen children without proper training, these half a dozen will, as generations go on, increase the number of ill-regulated families and badly brought up children, so that society at large will suffer considerably on this account,—and the cause of the wickedness, miseries, and troubles wrought by this large section will be attributable to the two who first formed the wedded pair, and neglected their duties to their offspring. Let not parents, amidst the ecstasy they feel when they hug their first-born to their bosom, forget their responsibilities to the little one. New duties spring up for both. The mother owes it her incessant care and an indefatigable sacrifice of comfort on its behalf just as she owes it her milk. The father owes it bread, clothes, his tenderness and watchful protection. The beasts and birds forget themselves while tending their young ones. Can man and woman, possessed with reason, degrade themselves below these? As the young one grows up, the responsibilities on its account also increase, and one of the greatest levers that works its success or failure in life is the home-training that it gets at the hands of its parents. Scores of indifferent and wicked boys and girls we come across, and if one will but enquire, their bad ways can invariably be traced to the want of proper parental care and training. Men and women have sunk into evil ways because their parents have failed to watch their youthful days and guide them in the fear and love of God and their neighbours. Fathers and mothers lead lives of luxury and, perhaps, dissipation, perfectly indifferent of the doings of their children or what their tendencies and

inclinations are. In the training given at home to young children, the mother is more responsible than the father. The home is the proper sphere of woman, and it is there, while youngsters are still with plastic natures, that she can easily mould and form their character; for "through the wide portal of a mother's heart have come the noble train of human virtues that have raised the race from, we know not, how crude and degraded a stage in physical and moral being, up to that high state which, in its perfect flowing in the souls of the redeemed has made men only a little less than the angels." A neat and simple home, presided over by a sober, gentle and hard-working man, assisted by pure, virtuous and amiable woman, and surrounded by children carefully brought up in the ways of righteousness and in the love and fear of God, would indeed be a little paradise on earth. What a relief to the toiling man, what a consolation to the self-sacrificing woman, and what an inestimable blessing to the youngsters! The task of imparting a sound moral training to children at home is heavy and tedious besides being difficult; but parents, cognisant of their deep responsibilities, have to face it manfully and do it thoroughly and sincerely. Need it be said that it should be done cheerfully, for does not the parent realise the inestimable blessings that follow his labours and does he not imbibe the blessedness of having been the cause of these noble effects? Faults and evil habits in young people, like diseases, develop the longer they are left unchecked; and parents should, therefore, use the knife of prudent correction early in life to cut and root out the weeds that hamper the moral growth of children. Let not parents be misguided by the reflection that so long as they feed and clothe their children and pack them, if need be, to school, they have done their duty to them. No, not at all. Their physical, personal, and intellectual requirements may have been thereby met, but their moral requirements, the most necessary thing for man in the true sense of the word, needs attending to. Children should learn from parents the great lessons under this head. They should learn from parents to distinguish good from evil, to love the one and attain it, to detest the other and shun it. Faults and failings should be corrected with firmness and calmness, not with anger and violence. Parents,

owing to their doting affection for children are prone to tolerate in them slight deficiencies, faults and failings. It is a serious risk; for their indulgence in the first word of impertinence, the small act of disobedience, the wee drop of wine, or the cheap little cigarette, may, in after years, be found to be the composition that manured the vile plants that have grown in the child, and to such an extent that it would be impossible to remove or check them.

"A little fire is quickly trodden out, which, being suffered, rivers cannot quench."

Parents should teach their daughters habits of modesty, truthfulness, morality, and unswerving rectitude. They should reveal to them the beauty of usefulness, the dangers of idleness, and the despicable worthlessness of frivolity. They should hold out for their daughters warning, examples of maidens who have gone astray and become wrecks of womanhood. They should teach their daughters duties of wives and mothers. Parents should bestow equal, if not more, care on their sons; for, these, perhaps, have to be separated from the influence of home at an earlier period than the daughters. They should be taught to imbibe the higher sentiments of our nature, upon which is based social existence, ideas of justice and order, compassion and charity. Much of our misery and debasement are the effects of ignorance. One who knows nothing, whose mental faculties are not cultivated, has naught but his physical powers to assist him; and physical powers have no value except in proportion to the direction given to them by the understanding. An ignorant man is, therefore, little better than a machine in the hands of one who works it for his own ends. Would parents wish their sons to vegetate in blind toil merely for the sake of their stomachs like the oxen that rend the furrows for nothing but a feeding, the owner who drives and goads them on profiting by their work? Children should be given sound instruction—the nourishment for the soul—in the same manner as they are given bread, the nourishment for the body.

More important than home training, and a sound education in a school or college, is the necessity for parents to give their children good example. The great orator Burke has said "Example is the school of mankind, and they will learn at no other." In every department of social life, example

exerts the greatest influence upon the members of society. In India, a Hindu girl must be married before she enters her teens; in Europe early marriage is rarely resorted to. What is fashionable in Europe is a serious sacrilege in India, not because the Indians do not understand and realise the advantages of the European, or the harmfulness of the Indian custom. Example that great dictator leads them on to move in the same groove. Men are always prone to follow other people in all matters—in customs, fashions, occupations, &c. Children, especially, quickly take lessons from examples. The greatest solicitude should, therefore, be exhibited in constantly presenting before them noble examples of good and virtuous character; and this cannot be done better than by the parents themselves becoming the examples for their children. Parents should never ignore the stubborn fact that their children would always follow the examples set by them. Words of advice and studied discourses to the young will avail but little, if they are not supported by example. Parents may preach ever so much about the evils of bad company or of drink; their full powers may be adjusted to portray the pernicious effects of these evils, but their efforts will not produce any appreciable result in children, if the parents themselves return home invariably the worse for liquor and in company with turbulent and boisterous companions. Parents should be very careful in their speech, actions, behaviour, &c., so that their children may profit by the example set before them; for, remember, children are like insects that take the colour from the leaves they feed upon. No sane man can expect his sons to be sober and temperate if he himself is a constant tippler. No mother has any right to expect her daughters to be virtuous if she herself is vicious. If parents are extravagant and profligate, how can children learn economy and virtue? If fathers and mothers keep bad company, use coarse language, and lead ribaldrous lives, how can their children be expected to be modest in their speech and action, and refined and cultured in their ways. Great is the responsibility of parents, therefore, in setting the best example before their children. In their daily conversation, in their habits at home, in their dress, in short, in everything, parents should exercise the utmost discretion, so that the children may draw salu-

tary lessons from them. Above all, in their religious practices, let not parents omit their obligations. Children should be brought up in the fear and love of God. Children should be insisted upon performing their daily religious duties, and parents themselves should not omit theirs. There can be nothing more blessed to see than a little child at prayer; and one of the happiest sights in this world is to see father, mother, and children, all together in daily prayer. The practice is one of the most beneficial for the welfare of the family and, surely, one that brings showers of blessings on the home. How consoling it is to see the father and mother, ripe in experience and versed in the troubles and trials as well as in the joys and happiness of this world, mingle with the little ones, so new to the ways of the world, in a common prayer for help, for mercy, or in thanksgiving to the One Great Creator in Heaven. Would the dear merciful Lord of all creation refuse to hear such a supplication? Never. The task of providing for the family which devolves on the father, the yet more tedious work of managing the family which rests with the mother, the difficult task of training up the children in the right way, pertaining to both of them—all these amidst trials and difficulties would become easy enough and light to bear, if God's blessing is upon them. Children themselves would naturally grow obedient and dutiful and parents will find them happy help-mates in their lives' struggles.

In the preceding lines, a few points that should strike a father and mother striving to attain happiness at home have been dealt with under the heads of (1) provision for a home, (2) the choice of a partner in life, (3) the mutual obligations of husband and wife, and (4) their responsibilities towards their offspring. There are, besides these, certain other points of a general character to be borne in the minds of parents. One of the chief among these is the avoiding of debts. Davenport Adams, speaking about this pernicious habit in his "Plain Living and High Thinking" says,

"Whether you enter upon your race, my friend, in the poor man's clothes of frieze, or the rich man's clothes of gold, form at the outset a habit of economy, accustom yourself to the strict measures of thrift, and cry to the demon of debt—Get thee behind me, Satan."

Amidst the several agencies that tend to mar domestic felicity, there can be none

other, save a vicious life, so disastrous as this great evil of incurring debts; and the writer, quoted above, has only drawn the most accurate comparison in having named it the Demon Satan. Some parents generally spend more than what they earn to keep up appearances; and, out of their foolishness, arises the necessity for incurring debts, which, in the end, will impoverish and ruin them, and land them in misery and starvation and unheard-of perplexities. The man who does not live within his means and who contracts debts to 'keep up appearances' is a dangerous man to society. He is in the first place a liar, for he cannot but speak falsehood to his creditors to obtain the money he knows he cannot repay. Secondly, he is a deceiver, as by shining in borrowed feathers, he prevents the public at large from forming a correct estimation of his worth. He is also a plunderer, and that of a high order, for he cleverly robs his creditors of what is theirs. He is, above all, a criminal before society, for by his example, he sets a degrading lesson to those around him. The Demon of Debt should, therefore, be avoided where one has an idea to establish Domestic Felicity. The two can never live together.

Another diabolical habit that should never be suffered to enter the threshold of a home is the Demon Drink. Like an avenging spirit, it goes forth from man to man, hampering progress, ruining constitution, banishing prosperity, increasing misery and want, feeding sin and crime, degrading women, spreading ruin around, and robbing human beings of all their noble qualities. No wonder, Shakespeare exclaimed, "Oh God, that men should put an enemy into their mouths to steal away their brains."

Two-thirds of the entire globe is occupied by the fathomless sea, and a mighty, almost infinite, scroll of lives have been swallowed up by this relentless element; but here within the narrow compass of a bottle, delusively, yet charmingly, sparkles a little liquid that has drowned more men and women than the sea—not drowned in glory, as often happens in the sea, but in abject dishonour and disgrace. This debasing vice is ruinous from every point of view—physical, intellectual, or moral. Reason, science, scripture, and experience have condemned it in the strongest terms.

"Oh, madness to think the use of strongest wine

and strongest drink our chief support of health when God, with these forbidden, made choice to rear His mighty champion, strong above compare, whose drink was only from the limpid brook."

A single drop of alcohol, it has been scientifically ascertained, when passed into the system is sufficient to cover the whole surface of the organs with which it comes into contact with an inflammatory poison capable of deranging the health to a great degree. What would be the result, if alcohol is consumed by glasses and even by bottles! Not only health will suffer, but everything else with it. Well has it been said that "where drink enters wisdom departs." Health and intellect fail and morals are lost. Man loses his brains, and often his soul. Davenport Adams says,

"Fatal to the development of intellect, fatal to the cultivation of moral faculties, fatal to high aims and generous impulses, is the drinking habit—the habit of swallowing glasses of intoxicating liquors on the pretence of good fellowship or in obedience to some self-created necessity."

In the twinkling of an eye, this accursed demon transforms individuals: The quiet man becomes boisterous; the gentle husband emerges as a tyrant; the virtuous woman becomes corrupt; young men and women, who otherwise would have been ornaments to society, turn out to be immoral vagabonds and degraded harlots. Hundreds of families would have been blest with domestic felicity if this Demon were kept at a distance. Husbands and wives, and sons and daughters whom God created to shed sunshine in their family-hearths would have been lustrous gems in the home, were it not for this debasing and demoralising vice. Fathers and mothers will do well to remember, whenever they have recourse to a glass of intoxicating drink, that it is not a wholesome draught that they swallow, on the other hand, that it may be the tears of the patient wife or the labouring husband, or the life-blood of their neglected and ill-provided children.

Every one born in this world has his duties to perform. The king has to govern his subjects; the soldier has to brave his enemy; the sailor should not quail at sea; the statesman has to see to the administration; the peasant has to look to his farm; so the husband and wife have their duties too, either towards each other or towards their children, and from which neither king nor peasant is free; for men in all walks of life, whether high

or low, rich or poor, have to emerge out of a home, from the guidance of parents. If parents, therefore, do the duties expected of them, the reformation of the world would be quite an easy matter, each successive generation would become more and more pure and elevated, and the expected millenium would be reached.

There would be no more broils and quarrels, fights and troubles; and instead of disunion, rupture and disgrace, instead of anger, hatred, and bloodshed, instead of anxieties, miseries and mortifications in the home, we shall see contentment, peace and happiness reigning.

JOHN OWEN SURRAO.

THE BEGINNING OF HINDU CULTURE AS WORLD-POWER

By PROF. BENQY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

(A. D. 300-600)

SECTION I.

Indian Napoleon's Alexandrian March.

IF we exclude the Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian Monarchies of ancient times, the Maurya Empire of the Hindus (B.C. 321—B.C. 185) was, chronologically speaking, the first Empire in the world's history, and that, internationally speaking, it occupied the first rank in the contemporary state-system. At a later stage in the world's history another Hindu Empire became similarly the very First Power of the world. This was the celebrated Empire of the Guptas (A. D. 320—606). There was now "anarchy" (?) in China. With the incursions of Barbarians into the Roman Empire, Europe was immersed in her "Dark Ages." The Saracenic Caliphate of the followers of Islam was not yet come. It was the people of Hindusthan who enjoyed the real "place in the sun."

While noticing the military and political achievements of Samudragupta (A. D. 335—375), one of the Emperors of this House, Mr. Vincent Smith—to whom indologists owe the only "chronological narrative of the political vicissitudes of the land"—makes the following remarks :

"Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill attained by Samudragupta in the practice of the arts which graced his scanty leisure, it is clear that he was endowed with no ordinary powers; and that he was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon. * * By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet, and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances

extended from the Oxus to Ceylon—was unknown even by name to the historians until the publication* of this work. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by the minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last eighty years."

It may be mentioned, in passing, that monarchs of the Samudragupta type, who may be compared easily with a Charlemagne, a Frederick or a Peter the Great have flourished in India almost every second generation. Hindu folk-lore has known them as Vikramadityas (Sun of Power) and has invested their names with the halo of Arthurian romance.

It is unnecessary to wait long over the political achievements of the Gupta Emperors. The *Digvijaya* or 'Conquest of the Quarters' made by Samudragupta fired the imagination of a contemporary poet, Kalidasa, the Goethe or Shakespeare of Sanskrit literature. The following are some of the verses from Canto IV of his immortal epic, *Raghu-vamsam* ("The House of Raghu") translated by Griffith for his *Idylls from the Sanskrit*, which describe the triumphal progress of his hero Raghu :

"Fortune herself, sweet Goddess, all unseen,
Held o'er his sacred head her lotus screen,
And Poesy in minstrels' form stood by,
Swept the wild string, and raised his triumph high.
What though the earth, since ancient Manu's reign,
Was wooed by every king, nor wooed in vain;
She came a bride, with fresh untried charms,
A pure young virgin, to her Raghu's arms.

* * *

Scarce was he ready for the sword and shield
When autumn called him to the battlefield,—
War's proper season, when the rains are o'er,
When roads are dry, and torrents foam no more.

* First Edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905.

Soon as the day to bless the chargers came,
The warrior's holy festival, the flame
Turned to the right, and with a ruddy hand
Gave him full triumph o'er each distant land
Then when his Kingdom was secured, and all
His city fortified with tower and wall,
His hosts he marshalled, his broad flag outspread,
And to subdue the world his army led.
Forth as he rode, the city matrons poured
The sacred grain upon their mighty lord.

First to the East the hero takes his way,
His foemen trembling as his banners play.
Thick clouds of dust beneath his chariots rise,
Till dark as earth appear the changing skies,

He marked his progress with a mighty hand;
The fountain gushed amid the thirsty sand;
The tangled forest harboured beasts no more,
And foaming floods the freighted vessel bore.

Through all the East he passed, from land to land,
And reached triumphant, Ocean's palmy strand.
Like an unsparing torrent on he went,
And low like reeds, the lords of Suhi⁴ bent
Then fell the islets washed by Ganga's wave
Nor could their ships, the hosts of Banga⁵ save.

No wealth he sought, but warred in honour's name,
So spired his land but spoiled his warlike fame.

But louder, as the war-steeds paced along,
Rattled the harness of the mail-clad throng.

* * *

True to the Law thus Raghu marched by land
 To Parasika 3 with his conquering band.
 He saw, indignant, to the lotus eyes
 Of Yavana dames the wine cap's frenzy rise.

Mad was the onset of the western-horse,
And wild the fury of the conqueror's force ;
No warrior saw—so thick the dust—his foe,
But marked him by the twanging of his bow.
Then Raghu's archers shot their keen shafts well ;
The bearded head of many a soldier fell,
And covered closely all the battle-ground
Like heaps of honey that the bees surround.

Pale grew the cheek of every Huna's dame,
Trembling in wild alarm at Raghu's name.

By him subdued, they force I their pride to bring
 Coursers and gold as gifts to Kosal's King.
 Borne by these steeds he climbed Himalayas hill,
 Whose crest now clothed with dust rose loftier still.

**Fierce was the battle with the mountaineers
Armed with their bows and arrows, stones and spears.**

The thick sparks flying as they met. Then ceased,
 Slain by his arrows, from the mirth and feast
 The mountain revellers, and minstrel bands,
 That walked as demi-gods those lofty lands,
 Were taught the hero's victories to sing,
 And each hill tribe brought tribute to the King.

Thus when all princes owned the conqueror's sway,
He turned his chariot on his homeward way,
Letting the dust, beneath his wheels that rose,
Fall on the diadems of humbled foes "

It was the atmosphere of this poetry which nurtured the nation of Kumarajiva.* Fa-Hien and Kalidas were contemporaries, and if the Chinese traveller had cared to know some of the prominent Hindus of his time, the first man to be introduced to him would have been Kalidasa. But it seems from Fa-Hien's diary that he had not much leisure to go beyond his special mission. However, it was the Indianism of Kalidasa's age with which the Chinese Apostle came in contact. It was this Hindu Culture which was propagated in China and finally transmitted to Japan to build up her *Bushido* and *Yamato Damashii*. Buddha-cult was introduced into Korea from China in A. D. 372, and from Korea into the Land of the Rising Sun in A. D. 552.

SECTION 2.

"World-sense" and Colonising enterprise.

The Hindus of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries were not living in 'splendid isolation,' as it has been the fashion to suppose that the Asiatics have ever done. As in previous ages, so under the Guptas they kept up cultivating the "world-sense."

In the first place, it must be remembered that India alone is a world by herself—the whole of Europe minus Russia. Therefore, for the Hindus to be able to develop the "India sense" in pre-Steam days must be regarded as an expression of internationalism of a high order. Considered territorially, and also in terms of population, the world-sense of the Roman Emperors was not greater than that of the Hindu Imperialists.

The internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too. It is well-known that the world of Kalidasa's poetry includes

* Part of West Bengal.

† Central and East Bengal.

§ Persia.

11 Jun.

* An Indian educator, who carried forward the missionizing activity of Asoka to the Far Eastern Cathay, and thus became instrumental in the establishment of Indian hegemony throughout the Orient.

the whole of India and also the Indian border land and Persia. The fact that with the fifth century is augmented the stream of traffic between India and China both by land and sea is itself an indication of the "Asia-sense" they had been developing. It may be said that the Mauryas had cultivated mainly the relations with West-Asia, the Kushans had opened up the Central-Asian regions, and the Guptas developed the Far Eastern intercourse. The Hindus could now think not only in terms of India but of entire Asia.

The larger world beyond Asia was also to a certain extent within the purview of the Hindus. Ever since Alexander's opening up of the West-Asian route, the Hindus had kept touch with the "barbarians." About the first century A.D., Hindu trade with the Roman Empire was not a negligible item of international commerce. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. A.D. 100) is a document of that Indo-Roman intercourse. Both the Kushans in the North and the Andhra Monarchs in the South were interested in Rome.

In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (India Vol. II.) Sewell describes the foreign trade of the Hindus under the South Indian Andhras (B.C. 200—A.D. 250):

"The Andhra Period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this he is confirmed by the author of the *Periplus*. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the peninsula, and especially in the south. In A.D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge among the friendly coast people of South India and to have settled in Malabar."

The following picture of foreign settlements in Southern India is given by Vincent Smith:

"There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of our era. And that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, dumb Mlechas (barbarians), clad in complete armour, acted as body guards to Tamil kings."

According to the same authority Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya (A.D. 375—413) of the Gupta dynasty was "in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt."

Besides, intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which in Gupta times was nearing completion. In fact, with the fourth century A.D. really commences the foundation of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan on the East to Madagascar on the West. The romantic story of this expansion of India has found its proper place in Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were all embodiments of the world-sense.

It would thus appear that the travels of Kumarajiva the Hindu Missionary (A.D. 405) and of Fa Hien the Celestial Apostle were facts of a nature to which the Indians had long been used. The Chinese monks came to a land through which the current of world-life regularly flowed. Hindustan had never been shunted off from the main-track of universal culture. To come to India in the age of the Guptas was to imbibe the internationalism of the atmosphere.

Regarding the Indo-Chinese intercourse of this age the following extracts from *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* are interesting.

"Of what took place in the Tartar regions of the north we know little, since their dynasties have not been recognised by Chinese historians as legitimate. The true Celestial annals, indeed the lore of Chinese genius, belong at this time to the stimulus afforded by the new southern conditions. The new capital, near the present Nanking, was on the great Yangtse. * * * The Southern seats of the Chinese were in closer proximity to a new part of India, the south through Burma, or along the opening lines of coast trade. * * * It was here, too, in the Southern Chinese nests, that Buddhism could drop her most fertile germs."

It may be mentioned that the patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian Prince, reached Canton by sea and was then invited to Nanking (A.D. 520).

The above is a picture of the sea-traffic. References to this are to be found in the *Kwai-Yuen Catalogue* (A.D. 730) of the Chinese *Tripitaka* which has been drawn upon by Prof. Auesaki for his paper in the J. R. A. S. (April, 1903).

It must not be forgotten, besides, that Kucha and Khotan, the half way house between India and China, remained all this while the great emporium of Hindu culture and Greeco-Buddist art. Manus-

cripts, unearthed by Stein and others, both in Kharoshthi and Chinese Scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from 3rd century A.D. to 8th or 9th. And it was the Central

Asian land-route which was traversed by Fa Hien in A.D. 399 and later by Hiuen Tshang in A.D. 629 on their way to India, from which both returned home by sea.

A VISIT TO THE BENGAL CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS

BY PROF. SATIS CHANDRAMUKHERJI, M. A., B. SC.

IN our college days, whenever we had to read of a chemical works we had to depend on diagrams for forming our idea about it, for there was no factory near by where chemical processes were applied to manufacture. But now things have changed. Students of chemistry are taken over to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works to bring them face to face with the application of science to industries. In this way, not only do the young men get a clear understanding regarding a chemical works and a vivid object lesson, but they also gain self-confidence as here are our countrymen actually carrying on a manufacturing business, on a gigantic scale, requiring great power of organisation and rare expert knowledge of science.

Those who have seen only the unpretending and rather unsightly office of the firm at 91, Upper Circular Road, have a pleasant surprise in store for them if they can manage to pay a visit to the vast works at Manicktola (near the ditch) where the articles are turned out. The works occupy no less than eleven big has of land and recently fifteen big has more have been acquired for further extension. It really does one good to have a look round the whole thing, consisting of various buildings and structures for manufacture of scientific apparatus, acids, chemicals and medicines, etc. Limited space of a single article does not permit more than a very short description of the works.

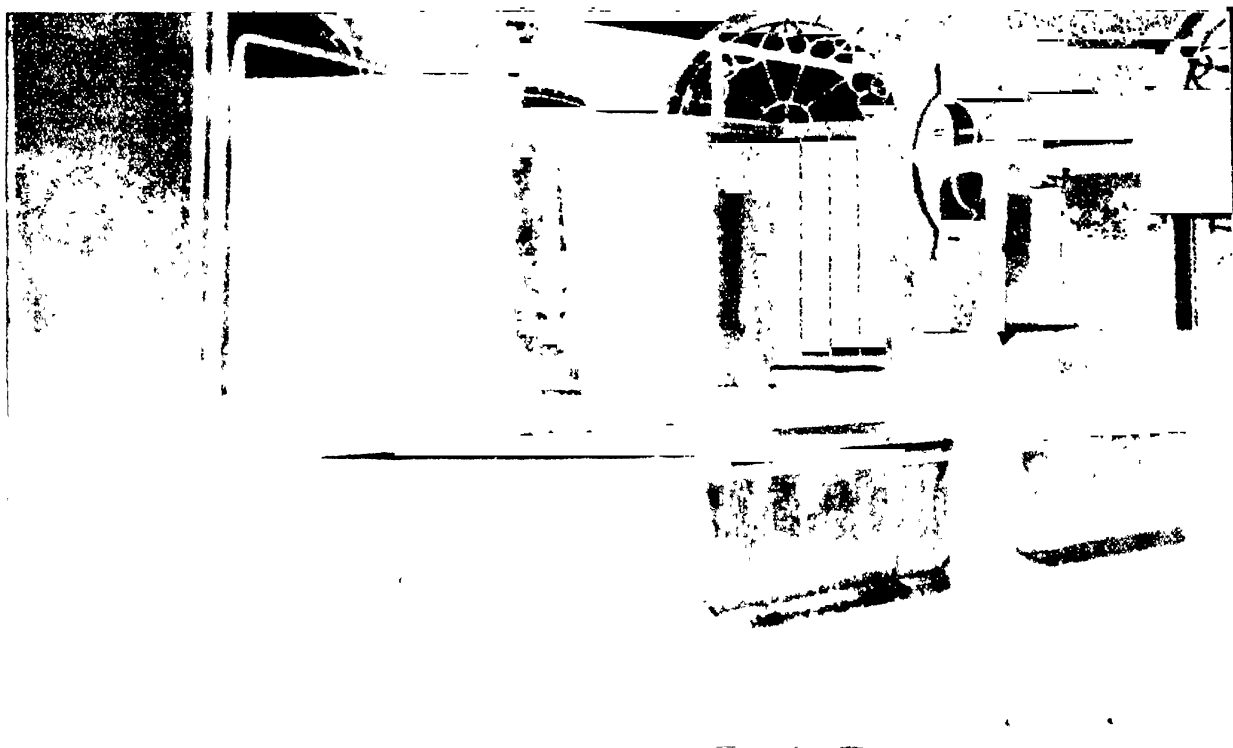
It has been my lot to visit the Works more than once during the last fifteen years and I have been able to observe the rapid strides with which the Works has advanced in the path of improvement. A

recent visit to it has convinced me that the early promises have been fully realised.

As one enters the factory he finds big store rooms of various articles in one of which tons of sulphur have been heaped up, filling the room up to the ceiling. Then comes a printing department with an up-to-date press. Next one comes to the installation of steam saw mills, as all the packing cases, barrels, etc., are made on the spot. Farther on one is led through a long stretch of the workshop where various scientific apparatus like Bunsen burners, tongs, forceps, and even chemical balances are turned out. Then we enter the department of pharmacy where excellent arrangements like heating by steam coils, vacuum pans, pumps, etc., are made use of to ensure the purity of the medicines manufactured. Adjoined to this is the department for manufacture of chemicals like acids, ammonia, sodium bicarbonate, magnesium sulphate and so on. Then there are the three gigantic lead chambers for the preparation of sulphuric acid. Recently the manufacture of boracic cotton and antiseptic dressings has been taken in hand to meet with a widely felt want. Last, though not the least, we come to the chemical laboratory where experiments are being carried on to suggest improvements in the methods of preparation or to introduce the manufacture of some new chemical. The chemist in charge showed us how he has successfully prepared thymol from aqua ptychotis. The office is adjoined to the Laboratory. No less interesting is the bottling and packing arrangements—everything being done with the aid of machinery. The output has to cope with the heavy demand suddenly



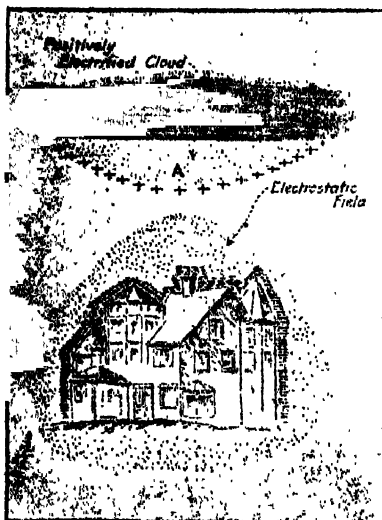
Ammonia Still in the front and Epsom Salts Reaction Drums in the background. (P. 326)



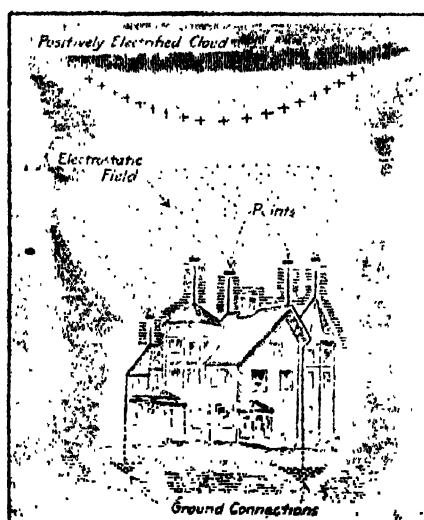
Finished Crystals of Epsom Salts. (P. 326)



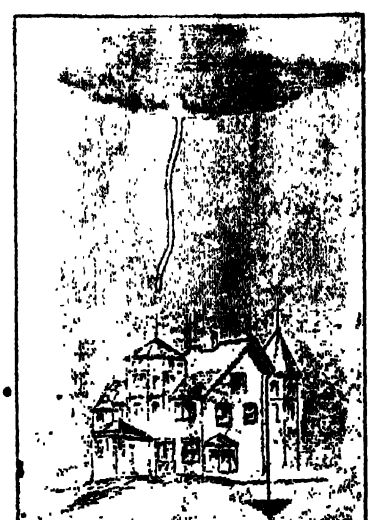
Centrifugal Machine for Drying Crystals. (P. 326)



1. Electrostatic Charge on an Unrodded Building.



2. Charge Induced on a Rodded Building.



3. Track of a Single Lightning-Flash.

How The Lightning-Rod Saves the House. (P. 340)

made upon the resources of the concern by the stoppage of supplies from Europe.

The feeling one has at the end of this visit is one of stupefaction and awe.

In these days when we hear of the failures of so many Swadeshi enterprises, it is highly reassuring to find that this works, a Limited Company, has been even in a prosperous condition. Though it keeps a large share of its profits in its Reserve Fund, it has been paying seven per cent dividend for a long time. It has a capital of five lacs which will soon have to be increased in view of the extension taken in hand and employs close upon 200 men working under the guidance of four expert chemists.

In this connection we shall do well to notice one peculiarity of the Bengal Chemical Works. The founders have always availed themselves of the best expert knowledge of chemistry. They have been liberal in paying decent remunerations to their chemists, some of whom even share in the profits. No wonder that these chemists are single-minded in their devotion to this Works.

If we look into the English scientific journals of the present time, we find that great authorities like Professor Fildes and others, are lamenting over the backwardness of the scientific works of England compared to the German Works. The chief reason of this backwardness is that the English manufacturers have never employed well trained scientists in the works whereas in the German factories a large number of first class scientists are employed. We hear that in some big chemical works in Germany about a hundred chemists with university degrees are engaged in experimenting in the laboratories and fifty with a view to find out some new and cheaper method of manufacturing certain chemicals. But in England, unfortunately, there has been a divorce between the factory and the university. The manufacturers look upon the university men as unpractical and useless people while the university takes little interest in the commercial problem of the factory. The result has been that the operations of the scientific works are often carried on by the rule of thumb method and after a time the works fail to compete with German works helped by expert scientific advice. Nowadays, attempts are being made in England to rectify this error. In the light of this

fact, it appears really highly creditable for the agencies of the Bengal Chemical Works that they would all along take the help of able chemists with high academic qualifications.

Now it is interesting to look at the history of this works. Like many other great things it had a humble beginning. It was in the year 1891, long before the Swadeshi movement, that Dr. P. C. Ray, then a junior professor in the Presidency College, started a modest works for the preparation of some chemicals and medicines at 91 Upper Circular Road and he was soon joined by the late lamented Dr. Amulya Charan Bose, who was equally indefatigable in his exertions to make the business a success. Dr. Ray had recently come back to the country after taking his D. Sc. degree from the Edinburgh University and found that the educated Bengalis had great difficulty in earning their livelihood, as the professions were already overcrowded. If some industries could be started, that would have opened a new source of income. This idea led Dr. Ray to found this works.

During the infant stage of this works, not only the whole work of the chemist but also the brunt of the business management fell upon Dr. Ray. The labour and money ungrudgingly spent by him have been amply repaid as the seed thus sown and carefully nurtured has now developed into a magnificent and fruitful tree.

For those who see him work regularly at the College devoting every spare moment after his heavy professorial duties to the prosecution of research work, it is difficult to guess, that he the contributor of more than three scores of original papers on mercurous nitrite and numerous compounds and the author of the monumental History of Hindu Chemistry is also the founder and guiding spirit of a big commercial enterprise. When the history of the Swadeshi industry comes to be written, the name of Dr. P. C. Ray will be mentioned as one of the few pioneers and captains of industry.

The recent war conditions, cutting off the supply of many articles which used to come from Germany have certainly created an opportunity for home industries. But unfortunately due to our unpreparedness, Japan has taken possession of the market, leaving us as poor as ever. It is a relief, however, to find that the Bengal Chemical

and Pharmaceutical Works has seized upon the opportunity. It has considerably increased its outputs and has begun to prepare many new chemicals for the first time in the country, such as thymol, magnesium sulphate and so on.

The limited space of the article does not permit me to describe the many ingenious processes of manufacture that are employed in the Works. So for the present we shall have to be satisfied with a brief description of one of them, namely, the manufacture of magnesium sulphate.

Magnesite, an Indian ore, is pulverised in a machine and then treated with sulphuric acid in a reservoir, the mixture being kept heated by steam. The large amount of carbon dioxide gas that is given off during this process (as will be evident from the formula of magnesite, $MgCO_3$, about half the weight of the ore being carbon dioxide) would have been wasted. But here this gas is led by a pipe to a gas-holder whence it is pumped under pressure into another reservoir containing sodium carbonate, which is thereby converted into sodium bicarbonate. This utilisation of the waste-product considerably lessens the cost of production of magnesium

sulphate so that even after the removal of the advantages due to war conditions the company will be able to compete with foreign manufacturers. Now the mixture containing the crude solution of magnesium sulphate is taken out and carried in trucks over rails to an apparatus where it is filtered under pressure. The filtered liquid is then concentrated and allowed to crystallise in a series of tanks. The crystals are then taken out and brought to a powerful centrifugal machine (worked by an oil engine) where they are dried and made ready for packing. The barrels and packing cases, too, are made on the spot, as has been already pointed out.

Before I conclude it is my pleasant duty to express my thanks to Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, Manager and Head Chemist of the works, who was courtesy personified; to Mr. Satishchandra Das Gupta, the able Factory-Superintendent, who is ever on the look-out to devise ingenious methods; to Mr. Prabodhchandra Chatterji who is in charge of the laboratory and is working out processes for manufacturing thymol etc.; and to Mr. Surendra Bhusan Sen, who is in charge of the acid department.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. Village Government in British India : by John Malhai, Vakil. High Court, Madras, with a preface by Sidney Webb. London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. 1915. 4-6d net.

The object of the book is to present a connected picture of the methods adopted by the village community to meet such simple administrative needs as the settlement of disputes, the prevention of crime, and the improvement of the means of general well-being. In the introductory chapter the author shows that in Hindu times the isolation of the village was not quite so pronounced as in the Mahammadan period. There were officers of the king, of varying degrees of authority, through whom the king maintained watch over the village. This he proves by extracts from the *Arthashastra* and the *Sukraniti*, and also from some South Indian inscriptions. The Mughal Government was almost entirely fiscal, and so long as the taxes were duly paid, no connection was maintained between the villages and the King's Government. The village community has lost much of its internal

cohesion, but 'as an administrative organ of great potential usefulness for the rural population the village community is by no means dead.' In the chapter on Education the author says that the principal characteristic which distinguished the village schools of the Hindus from the Muhammadan *Maktabs* was the secular character of the teaching. "It is likely that prayers might have been offered in the course of the day's work, and that moral precepts were strengthened by the teaching of sacred legends, but anything in the nature of direct religious instruction was unknown. The principal ingredients of the village curriculum were reading, writing and arithmetic in the vernacular, with occasionally a dose of Sanskrit Grammar and poetry. The secular character of the schools was strengthened by the advent of Buddhism." Those who are in favour of compulsory religious education in our modern schools would do well to note this. Possibly what they mean by lack of religion is not the decay of morality but of the virtues of politeness and obedience, and the non-observance of certain ritualistic practices, the reason for which may lie elsewhere than in the absence of religious teaching. After

village schools comes the village system of poor relief, which is followed by an account of village sanitation, represented by the physician, midwife and scavenger. This is followed by a chapter on such public works as wells, tanks, canals, roads, and public buildings (meeting places and rest houses, temples or mosques), which again is followed by an account of the village system of watch and ward (the headman and his assistant, the watchman.) The administration of justice next engages the author's attention, and village arbitration and conciliation boards, the village panchayets, are passed in review. The old communal panchayets were certainly useful in their day, but Sir Henry Maine was of opinion that "he who would bring to life again one of these barbarous institutions is placed in the following dilemma: Either he must connive at many of their accompaniments which are condemned by modern morality and modern civilisation, or in the attempt to give them a new character, he must so transmute them that they cannot be distinguished in any sensible degree from the modern institutions by which civilisation has superseded them." The author very rightly objects to the use of the term 'barbarous' with regard to these institutions, and believes that their resurrection would prove highly beneficial in the adjudication of petty disputes, as the institution of village Munsifs in the Madras presidency and the success of the co-operative movement everywhere amply demonstrates. Finally, some of the paragraphs of the Local Self-Government Resolution of the Government of India, issued in May 1915, and dealing with village panchayets, are summarised. There is a bibliography attached to the book. The materials of the book have been almost entirely drawn from government reports and publications, and the result is that the views expressed are somewhat official in cast and character, but in all other respects it is a highly useful and timely publication, and we welcome it as a valuable addition to Indian socio-economic literature.

The preface, though brief, deserves separate notice, as it is full of thoughtful suggestions. Mr. Sidney Webb begins by saying that "we sometimes tend to exaggerate the extent to which the clutches of caste have prevailed over the community of neighbourhood..... But we have seen that, even where caste exists, it has, in fact, permitted a great deal of common life, and that it is compatible with active village councils." Then follows a most important statement: "The first and most important business of a Government is, after all, that its people should live and not die! In the long run, in the judgment of history, it is by this test that Governments will be judged. How does India stand this test? In the most civilised parts of Europe.....we have about doubled the average expectation of life of the whole population. Seeing that in India, where the circumstances are more adverse, the average expectation of life of the people is only somewhere about one-half that of the people of England, there is perhaps no direction in which the community could more profitably invest its thought, its effort, and its money, than in a wise development of its local self-government. [Footnote: What a loss, what a tragedy it is that so many of India's most valuable citizens die before they are fifty! A deliberate scientific investigation into the causes of premature death in India, of adults subject neither to privation nor to industrial accidents or diseases, might be of great value]." Mr. Webb then goes on to contradict the statement, based on Census Reports, that

the people of India are a people of villagers. "But it is a mistake to assume that a land of villages necessarily means what is usually implied by the phrase, a people of villagers. In truth India, for all its villages, has been also, at all known periods, and today still is, perhaps to a greater extent than ever before, what Anglo-Saxon England, for instance, was not, or the South African Republic in the days before gold had been discovered, and what the Balkan Peninsula even at the present time may perhaps not be, namely, a land of flourishing cities, of a distinctly urban civilisation, exhibiting not only splendid architecture, and the high development of the manufacturing arts made possible by the concentration of population and wealth, but likewise—what is much more important—a secretion of thought, an accumulation of knowledge, and a development of literature and philosophy which are not the least like the characteristic product of villagers as we know them in Europe or America." The last words of the preface give Mr. Webb's view as to the place which local self-government is destined to occupy in the life of the Indian nation. "I do not in any way deprecate the desire or belittle the claim that India, like other parts of the British Empire, should be administered in the main by Indians, in accordance with Indian public opinion. But in India, as elsewhere, it is Local Government that is destined to grow, at a much greater rate than Central Government and the importance of the field thus opening out should not be overlooked. There is here, as it seems to me, a greater and certainly a more accessible sphere for the exercise of autonomy. In practice it will be found, as the century advances, that by far the greater part of "Indian self-government" and more and more of the part in which the daily lives of the Indian people are most intimately concerned, will lie, not in the sphere of His Excellency the Viceroy in Council,—not even in that of the Provincial Governments—but in those of the Village Council, the District Board, and the Municipality, or of any local authorities that may supersede them. In the fully organised India of a century hence, as in the England of tomorrow, it may well be that it may be these or some analogous bodies, that will be found exercising actually the larger part of all the functions of government, expending the large part of that share of the people's income which is administered collectively, appointing and controlling the majority of all the salaried servants of the community, and even enacting, in the aggregate, in their byelaws and regulations, a greater volume of the laws that the people obey." Let us share the hope of so wellknown an authority as Mr. Sidney Webb, and trust that both the Government and the people will begin to develop local self-government by devoting more attention to village sanitation and village education.

II. Indian National Evolution: by Ambica Charan Maumdar, Nateson & Co., Madras, 1915. Price Rs. 2.

This bulky volume of 500 pages and more is no mere *rechauffé* of recent political events in India. It is this and much more. It is a history of the rise and growth of the spirit of nationalism in India, and it passes in brief review the whole political horizon since Lord Ripon's memorable viceroyalty. The headings of some of the chapters will give an idea of their contents: 'The Genesis of Political Movement in India'; 'the Partition of Bengal'; 'the Indian Unrest'; 'the Depression'; 'Reorganisation of the Congress'; 'Indian Renaissance'; &c. In the Appendix the constitution of the Congress and other useful matters have been incor-

porated. Portraits of all the leading Congressmen is a welcome feature of the publication. The work is singularly free from quotations, and we have a continuous narrative written in a pleasant style. The case for the Congress has been soberly put and supported by a wealth of arguments, and antagonistic views have been judiciously met. The result is that very little of what requires to be said in order to present the national cause in its true light has been left unsaid. The author's remarks are often pointed and forceful and one feels tempted to quote freely from the book, but we refrain as we think that the book deserves to be read from beginning to end. Mr. Mazumdar has served a long period of apprenticeship in local, provincial and Indian public life. He has taken a leading part in the deliberations of the Congress and in the legislative council of his own province. Above all, he has all his life been a devoted student of politics. A volume containing his mature convictions on the political situation in India is therefore bound to be instructive. We want Indian politics to be handled by veterans of this type, for what they put down as their deliberate views is bound to carry weight with all thinking men. Mohussil civic life in Bengal would be all the richer with more public men of his wide outlook and political culture. We hope the book will find a ready sale among our countrymen, for it will substantially help their political education.

III. Mukundaram : A Glimpse of Bengal in the 16th Century A.D. and other essays; by Prof. J. N. Das Gupta, Presidency College, Calcutta.

These papers have been collected and printed by the Calcutta University in book form. The book has been named "Bengal in the 16th Century A.D." (Cambray & Co., Price Rs. 2). We have read the book. It consists of eight lectures delivered by Prof. Das Gupta as University Reader, in which the learned professor has shown that there was a Renaissance, a spiritual and intellectual awakening in Bengal in the sixteenth century, and he has supported this conclusion with reference to the literature of Vaishnavism, the Institutes of Akbar, the works of Mukundaram, and the contemporary narratives of European travellers. The inaugural lecture on the study of history is a learned essay. The lectures consist of a string of quotations, but perhaps in the nature of things this could not well be avoided. Sanskrit, Buddhist (Pali) and original Persian sources do not appear to have been consulted. A full bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book. The identification of Ralph Fitch's 'Serrepore' with 'Serampore' is evidently a mistake. Fitch speaks of Sripur, the capital of Chand Ray ('Chondery') and Kedar Ray in Vikrampur. The book has been neatly printed and got up by the University Press, though printing mistakes are not uncommon. Prof. Das Gupta has opened an interesting field of research, and we hope competent scholars, as learned in Sanskrit, Pali and Persian as Prof. Das Gupta is in English, will take up the work, and bring the past history of Bengal, specially in its sociological aspects, into the full light of day.

IV. The Proposed Muslim University: by Syed Rauf Ali, Bar-at-Law, Delhi.

This is one of the many controversial pamphlets now being issued by those interested in the Muslim University. We have seen another pamphlet in which the advisability of accepting a constitution on the terms proposed by Government is advocated. In this brochure the policy of waiting and watching till the

war is over is supported, not without a show of reason. The Benares Hindu University type is, according to the writer, a settled precedent, and it cannot in any case be denied to the Mahomedans whenever they choose to ask for it. So they lose nothing by waiting and deliberating, and watching the growth of the Benares University. They will certainly be the wiser for it. The writer hopes that Sir Syed Ahmed's programme of "Self government in matters educational" will be accepted by the Government.

V. Report on the Sociological Survey of the Servants of the Khangi Department of the Baroda State: 1914. Baroda Printing Works.

The go-ahead state of Baroda is nothing if not new in every department of its activity. The lower employees of the Khangi department of the State were examined as to their physical, social, economic, moral and intellectual, and religious condition, and the result of the various examinations was tabulated and sorted under distinct heads, and the following conclusions were arrived at: (1) They live in insanitary houses and surroundings. (2) They are not quite strong and robust as they ought to be. (3) Their expenses exceed their income and as its result they are largely indebted and pay usurious rates of interest. (4) They are ignorant, superstitious and without any high ambition or aspirations in life. Certain remedies are then suggested. His Highness proposes to direct such sociological surveys in particular villages from time to time. Their utility has been made obvious in this concise report. Such surveys may usefully be undertaken by public bodies in Bengal. The result is sure to be an eye opener in many ways, and would put new life into the movement for social reform.

VI. Anthology of Patriotic Prose: Selected by Frederick Page. Oxford University Press, 1915. Two shillings net.

This is a volume of quotations from the speeches and writings of distinguished men in the English language which are calculated to evoke a love of country. It is a very useful publication, and ought to find a ready sale in India. The fact that the book has been brought out by the Oxford University Press is sufficient guarantee of the excellence of its contents.

VII. The Navy: by A. C. Macartney. The Christian Literature Society for India, 1915. Price annas four only.

In this neatly printed and well written pamphlet the author has tried to show among other things, "that the contention that the British navy, that Navy which helped to liberate Greece, which played so great a part in putting down the slave trade, which has driven all but German piracy from the seven seas, is not such a menace to civilisation and peace as the German Army."

VIII. Western Education in India: by S. Ambavaniswar, B. A. Trichinopoly. Wednesday Review Press, 1915. Four annas.

This is a reprint of some articles which appeared in the Wednesday Review. All subjects appertaining to the present political, social, moral and intellectual development of the country are briefly passed in review from a liberal and hopeful standpoint. The pamphlet well repays perusal.

XI. Sir Henry Cotton: A sketch of his life and career. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas four.

This is one of the well-known series of the "Friends of India," and the little volume has been got up with the usual discriminating power of selection displayed by the Editors of the series. Those who want to know about the great man recently dead will find everything in a nutshell in this brief sketch.

X. Puri for the Health Seeker and the Hindu: by Jodunath Ganguly, B.A., M.B. · Benares, December 1915. Price one anna.

This unpretentious little pamphlet contains a mass of useful information on Puri both from the sanitary and the religious point of view.

XI. Documents and Extracts illustrative of English Constitutional History: Vols. I. and II.

The object of this compilation is to put together a few of the more important documents which tend to throw light on the development of early English institutions and the progress of constitutional movements in English history. It is hoped that this collection of papers will impart a reality and a living interest to the study of constitutional history among the graduates and under-graduates of the Calcutta University.

XII. Students' Manual of General Philosophy: by S. C. Sen, M.A., B.L. Second Edition. S. Ray & Co., Cornwallis Buildings, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-4-0. 1915.

The book is a short treatise on philosophy intended for the use of University students. It deals with the general problems of philosophy in a clear, concise and systematic way. The beginner generally finds it difficult to grasp the real significance of any particular problem and discover its place in the general scheme of thought. To meet this difficulty the different topics have been arranged in their natural order and the transition from one problem to another has been clearly indicated. The author seems to have spared no pains to make the book useful both as a preliminary study and as an examination manual. Though specially intended for students it will also prove a profitable study to those who interest themselves in metaphysical thinking and would like to have a clear knowledge of the development of modern speculative thought within a short compass.

P.

Prosody and Rhetoric by Prof. Rohy Datta. The booklet has been dedicated to the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C. S. I.

The Author says he has "spared no pains in making the subject really interesting and setting forth the latest ideas." But our misfortune is that we find his ideas rather old, at least by ten years. His book is *Prosody and Rhetoric*, but Mr. R. Bose's *Rhetoric and Prosody* has been in the market for several years past. We have compared the two treatises and now without any ceremony offer the result to the public. There is an overwhelmingly large quantity of internal evidence to show that Mr. Datta's book was absolutely unnecessary.

Let us compare the *Rhetoric* first, because this is Mr. Bose's first part, though Mr. Datta's last. Take, for example, *Allusion*. Mr. Bose says:

"ALLUSION."—This figure consists in using some word or expression which recalls to one's mind some well-known past incident, or the saying of some great man: e.g., It was not given to Goldsmith to feel "like the monument," on any occasion whatsoever. —Black.

The allusion, here, is to a remark once made by Dr. Johnson. When he was asked by his friends how he received the news of the failure of his tragedy *Irene*, he replied, "Why, like a monument," i.e., with the utmost indifference.

The ungainly Irishman was called to *make sport for the Philistines*.—Black.

The italicised expression reminds us of Samson, the Jewish hero. It was during the period of his captivity that he was called upon by the Philistines to make sport for them."

There are two more examples given here. For obvious reasons we refrain from quoting them. But let us see what Mr. Datta has to say on this point. He says:

"Allusion is the use of a word or expression recalling to the mind some well-known saying or incident, e.g.,

(a) The ungainly Irishman (Goldsmith) was called to *make sport for the Philistines*. (Black). [The allusion is to Samson the Jewish Hero, who, during his captivity, was called upon by the Philistines to make sport for them.]

(b) It was not given to Goldsmith to feel "like the monument." (Black). [The allusion is to a saying of Dr. Samuel Johnson. When asked how he received the news of the failure of his tragedy *Irene*, he replied, "Why, like the monument" (i.e. with entire indifference).]

Here it is quite evident that Mr. Datta in his book has spared no pains in turning participial and other phrases into clauses and clauses into phrases in which he is a masterhand and finding out exact equivalents for English words. And this is the case in the entire Rhetoric. Compare Tautology, Pleonasm, Hypallage, Asyndeton, Polysyndeton, Hendiadys, Zeugma, the Condensed Sentence, Prolepsis, Litotes, Euphemism, Innuendo, Periphrasis, Epanaphora, Epistrophe. And the same state of things is found throughout the chapters on the figures of Rhetoric, the Choice of Words, Construction of Sentences, Forming of Paragraphs, etc.; etc. would give more concrete examples. Mr. Bose says:—

"Similes which serve the purpose of explaining a subject may more properly be called *Illustrations*, e.g., "As wax I would not....., they are instantly lost."

In the place of this Mr. Datta has the following:—

"A simile which serves the purpose of explaining a subject is called an *Illustration*, e.g.,

(f) As wax would not....., they are instantly lost." (From a quotation).

As this is a paragraph, so we do not quote the whole thing. But it would serve our purpose all the same. We beg to draw the attention of the reader to the "(From a quotation)" of Mr. Datta. Quotation from where? Here Mr. Datta has been in a fix! All this while he has managed well because Mr. Bose has given his authorities along with all his quotations and Mr. Datta has copied them. In this case perhaps the printer's devils have ill served him and Mr. Datta has gone beyond his depth. Now I hope I have by this time been able to give my readers an idea of what Mr. Datta's idea is as to "setting forth the latest ideas."

From Mr. Bose we have:

Tautology—Tautology (Gk. *tautos*, the same; and *logos*, word) means the use of two or more words or phrases having the same or almost the same meaning, in the same grammatical situation; e.g.

Particularly as to the affairs of this world integrity has many advantages over all the fine and artificial ways of *dissimulation* and *deceit*; it is

much the *plainer* and *easier*, much the *safer* and *more secure* way of dealing with the world ; it has less of *trouble* and *difficulty* of *entanglement* and *perplexity*, of *danger* and *hazard* in it.—Tillotson.

The use of tautology is sometimes justifiable for the sake of emphasis, as the following—

The very *scheme* and *plan* of his life differed from that of other men.

Nor is any *blasphemy* or *impiety*, any *frantic* saying or *godless thought* more appalling to me, etc.—Ruskin.

Mr. Datta has given us the above in the following abridged form—

Tautology is the use of two or more words having the same meaning in the same grammatical situation, e.g., (a) dissimulation and deceit ; (b) plainer and easier ; (c) safer and more secure ; (d) scheme and plan. It is often more a fault than a figure of speech.

No comment is necessary.

From Mr. Bosc's book we have already had the following—Pleonasm or Redundancy means the use of unnecessary additional words not in the same grammatical situation. Thus, in the sentence—"They returned back again to the same place from whence they came forth,—the words *back*, *again*, *same*, *from* and *forth* are all superfluous, although they are not synonymous"..... Here follow many other examples in which we find,—"The thing has no intrinsic value in itself," "He eyed me with a look of contempt.

The following is the uptodate version of it by Mr. Datta: Pleonasm (redundancy) is the use of unnecessary additional words not in the same grammatical situation, e.g., (a) They returned *back again* to the same place *from* whence they came *forth* ; (b) The thing has no *intrinsic* value in *itself* ; (c) He *eyed* me with a *look* of contempt ; (d) *The Seagirt isle*. It is more a fault than figure of speech.

"ASYNDETON," according to Mr. Bosc, "consists in the omission of connecting conjunctions, and conducive to energy and vividness, e.g.,

I slip, I slide, I gleam, I dance.—Tennyson.

What ? not a line, a tear, a sigh,

When valour bleeds for liberty ?—Scott.

From art more various are the blessings sent,

Wealth, commence, honour, liberty, content.—

Goldsmith.

O, what a noble mind is here o'ervethrown !

The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue,

sword.—

Shakespeare.

Mr. Datta spares his 'no pains' in the following manner.—ASYNDETON is the omission of connecting conjunctions for the sake of energy and vividness, e.g.,

(a) I slip, I slide, I gloom (?), I glance.—(Tennyson) ;

(b) Wealth, commerce, honour, liberty, content.—

(Goldsmith).

(c) The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword.—

(Shakespeare.)

On the head of POLYSYNDETON Mr. Bosc says—"This figure consists in the redundancy or excessive use of conjunctive particles. It serves to impart emphasis to the particulars which are enumerated."

Mr. Datta uptodates it by saying,—"POLYSYNDETON is the redundant use of connecting conjunctions for the sake of emphasising each particular," and gives all the examples given by Mr. Bosc quoted from Milton, Goldsmith and Macaulay. Nothing more, nothing less.

HENDIADYS.—By this figure, two substances connected by the particle *and* are used to convey one complex idea which might have been expressed by a noun qualified by an adjective.—Mr. Bosc.

HENDIADYS is the use of two nouns connected by the conjunctive particle *'and'* to convey one complex idea

which might have been expressed by a noun qualified by an adjective.—Mr. Datta.

This is Mr. Datta's idea of sparing no pains and making the book uptodate.

On this head both of them have cited examples. Mr. Bosc—*Life and sufferance* (suffering life).

With *joy and tidings* (joyful tidings) fraught—Milton.

Here follow four more examples from Scott, Ruskin, Milton and Goldsmith.

Mr. Datta —(a) *Life and sufferance* (suffering life).

(b) *Joy and tidings* (joyful tidings). Here follow two new examples.

We have from Mr. Bosc—

EUPHEMISM (Gk. *eu*, well ; and *phemi*, I speak)—This figure consists in softening down a harsh or disagreeable expression ; it is a way of stating something offensive in an agreeable and pleasing manner..... e.g.

He *perished in scaffold* (was hanged).

Discord fell on the music of Cowper's soul

(He became insane).

The tradesman has stopped payment (has become a bankrupt) Etc., etc.

Mr. Datta simply says—

Euphemism is softening down a harsh or disagreeable expression, e.g., (a) He *perished on the scaffold* (i.e., he was beheaded) ; (b) The tradesman *has stopped the payment* (i.e., has become bankrupt). This may also be regarded as a figure of rhetoric.

Certainly this is 'sparing no pains' with a vengeance. But we had better stop here.

We cannot refrain from referring to Mr. Roby Datta as the ideal lyricist and epic poet. At page 110 of his book Mr. Datta has held before his students a poem from his *Pictures & Songs* as a model of Lyric verse. We are glad though Byron and Shelley might shine in other skies they must not rise above the Indian horizon. And this fate awaits not the lyricists only. Mr Datta's *Epic Fragment* also should be read by our students as the ideal of epic verse.

DIHIRENDRANATH CHAUDHURI.

Vemana: The Telugu Poet and Saint, by Mr. Ram Krishna Rau. Pp. 85. Price four annas. (G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras).

The name of the poet is a household word in all the Telugu Provinces.

Ten Tamil Saints by M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Pp. 93. Price 12 as.

Sketches of the lives, works and teachings of (1) St. Juana Sambandhan, (2) St. Manickavachekar, (3) St. Appar, (4) St. Sundarar, (5) St. Kannappa, (6) St. Karaikal Ammai, (7) St. Thiruvalluvar, (8) St. Mey Kanda, (9) St. Thayumanavar, and (10) St. Pattinaththar.

Indian's Untouchable Saints by K.V. Ramaswami B.A. Pp. 63. Price six annas. (Natesan & Co., Madras).

Sketches of the lives of Nanda, Ravidas, Chokamela and Haridas.

All these three booklets are worth reading.

Warfare in Ancient India by P. Jagannadhaswami, Pp. 45. Price 4 annas.

An interesting booklet.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

3ENGALI.

I. Kakarer Ahamkar : (the Pride of the letter Ka) : by Professor Lalit Kumar Bannerjee.

In this nicely printed little volume, the author, who is well known for his power to amuse his readers, treats us to an essay showing the various combinations in which the first consonant of the Bengali alphabet enters in current conversation and in scientific, philosophical and general literature. Of course 'alliteration's artful aid' is frequently resorted to, and the result is that the book affords us the means of spending a pleasant half an hour in its company.

II. Daridrer Krandan : (*The Cry of the Poor*) by Kadhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Published by the Rangpur (Branch) Literary Academy. Price annas twelve.

This closely printed volume of 260 pages is intended to present a true picture of rural Bengal in its economic aspects. The author quotes Swami Vivekananda's saying that the New India of the future is to emerge from the hovels of the poor and the socially depressed, and is of opinion that India has reached the nadir of her poverty and that in her present abject material condition it is idle to expect high art, great thoughts, noble deeds and fruitful religious ideas from her. The crying need of the country, therefore, lies in the solution of her economic problems, and from personal investigation he lays down certain methods for the resuscitation of her cottage industries. The author puts in a vigorous plea for the improvement of village sanitation and holds that India must solve her economic difficulties in her own way and not as a mere imitator of the methods of the West, where the conditions are so different. Mr. Mukherjee wants to see our literature reflect the true condition of the masses of the people, their daily needs and elementary wants, for unless literature is a reflex of the real life of the people it cannot exercise that uplifting influence which is its special mission. Incidentally we are glad to learn that the author will shortly bring out a volume entitled the "Foundations of Indian Economics" in English through Messrs. Longman's Green & Co. The book before us is a valuable contribution to Bengali literature and should be widely read.

P.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus (Nos. 74--77: Aug.—Nov. 1915) Vol. XII. Parts VI.—IX. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad translated by Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu with the assistance of Pandit Ramakanya Bhattacharya Tidyabhusan. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. ii and 377—12s. Price of this part Rs. 7—8 only. Annual Subscription of the series—Inland Rs. 12—12; Foreign £ 1.

The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is now completed. It is translated according to the commentary of Madhva, the great dualistic Vaishnava theologian. In his Bhashya, he combats the Monastic interpretation of Sankaracharya and tries to shew that his *Mayavada* is nothing but a form of the *Sanyavada* of the *Madhyamika* School. The Rishis of this Upanishad might not be thoroughgoing monists, but there could be no doubt about the fact that their tendency was towards monism. If any one could be said to have fairly represented the spirit of the Upanishad, it was not Madhva the Dualist, but Sankara the Monist.

The book is an important production, not because it is an interpretation of the Upanishad but because it expounds the views of the dualistic theologian.

Madhva, known also as Anandatirtha and Purna-

prajna, claims to be the third Incarnation of Vayu, Hanuman being the first and Bhiima the second Avatar.

Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu successively and successfully translated the Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishad with Madhva's commentary and has thus greatly enriched the theological literature of our country for which we are thankful to him. The book under review is an excellent edition of Madhva's Brihadaranyaka Upanishad and is especially recommended to those who are interested in the development of the Vaishnava theology on dualistic basis.

The book contains (1) Sanskrit Text, (2) Meaning of all the words of the text, (3) English translation of the text, (4) English translation of Madhva's commentary, (5) Notes in English given by the translator, (6) Alphabetical Index of the Mantras.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus : (No. 78: December 1915) Vol. X. Part 6. Purva-Mimamsa-Sutras of Jaimini, translated by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha D. Litt. and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. viii+iii+457+106+70+XIX. Price of this part Re. 5-3. Annual Subscription—Inland Rs. 12-12 as. Foreign £ 1.

The system of philosophy known as Jaimini Sutras, Purva Mimamsa Sutras or simply as Mimamsa Sutras is a philosophical defence and the exposition of the inner meaning of the sacrificial rites as prescribed in the Samhitas and Brahmanas.

These Sutras are divided into 12 Chapters which are divided into Padas; divided again into Adhikaranas or 'topics' of which there are nearly 1000.

The whole book consisting of 1,000 Adhikaranas is a voluminous work and for this reason the first three chapters only have been published for this series.

That Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha is the translator of the book, is a sufficient guarantee that it is an excellent edition of the work.

In this book the original Sutras with an English translation, padas with their meanings and an English commentary have been given.

MAHESH CH. GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

Bhilonan Git, collected by Nagri Maheshwar Pathek, and published by Krishnalal S. Vakil, B. A., Superintendent, Office of the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, Price Re. 1-0-0. (1915).

The Bhils are ethnologically said to represent the aborigines of India, before it was overrun by the Aryans. On this side of India they are found in large numbers in the Revakantha and Mahikantha Political Agencies and in Khandesh and Malwa. In spite of their contact with civilized people, they have preserved most of their original or rather aboriginal customs and usages in their entirety, on account of the isolated life they live in the jungles and on the hills in which these parts of the country abound. As between themselves they use a certain kind of *patois* in conversation but with others they talk Gujarati or Marathi, picking it up from their town or village neighbours. A collection of songs sung by this community was no doubt a happy idea, and the specimens collected in this book furnish very interesting reading. Almost every song is typical of the life they lead in the jungles and on the hills. Their humble fare of *Mowra* flowers, and maize, their pride in their

cattle, their simple forms of marriage and courtship, are all reflected in these songs, which also exhibit the subtle influences overtaking them on account of their constant intercourse with the outside world, as evidenced by their imitation of some of the customs and manners of a Hindu's life with its joint family system. The introduction to the collection is written in very simple and terse language, but is full of information. One remark made in it is worth noticing, viz., that the Bhils living in the jungles never tell an untruth, while those who have come in contact with civilized or educated people, cannot resist the temptation of telling falsehoods. There was no such book as this in Gujarati, and we are of opinion that it would meet with a cordial welcome at the hands of all those who would care to read it through.

Rajpadya, edited by *Munsukhlal Rajgibhai Mehta*, and printed at the *Diamond Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 114. Unpriced (1915).*

Rajpadya is the name given to several poems written by the late Raychandra, a Jain philosopher and a friend of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who put him "much higher than Tolstoy in religious perception." They are poems written while Raychandra was very young, and concern *Bhakti* (भक्ति), *Charitra* (चरित्र), *Vijnan* (विज्ञान), and other cognate topics. Their chief beauty is that though they are written by one who was in his teens, still they are pregnant with spiritual meaning, and a knowledge of religion as well as of the world scarcely to be expected in one so young. The language is so simple, that one does not find it at all difficult to follow their meaning or understand them. Mr. Munsukhlal has certainly done a *वंशुकृत* by publishing them.

(1) **Shrimad Bhagavati Bhagvat**, published by the *Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature*, and printed at the *Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 892. Price Rs. 2-12-0. (1915).*

(2) **Raja Rammohan Ray**, translated by *Odharaji Tulsi-das Thakkar*, published by the same Society and printed at the same Press. *Cloth bound, pp. 215. Price Rs. 0-7-0. (1915).*

The first is a substantial volume, a popular translation of the *Devi Bhagvat*, while the second is an account of the life of Raja Rammohan Ray prepared from a Marathi Book. A larger life published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society exists, so that this book is the second of its kind.

Balakone Be Bal, by *Chandravallabhai, J. P., Khansabhai*, printed at the *Jain Printing Press, Surat, Paper cover, pp. 28. Price Rs. 0-3-0 (1916)*

This small book contains precepts and moral maxims for children. It is a useful publication.

Shri Anukramami Ramayan, by *Manibhai Khandubhai Desai*, printed at the *Muslim Printing Press, Navsari, Paper cover, pp. 74. Price Rs. 0-4-0. (1915).*

This summary of the *Ramayan* in verse was written by Mr. Desai in response to an advertisement by the last Gujarati Sahitya Parishad for condensing the epic into a certain number of verses (1000). The writer's zeal has no doubt accomplished this task, but whether the book would live or not is problematical.

Shri Mahavir Jivan Vistar, by *Pari Bhinji Harjivan*, published by *Mahji Hirji & Co., Bombay, printed at the Satya Vinaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 128. Price Rs. 1-8-0 (1916).*

These are outlines of the life of Mahavir Swami, written by a Jain, so that it goes without saying that it is written in a spirit of veneration. Its chief attractions, however, are the several pictures. Which illustrate in a prominent form the different ordeals through which the saint had to pass in order to attain the proud position he occupies with respect to the Jain religion.

Be Prem Katha, by *Chandrasekhari N. Pandya, B. A., I.L. B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay, printed at the Dharma Vinaya Printing Press, Bombay, Paper Cover, pp. 32. Price Rs. 0-3-0. (1915).*

"Two Love Stories" is the title of this thin book. As its name implies, it is just two little love stories and nothing else. Written in Mr. Pandya's usual style—neither high nor low—they are tiny, chatty affairs, like sea-foam or soft fleece, beautiful to look at, but not meant for touch or pressure. The object hidden behind the stories, in one case is to present an ideal picture of the love of a married couple and in the other to show how a wife is expected not only to read books but to manage household affairs also.

K. M. J.

In the February (1916) issue of the *Modern Review* page 230, column two, line eleven, the word "these" is a misprint for "three."

TAMIL.

Love's Triumph is the title of a short story in Tamil, priced 4 as. and published by Messrs. G. A. Vaidya Raman and Co., Madras. It narrates the story of a Brahmin girl who, unwilling to marry the boy her parents had chosen for her and whom she did not love, eludes the marriage and enters into marital relations with an old friend and relative of hers whom she loves. It would be too much to expect from writers of short stories any penetrating analysis of character or deep-laid plots which slowly unravel themselves. Nor indeed is it necessary. The present brochure is an amusing skit wherewith to while away an idle half hour of an industrious day. There is a playful humour in the work which will be appreciated by those who know the life of the Tamil Brahmins as it is lived.

S. P. T.

REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

BY C. F. ANDREWS, M. A., AND W. W. PEARSON, M. A., B. SC.

[By the courtesy of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson we are enabled to publish this report as a special contribution to the *Modern Review*.—the Editor]

WHEN we speak in our present Report of the 'Indenture System' we have specially in mind certain features, which have been common to this form of Indian labour, ever since it was started in Natal more than half a century ago. These have given to it the name and character it bears. They may be summed up as follows :—

Recruiting of individuals in India, at the rate of forty women for every hundred men.

A five years' term of compulsory, state regulated labour.

The absence of freedom to choose or to change either employment or employer.

A minimum fixed rate of wages, which tends to remain stationary, even when the price of food rises.

The payment of immigration charges by the employer.

In Fiji we were often asked whether we had a rooted objection to 'indenture' in any form or shape. We were informed that a large number of Englishmen, all over the world, had gone out under indenture to the Colonies. These Englishmen had no objection to 'indenture.' Why should the Indian object to it ?

When the matter was brought up in this form our answer was that the whole question turned on the freedom, responsibility and intelligence of those who entered into the agreement. In the case of the European immigrant, there was a natural presumption that he understood the exact terms of the agreement before starting, and that he felt quite clear in his own mind that they were neither oppressive nor degrading. Indeed, so far were his interests safeguarded by those in authority, that in South Africa, we found, the contract itself was not valid until it had been renewed after an interval had been allowed to the immigrant to examine on the spot all the conditions. Only when he was perfectly satisfied, after

seeing things with his own eyes, was the contract finally signed. We were told in Australia that no one is allowed to come out to the Southern States except with the permission of Government. In Queensland, where European labour is badly needed, the limit that is allowed for an agricultural contract is a single year.

These facts show clearly with what care and precaution the interests of the European immigrant are safeguarded and assured. Furthermore,—and this is the chief point of all,—the contract is a purely civil one. If the European finds that the terms of the contract are not being faithfully kept, he has an immediate remedy at hand in a court of law. He knows the method by which he can get his agreement cancelled ; and if he can prove that there has been any unfair advantage taken of his ignorance, he can be quite certain of a patient and sympathetic hearing from the Magistrate, who is usually a fellow countryman of his own.

The position may be briefly stated as follows. Contracts for personal service, which are made, with ignorance on the one hand and intelligence on the other : or contracts which are brought about by the exploitation of the weak : or contracts which are engaged in for an excessively long period of years—these all tend to reproduce servile features. In these cases the new word 'indenture' is nearly equivalent to the old word 'slavery' writ large. Indeed the wish to possess such a form of labour proceeds from the same instinct—the instinct to endeavour to get the service of a fellow human being on compulsory terms.

This then is the root objection to the present Indian 'indenture.' It is neither a free, nor an intelligent contract. It is not what a business man would call a 'square deal.' It is also fixed for a dangerously long period of years, and thus is liable to lead to the abuse of individual liberty.

Other evils, peculiar to the condition of Indian recruitment, and to the character

of the coolie 'lines' in Fiji, will come up later, in this report, for examination. But the objection which has here been urged is valid against any form of indentured labour, where the contract is made for too long a period, and is engaged in under unequal conditions.

It will be best to deal first with the length of contract. It has been already pointed out how strictly limited, in the case of Europeans, the period of contract is, and with what safeguards it is endorsed. With regard to labour other than European we found on enquiry in Johannesburg that the Kaffir contracts on the Rand were usually for one and a half years. The Chinese contract, when in operation, had been for five years, but for political as well as industrial and moral causes, that form of labour had been abandoned. We would add that we did not find in S. Africa a single good word said for the Chinese indenture system. Its morals were regarded as unspeakably corrupt.

In Natal we found that the Indian indenture system with its low percentage of women and its five years' contract was still in force. We saw with our own eyes its inherent evils and there were very few indeed in the Colony, outside a small group of Planters, who were ready to uphold it. Since that time it has been practically abandoned.

In the Malay States, indentured labour was first tried on the five years' basis, but this has now been brought to an end by a joint agreement of the Government and the Planters, and a much free and shorter form of contract has been substituted for it.

We are informed by one who had full knowledge of the labour conditions in New Guinea, that in the Papuan plantations a yearly engagement had become the rule of the employers: and this produced more satisfactory results than a contract for a longer period.

In Hawaii, which is most near in its conditions of life to Fiji, the Americans, as far as we could gather, have never taken to indentured labour. They secure permanent employees by high wages and advantageous terms.

In Ceylon, the indenture system has never been in operation. Labour, in large quantities, is engaged on a monthly contract. An altogether different evil, namely coolie indebtedness, has to be combated

with, but the five years' indenture has never been tried, nor would it be acceptable to the Planters.

It will thus be seen that, in the case of immigrant labour, a contract is not uncommon. But, wherever the period of contract has been prolonged, it has led to a serious curtailment of individual liberty and to bad moral results. On the other hand, a short contract has not been open to industrial objection, while at the same time it has tended to preserve freedom.

Indeed, this special form of short contract labour (in return for passage paid) is likely to become more and more common in future, now that ocean travel has been made easier and quicker and cheaper. The flow of labour, under contract, across the ocean is only another form of the migration of labour from a congested area of population to an uncongested area, or from the villages for town factory work. One of the most interesting recent developments of such migratory labour has been the yearly transport of Italians to Argentina for harvesting purposes. Such a migration would have seemed impossible only a short time ago.

There was scarcely any subject which the Fiji planters were more eager to discuss with us than the continuance of the present term of five-yearly indenture. We listened carefully to all they had to say from a business point of view. On the other side, we stated our own invincible objection to such a long and dangerous service. Our opinion on that point had been fixed, once for all, long ago by what we had witnessed in Natal. We were understood, from the very first, both by the Government and by the Planters to be unmoveable on that issue.

Three grounds were put forward by the Planters in favour of a longer rather than a shorter contract in the case of Fiji. We felt that each of them had weight, but we felt also that the Planters' difficulties should be met in some other way than the retention of a five years' indenture.

First, they argued that the cost of the passage out to Fiji was very great. If, in the future, they were obliged to bring out whole families rather than individuals, the cost would be greater still for every unit of labour. A family could hardly cost less, in passage money, than 450 rupees. If the contract were a short one, this heavy expense would have to be

incurred again and again at very short intervals.

Secondly, the Planters urged that sugar-planting itself was skilled work. During the first six months, therefore, the labour done by the new worker was of very little value. Only after a full year, they said, could the workman be called efficient. So then, if the contract were too short, the labourer would be taken away, just as he was getting into his work.

Thirdly, they insisted with great iteration that the work itself was an apprenticeship. Only those who had thoroughly learnt modern methods of sugarcane cultivation, by working under a big employer, could hope themselves in the future to undertake profitable plantation work on their own account. They pointed out that Fiji was not like India in this respect, but rather like Java. The best Indian growers of cane, they said, in Fiji had learned their business during the five years of indenture. If they had had a shorter training they might never have learnt at all.

Such were the points which were brought to our notice with regard to the length of contract. We remained convinced in our opinion that a shorter period of training on much freer and more equitable terms would bring about as good, if not better, technical results; while at the same time the moral and social value of the greater freedom would be, even from the business point of view, very high indeed.

We would next endeavour to make plain, by illustrations from our own personal experience, how very widely the present system of Indian indentured labour differs from the free, equal and intelligent contract entered into by Europeans.

We shall best accomplish this purpose by offering examples which are chosen as typical out of hundreds of interviews with Indians in Fiji. They expressed to us, with the utmost freedom, the circumstances in which they were first led to come out to Fiji and their experiences on the plantations.

It will be seen from these what an amount of fraud and deception appears to be at work in the process of recruiting. It will be seen, also, how unscrupulous exploitation dogs the footsteps of the illiterate coolie from first to last. On

every side his path is beset with pitfalls and very few indeed escape disaster during their long five years' indenture.

In giving these examples, which came under our personal observation and were entered down in our notes on the spot, we have purposely omitted the coolies' names. In very many cases their information was given in confidence, with a request that their names should not be revealed. The peculiar state of fear that exists among Indians throughout the Islands will be explained later on. It was a common experience with both of us to have the question asked, "Are you the coolie agent sahib?" Only when that question was satisfactorily settled would conversation flow freely. Later on during our visit, when the report had spread among the coolies about our coming, we were known as the 'Calcutta-wale Sahibs' and people would come from long distances to tell us their own story.

From all that we were able to gather from the indentured coolies' own lips, and also from the free Indians, it is probably not an exaggeration to state that, in the case of 80 per cent of those who were indentured in India, some deceit was practised by the recruiting agent. This man is actually paid so much per head for his task by the Colonial Emigration authorities at 61 Garden Reach, Calcutta, or elsewhere. He is given an extra bonus for every woman. The price paid in the west of the United Provinces seems to be as high as forty-five rupees for every man and fifty-five rupees for every woman; in the East of the United Provinces and in Madras we were told the fee was lower. But whatever the price may be is immaterial; such payments made, at so much per head, for men and women, recall the worst features of the old slave system, and are quite indefensible. They offer a premium to a very low class of agents to engage in acts of cunning and fraud.

We have been ourselves into the recruiting areas of India and have questioned the villagers about the activities of these agents of the Colonial Emigration Depots. Allowing for every exaggeration on the part of those who are illiterate, there can be no shadow of doubt that the frauds already practised by recruiting agents have been immense. We found out another evil which makes this unscrupulous re-

recruiting more dangerous still. The recruiting agents represent themselves as subordinate Government officials and bring the name of Government in to set forward their own plans. The villagers are often too simple to discover this obvious fraud. Those of us who know the dread, in the ordinary villager's mind, of the power of the subordinate official, will not need to be told what an instrument of tyranny such a false representation may become. It will also be understood what a prejudice against the Indian Government itself is likely to be raised. But the evil goes still deeper. A missionary, of long experience in the villages, whose word could be thoroughly trusted in such a matter, told us that there was frequent collusion between the recruiting agents and the police, the latter receiving from the former a commission.

The recruiting agent, becoming a man of power, carries the exercise of his authority far beyond the limits of recruiting. He becomes not seldom a black-mailer whom the villagers actually bribe in order to live in peace.

A typical case of this came under our own observation. A villager, named Fakhira, had his wife and daughter decoyed from him by a recruiting agent, who offered to return them to him on the payment of a sum of money. Fakhira had not the sum ready to hand and could not borrow it. The wife and daughter were missing. He never saw them again.

We had a long conversation with a coolie, who had escaped, after being fraudulently recruited. He had been given *datura*. In this case, his mother had almost lost her reason during his absence. The small village to which he belonged was in a state of panic-fear. It is now a clearly-indicated fact that, over large areas of the United Provinces, there has been added, to the other fears of the villager this new dread of the recruiting agent. The villagers have in some districts actually banded themselves together against their common enemy, and there have been cases of violent assaults upon the recruiting agent when he has been found entering a village. Songs in the vernacular are now sung from village to village warning people against the recruiter. The situation is not altogether unlike the Mormon Scare in England, and the object of the villagers is the same, namely, the

protection of the chastity of their women and the sanctity of their married life.

It was deeply instructive to find that the actual accounts of the coolies in Fiji as to the manner of their own recruitment tallied exactly with the stories we heard from the villages in the Indian recruiting districts. We listened, as it were, to the same story from both ends,—from the fellow villagers and relations of the recruited coolies in India and from the recruited coolies themselves in Fiji.

Piecing together the different stories and eliminating exaggerations, it is clear that the recruiting agent in recent years has begun to fight shy of going direct to the villages and inducing people to come to the Depot from their own village homes. He does not bargain with them there. Nearly every coolie we questioned in Fiji said he was away from home when he was recruited. In a very large number of cases the coolie's own home people knew nothing about his recruitment. Very possibly many such coolies were escaping from justice, or running away from some family quarrel at the time. But others were clearly quite simple village people, involved in no such trouble. They had lost, perhaps, their relations in a crowded railway station. They were on a pilgrimage and did not know the way. They were merely going from one village to another, when the recruiting agent came along and tempted them with his story.

It was noticeable among the women how many were recruited at the pilgrim-centres. The common narrative was, that the recruiting agent came up, offering to take the woman to her relations, or to show her some sacred shrine, and then took her to the depot instead. The evidence given of such practices was far too circumstantial in detail, and far too frequently given with fresh detail and fresh names of places, to allow of any doubt concerning its substantial accuracy.

The following is an account of a visit paid to Muttra to gather information at first hand about up-country coolie recruiting.

We found, at the first depot, that all the coolies had been moved off to Calcutta. At the second depot, a Muhaminadan (who appeared to us a dangerous person to be entrusted with the charge of Indian women) was manager of the place. The first coolie, whom we saw, was evidently

a prostitute. Four men were also there, who told us they were ready to emigrate. One man, of very low caste, was even eager to go. He told us he had been getting only two annas a day in India. He had no idea where Fiji was, and said he thought it was about two hundred kos from Muttra. The last coolie was a woman, who was going out again to Fiji. She told us that a man had lived with her in Fiji, but had deserted her, as soon as she landed in India. Now she was all alone. No one had anything to do with her. She said that in Fiji there was plenty of money, but in India she could make no money at all. She was in a very wretched condition. Evidently she expected some other man to live with her, if she went out.

In the third depot, news of our coming had preceded us and feverish efforts had been made to get things straight. There were only two coolies. One did not appear at first, and when he came forward, he would hardly answer any question. We told the Manager to leave us alone. Then the coolie began crying and said he was in great trouble. He had been in the depot for four days and had not been allowed to go out at all. He did not wish to go away to Fiji. (When I had asked him previously before the Manager, he had said he was willing.) He implored us to take him away. We called the Manager back and told him this. He went up to the man and began to threaten him. The coolie at once got frightened. We told the manager to speak quietly, and the man then said that he wished to go away. The Manager told him to fetch his bundle and go.

We then went to see a Gaur Brahman who had gone mad on account of his wife being taken away by the recruiting agent. The whole neighbourhood collected, showing their sympathy and pity. The mad man was a pathetic sight to witness.

The news had by this time spread widely that we were in the town, and the relatives of those who had been taken away flocked round us. A respectable Jat came up to us. His brother was blind and had an only son, who was taken by the recruiters. The lad was sixteen years of age. Another boy had been taken with him, but had been rejected on medical grounds. This second boy told the blind father his son's fate. The Jat informed us that he had gone to the Magistrate and

asked for an order to stop the boy's embarkation. The Magistrate asked for a deposit of thirty rupees, which was paid, and a telegram was sent to Calcutta. An answer had come from the depot that as the boy was going by his own consent, his embarkation could not be delayed. The Jat thereupon asked the Magistrate for an order to enter the Calcutta depot. He went to Calcutta, and, as he described to us his treatment, we could understand the difficulties which were placed in his way. In the end he was informed that the boy had already sailed for Fiji. If he wished to get him back, a deposit must be made of 465 rupees.

A Hindu, by caste a Bania, spoke to us concerning his wife. She had been taken by the recruiters, and he was very bitter against them. We asked him if he had made any attempt to get her back. He said he had not, for when once she had been inside the depot she was stained.

Some correspondence was given us concerning a coolie who had been shipped to British Guiana. The following official letter is of interest:—

Sir,.....With reference to your endorsement, No. 2047 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform you that a sum of Rs. 531, will be required for the repatriation etc., of Radha Kishan No. 104, Mutlah 1912. (Details given). It will not be possible for Radha Kishan to return to India till about August or September 1916.

The father of Radha Kishan was a villager earning four annas a day. He told us he was going to try to borrow the money, because his son had written to him in very great distress.

It was clear from the narratives of the women in Fiji that when once they had crossed the threshold of the depot their terror became too great to allow them to turn back. The recruiting agent seemed able to stupefy them with fear. He was then able to coach them in the questions which they had to answer and they very rarely refused to reply according to his directions when the time came.

With the men folk, the methods of the recruiting agents appear to be somewhat different. Here it is the ordinary villager's cupidity which is the lever most frequently used. If he is of the stupid ignorant type, then Fiji is referred to as a district near to Calcutta where high wages are to be obtained. Incredible though it may appear, we came across many cases where

the indentured coolies informed us, with every appearance of truth, that they were quite unaware of their real destination, until they found themselves tossing and sea-sick in the Bay of Bengal.

If the villager, on the other hand, is of the more intelligent type, then the full details of the indenture are revealed. But the work is made out to be very light indeed, and the most glowing prospects are given. Nothing is said about the penal laws, or the hard conditions of compulsory labour. If the Fiji conditions were even normally fair and prosperous and wholesome, then little harm might be done by mere exaggerations. The advertisements which attract emigrants from England are often highly coloured. Yet on the whole the English emigrants are satisfied. But in Fiji the amount of satisfaction we found was very limited indeed. Here and there we discovered a set of coolies who were happy on the estates. But this was the exception, not the rule.

The recruiting agent appears not to be content with finding his recruits among the peasant classes only. He deals with all sorts and conditions of men and women. Where he finds a Sikh or a Jat, who is ready to step into his toils, he pictures Fiji as an ideal place for a soldier or a policeman, if only the thumb mark is placed to the agreement. A whole group of Panjabis was once recruited in this way, under false pretences. When they found out, on arrival, how they had been cheated they broke out into open mutiny and held up a whole district, for the time being, with fire-arms (which they managed somehow to obtain) and the trouble was not stopped until Government separated them one from another and distributed them among different coolie 'lines.'

Sometimes the recruiting agent finds a raw youth fresh from school, with a smattering of English education, and a boyish desire for adventure. He pictures to him employment in Fiji, as a teacher, on fabulous rates of pay,—if only the agreement is signed. We were startled every now and then to find in the coolie 'lines' a young lad of high caste and education, whose whole appearance showed that he had no business at all in such a place. The condition of such lads, when they arrive and have to be lodged in the same quarter with men of low morals and unclean habits of life, is pitiable indeed.

There appears to us to be a clear need for an overhauling of the whole system of recruitment in India, and for a closing of the up-country depôts. We have spoken to many of the Immigration Officers and Magistrates, in whose courts the coolies' agreements are signed, and not one has expressed himself satisfied with what is going on. Each one has told us in turn that he had suspicions of some secret fraudulent dealing, which was very difficult indeed to detect. One who had the fullest opportunity of seeing the work of recruiting in up-country districts spoke of it, in our hearing, as 'dirty work.' Our own very limited experience corroborates that statement, and the narratives we heard in Fiji endorse it. If the indenture system is abolished, and free labour to the Colonies is allowed to go on, then it is most important that such labour shall only be recruited under free conditions.

We found, further, on examination, that the agreement, which the coolie signs before going out, does not truly represent the facts of coolie life in Fiji. It is a misleading document. Not a word, for instance, is said concerning the penalties which await the coolie, if, for any reason (which he may regard as valid) he refuses to work. Another serious omission from the agreement (seeing that those who sign it are for the most part ignorant and illiterate people) is the failure to record the fact that food rates in Fiji differ materially from those in India. The coolie is told in the agreement, that he will be paid at the minimum rate of twelve annas a day. But he is not told that the purchasing power of twelve annas in Fiji is scarcely equal to that of five annas in India. He is not told, also, that more is required in the way of clothing and other necessities of life in Fiji than in India. So that the bare living expenses are nearly three times as high in Fiji as in India itself. One of the examples which follows will show what hardship this low rate of wages involves.*

The Indian woman who comes out under indenture, has a still more serious charge to make against the signed agreement. These women are simple ignorant

* It is interesting to note that the English coinage of Fiji is given an Indian value by the coolies. A two shilling piece is called 1 rupee. A one shilling piece is called eight annas. Sixpence is regularly called four annas. But this does not at all represent the true proportional value. For eight annas in India would go considerably further than a shilling in Fiji.

Indian villagers who have been used to field work. They are told in the agreement that they will have agricultural work to do in Fiji at the minimum wage of nine annas per day for a completed task. They naturally picture to themselves a state of labour in the field such as they have been used to in India. But when they get to their work in Fiji, they find that all is changed. Those who have seen the Indian woman working in the fields in India with her little family playing near her, will realise the change when she is told to leave her family behind in the coolie 'lines'. The provision of regulation 'fly-proof nurseries' is no compensation to her for the loss of the privilege of looking after her own children, and living her own natural life in her own natural way. She is not told, also, in the agreement that she will be

compelled, under penal clauses to work incessantly, day in, day out, with no time to cook her own husband's meals or look after her own children. She is never told anything also of the condition of the coolie 'lines' in which she will be compelled to live, without any privacy or even decency, for five years, with no possibility of change.

All this is hidden from the village woman who enters into the indenture agreement in India. In these circumstances, as well as others, it cannot be called a fair contract. For it is made on behalf of one party, the Fiji Government, who is fully aware of the actual state of affairs as they exist in Fiji, with another, the ignorant coolie woman, who is imagining entirely different conditions.

(To be continued).

"If a chisel is driven lightly into a board and pushed lengthwise with the grain, it picks up a shaving. This is the principle on which the swage-set rip-saw cuts. The kerf taken out by the saw-tooth corresponds to the shaving removed by the chisel. The edge *LN* of the tooth in the figure corresponds to the sharpened end of the chisel. If the edge *LN* is not sharp, the cutting efficiency of the saw is impaired just as it is with a dull chisel. Hence the necessity for always touching up the teeth of a swage-set saw with a file after they have been upset.

"If the chisel is driven deeply into the board, difficulty is experienced in pushing it along, because of the friction on its sides and because of the resilience of the wood which tends to bind the chisel. To avoid this side friction and binding, the teeth of a rip-saw of the type in question are upset or swaged so that nothing but the extreme points *L* and *N* experience any side friction. The body of the tooth and the saw-blade itself should not rub against the sides of the cut. The expert sawfiler always strives to bring the ends of the edge *LN* to needlepoints as nearly as possible.

"The best test of this condition is to place the thumb and forefinger on either side of the teeth, running them in this way around the saw. If the sensation is one of encountering small, round beads as each tooth is passed, the points are not right. The sensation should be a prickly one as the fingers slip from tooth to tooth. This will insure minimum side friction and the cleanest cut.

"The length of the chisel-edge *LN* of each tooth should be the same—that is, each tooth must be upset

the same amount, otherwise the longer chisel-edges will have to do more work than the shorter ones and the cut will not be smooth. To accomplish uniform projection of the points *L* and *N* beyond the disk of the saw is the object of using the side file. After the side file has been used, the teeth which were struck off by it should be retouched to bring them to sharpened points again."

"In the case of the cross-cut saw the action is quite different. It will be noted that the ripping process consists of parting the wood-fiber and removing shavings, such as are lifted by a chisel, even tho the kerf no longer has the appearance of shavings when ejected as sawdust. If an attempt is made to push a chisel across the grain of a board, it sticks and tears up the woodfibers. If, however, a knife is drawn across the grain, . . . no great resistance is encountered, provided the knife is sharp. After drawing the knife across the grain along two lines the short cylinders of wood-fiber between the two can be easily broken loose, leaving a channel such as that cut by a saw. If we substitute for the point of the knife the tip of the cross-cut sawtooth and for the edge of the knife the leading edge of the tooth, we see at once the action of the cross-cut saw. Alternate teeth, due to their being set to one side and to the other of the disk, shear the ends of the wood-fiber. These short cylinders of sheared fibers are then easily rasped out by the following teeth and ejected as sawdust.

"Bearing in mind that cross-cutting is a shearing process, the reason is apparent for making the outside leading edge of the tooth sharp. In order that this may be done, it is necessary to bevel the leading side of the tooth. If the tooth were ground straight

across the part *AK*, a keen-cutting edge could not be given to *OR*. The fact that a shearing cut must be made by the cross-cut saw-tooth also explains why the angle of such a tooth must be radically different from that of a rip-saw tooth. Suppose the knife were inclined in the opposite direction and it were then attempted to push it along from *A* to *B*—the point would stick and great difficulty would be experienced in forcing it through the fibers.

"One frequently sees the backs of cross-cut saw-teeth filed in imitation of the leading edge. This is wasting labor, as the back of the tooth performs no function. All it needs to do is to keep out of the way. So long as the back of a saw-tooth does not project beyond the point, it is doing everything expected of it. The extreme end of a cross-cut saw-tooth should be a sharp point, as it corresponds in the cutting action to the point of the knife-blade. So as to make certain that the edge *OK* will not touch in making the cut—as this would be equivalent to putting a broad point on the knife—a slight bevel is often given to the back of the tooth *OL*. But this is really not necessary if the front level is right."

Factory, Chicago.

The Lightning-Rod

"The lightning-rod has two functions: (1) To prevent discharges. This it does through the action of the points which permit the electricity to leak from the structure. Usually the leakage is rapid enough so that the electric charges of the cloud and the building are neutralized and a discharge is prevented. But if the charges accumulate so rapidly that the leakage from the points can not neutralize them and a stroke occurs, then the lightning-conductors (2) prevent damage by conducting the lightning-stroke current to ground. If there are no conductors forming a low-resistance path to ground, the stroke will select its own path, which will be of relatively high resistance and will probably damage the building or set it on fire.

"Damage done by lightning may be divided into two general classes—heat-effect damage, as, for example, where telephone or power-conductors or other metal members lying in the path of the stroke are fused; (2) mechanical disruptive disintegration; for example, the splitting of a tree, the breaking of a rock, or the overturning of a stack.

"Lightning seldom damages certain objects. In so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, lightning has never been known to damage seriously (1) railroad-trains or locomotives, (2) buildings with metallic-grounded sides and roofs, (3) buildings having frameworks wholly of metal, (4) grounded-steel windmill towers, (5) steel battle-ships, and (6) business blocks in cities. Apparently all of these objects conduct electricity sufficiently well for electricity induced on the earth by a cloud to be drawn up through them and dispersed by the point action before the difference of potential between the cloud and the object becomes great enough to produce a flash. If a lightning-stroke to such an object does occur, the mass of metal in it is usually sufficient to conduct the current safely to ground. Conversely, lightning often damages non-conducting objects such as country homes and barns, wooden-frame school-houses and churches, stacks, trees, cattle, and horses, particularly where the stack is near wire fences.

"The theory of the lightning-rod may be explained by reference to Figs. 1, 2, and 3. If an electrified cloud, *A* (Fig. 1), passes over any portion of the

earth, it will induce a charge of electricity on that portion. The cloud, the intervening atmosphere, and the surface of the earth really constitute a large electric condenser.

"A heavy charge will be drawn by mutual attraction to the highest portions of objects that are near or directly under the cloud. In Fig. 1, if the cloud is positively electrified, a negative charge will be induced and attracted from the earth up over the outer surface of the building shown. If the building has a metallic or other surface that is good conductor, the charge will rise (flow) rapidly. If it is of brick, stone, or wood which are only fair conductors—but they are conductors—the charge will rise (flow) slowly. It can not, however, leak rapidly, because the material of the building is a poor conductor; hence the electricity can not flow over its surface rapidly. The consequence is that the building will lie within a static field that is built up as suggested in Fig. 1.

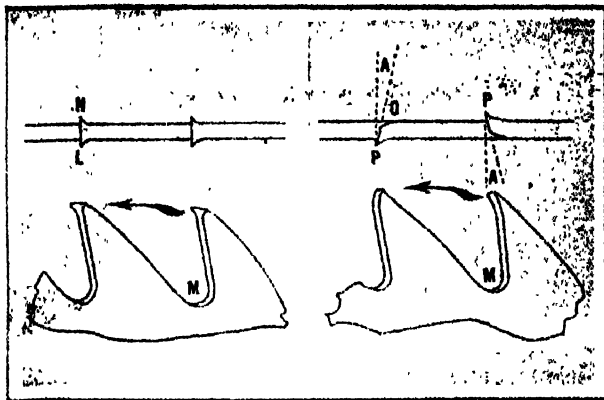
"If the building is rodged and equipped with points as shown in Fig. 2, the charge on the building, induced and attracted by that on the cloud, will rise rapidly, and it will discharge freely from the sharp points. The probabilities are that the flow of electricity from the points will so decrease the potential difference between the cloud and the building that no lightning-stroke will occur. The presence of the grounded lightning-conductor and the points has a tendency to raise the static field above the building, as indicated in Fig. 2.

"Now if the charge on the cloud accumulates very rapidly, the corresponding charge on the building will increase faster than the points can discharge it. If it thus increase to such a value that the potential difference between the cloud and the building exceeds the breakdown value of the intervening atmosphere, a lightning-stroke (Fig. 3) will occur between the cloud and a lightning-rod point. If the lightning conductors and their grounds are adequate, the charge will be conducted to the earth without damage to the building. A building may be struck, even if it is rodged, if the charge accumulates so fast that the points will not disperse it.

"Of the materials suitable for lightning-conductors or rods, copper is probably the best, because it is a good conductor and will not corrode. Electrically, iron is also satisfactory if it is of sufficient section, but it will ultimately corrode, even if it is galvanized, and may therefore fail just when it is most needed. The contact of dissimilar metals should be avoided in a lightning-rod installation because of the liability of electrolytic action and the consequent corrosion. Some insurance companies will not accept risks rodged with iron conductor. A conductor of flat form (rectangular cross-section) appears to be preferable from a theoretical standpoint, and it is a convenient form to handle and to connect with mechanically. Practice indicates that material of any cross-sectional form will give adequate protection if it has sufficient weight per foot, that is, if it is big enough.

"In the matter of installation of lightning-conductors, the rodging must always be held in metallic connection with the surface of the building by cleats, clamps, or staples, so that an electric charge on the building's surface can readily be conducted to the points where it can disperse. Round conductor can be held with straps. . . . Flat conductor is spliced by lapping the ends and nailing a copper strap across them with copper nails. Round conductor is spliced with a sleeve."

"Conductors should be run down corners instead of over the sides of buildings, and all metallic members or fittings must be connected with them, especially if



TWO TYPES OF RIP SAW TEETH (P. 330)

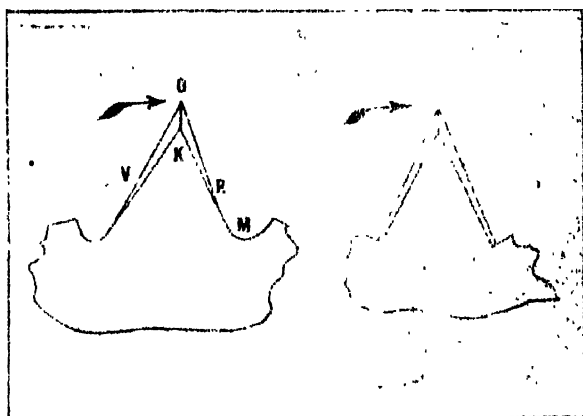
The edge *LN* of the tooth corresponds to the sharp end of the chisel. To avoid side friction and binding, a swage-set rip-saw has the teeth upset as shown.

The teeth of spring set rip-saw cut exactly like the teeth of a chisel. Each tooth cuts with its point and about one-half of the edge *PO*.



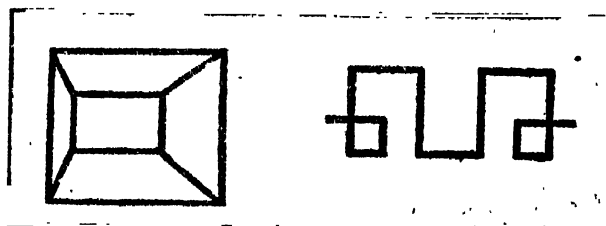
EACH TOOTH IS A KNIFE-BLADE (P. 339)

The alternate teeth of a cross-cut saw break the short splinters of wood *bc* between their incisions, in the same way that they are broken between the fine-strokes *AB* and *cd* here.

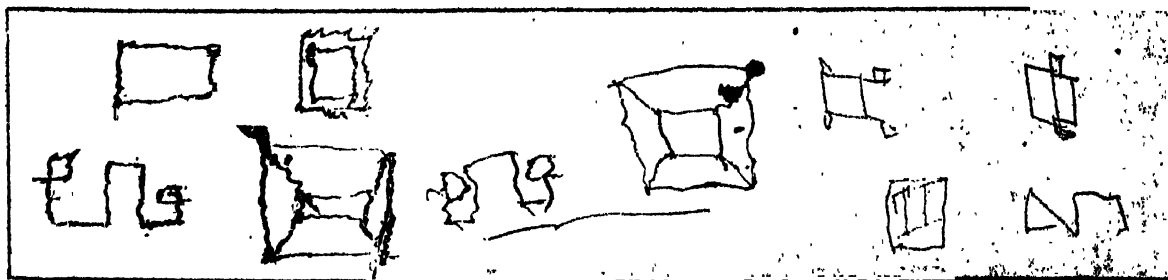


THE KNIFE-BLADE CHARACTER OF THE CROSS-CUT SAW (P. 339)

The tip *O* corresponds to the knife's point, the leading edge *OR* to the blade-edge. A rounded gullet takes away the sawdust better than that shown on the right, and saves cracking of the teeth.



A test for Alcoholism. (P. 341)

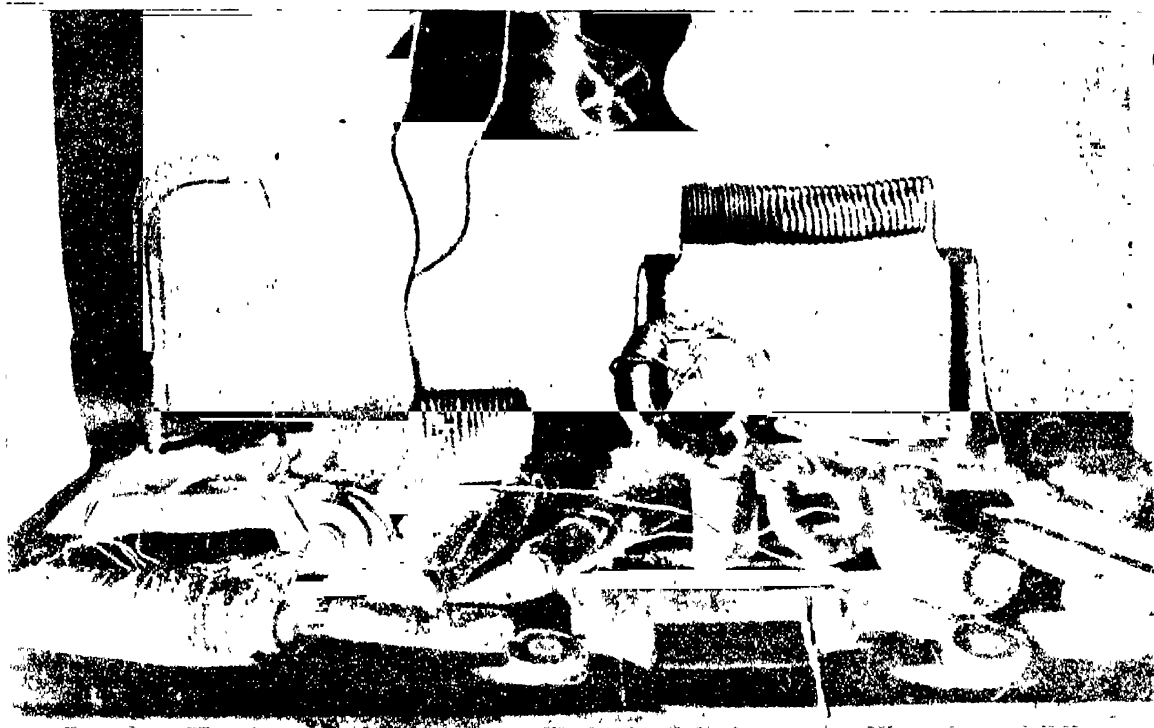


HOW THE HAND OF THE DRUNKARD BETRAYS HIM. (P. 341)

These copies were made from memory after looking for ten seconds at the diagrams reproduced in the center of the page. No psychologist, we are assured, would hesitate a moment in pronouncing these copies as the work of chronic alcoholics.



Historic Apparatus of Davy in the Royal Institution. (P. 356)



Historic Apparatus of Faraday in the Royal Institution. (P. 356)

within six feet. All piping in a building should form one electric system and have substantial connection with the rodding preferably at the highest possible point. Ground-connection is especially important and should be through a hole ten feet deep, drilled into the earth and kept moist."

"Protection for telephone-wires is also essential. If it is not provided, lightning discharge current may enter a building along the wires and cause damage. The lightning-arresters ordinarily furnished by the telephone companies are of too frail construction to provide protection against a lightning-stroke of any consequence. For this service, protectors or arresters of very sturdy construction should be mounted outside the building and well grounded.

"Wire fences should be grounded at frequent intervals. If they are not, a lightning-stroke current may follow along a fence-wire and into a building and start a fire. However, the most important reason for grounding is to prevent the killing of stock during a storm the animals crowd against the fence, and when a lightning discharge strikes an ungrounded fence-wire it will seek the path of least opposition to ground, which may be through an animal near or against the fence-wire. The result is usually fatal."

• -- *The Lientield World*.

Cotton in Natural Colors

Instead of having to dye cotton, we may in future grow it in whatever color we desire. Colored cotton is already grown in various parts of the world, and we have only to assemble the colored varieties in our own country, and produce intermediate tints by interbreeding, to obtain the result suggested above. In order that this may be brought about, of course, the different colored varieties must breed true; that is, the seeds of yellow, green, or red cotton must always produce cotton of that one particular color. That this is true, and that the colors are not due to the influence of soil or other environment, have been proved by A. W. Brabham, a plant-breeder, of Olar, South Carolina.

"The production of cotton tinted by nature with any color desired is the newest and most revolutionary departure attempted in the cotton-growing industry, and one which may have far-reaching effects."

"Commercially, the achievement of natural colors in cotton would obviate the use of chemical dyes, which, besides their expense, are said to damage the fabric of the cheaper varieties of cotton-stuffs. With the perfection of the new process it would be possible to feed to the looms, to suit any design, cotton-threads colored by nature with tints which could not fade.

"The leading apostle of colored cotton is A. W. Brabham, a plant-breeder of Olar, South Carolina. He points out what is scarcely known to the general public—acquainted only with white cotton—that already there exist species of cotton of many various hues.

"Besides the white cotton of the United States, Peru produces a cotton with reddish lint; brown cotton is grown in Egypt, Peru, and Hawaii; yellow cotton is produced in China; and India has a gray cotton. In addition, a green cotton has been evolved in South Carolina, and even a jet-black cotton is said to have been developed in Mexico. C. H. Clarke, of Boston, has written to Brabham that it has proved feasible in laboratory experiments to produce a blue cotton.

"Brabham's chief contribution to the introduction of colored cottons is his proof that the different species, whether from Peru, Egypt, or China, will breed true to color in whatever soil they are planted. It was at first thought that the hues of the lint were due to peculiarities of the earth in which the cotton grew. But by experiments in South Carolina, he has established that the seed from gray cotton in India produces gray cotton wherever planted, and that the same is true of red cotton from Peru, yellow cotton from China, and brown cotton from Egypt. It is well established that white cotton from North Carolina or Texas also remains white cotton in the tropics.

"Any American experimenter may thus have at his disposal eight different hues of cotton—white, red, brown, yellow, gray green, blue, and black. According to Brabham, by interbreeding it will be possible to blend these colors into all the intermediate tints. For instance, by breeding white and red cotton together, we should arrive at a first type of pink cotton; by blending red and blue cotton we should achieve purple cotton; and the intermixture of black cotton should give us darker hues of all the other colors."

—*The Literary Digest*

What Drives Men to Drink?

The impulse to drunkenness is disease. Men drink according to their desires—some to satisfy thirst, some because they like the taste of intoxicants, some because they crave the stimulation due to alcohol in the blood. These last are the men who drink to get drunk, and their impulses are essentially abnormal, they are diseased. This fact has been brought out with distinctness of late by mental tests made in the psychopathic laboratory of the Chicago Municipal Court by Dr. William J. Hickson, a student of the clinics at Zurich, Switzerland, where this line of investigation was first taken up and developed. "We have yet to find the first case of this kind where there is not at least a psychopathic constitution, epilepsy, dementia præcox, manic-depressive insanity, or feeble-mindedness at the basis." The habitual drunkard may know well that alcohol is a poison and that his life depends on letting it alone, but he is driven to drink by forces against which he is powerless to contend. This substratum of disease in the alcoholic has been most clearly shown, in what the laboratory authorities call a "visual-memory test," a specimen of which is given herewith. The person tested is shown certain figures for ten seconds and then asked to reproduce them from memory—an easy thing for a normal man or woman to do. Defectives can not do it.

The drawing displays the tremor of the alcoholic. But the significant thing is the fantasy, the putting into the drawing things that aren't in the original he was trying to reproduce. Fantasy of that sort means dementia præcox.

The immediate problem of the court is to find some way of dealing with this sort of man which won't make things worse than they are now. If he is discharged and allowed to go back to his family he will most certainly get drunk again, and he may kill his wife when he does. If he is sent to jail for six months his family will be robbed of his support for that length of time and he will come out in worse shape than when he went in. He won't be able to get a drunk in the jail, and that will be good for his body, but the conditions of life there are most unfavorable to dementia præcox so that confinement

will be bad for his mind--and it is his mind that is making the trouble. A six months' sentence will see him less able to do without alcohol than he is now. No amount of physical care and no amount of will enable him to escape alcohol as long as his dementia præcox endures. What he needs is light work on a farm and the society of other men. His case is probably too far gone to be cured, but social contact would do him good. Bleuler, of Zurich, used to say that he believed the reason psychoanalysis was effective in dealing with dementia præcox was due more to the fact that psychoanalysis requires frequent long conversations with a physician, which make the patient feel that somebody has an interest in him and that he has a place in the world, rather than to the special character of the psychoanalytic method--and yet Bleuler is a practitioner of psychoanalysis.

But what are you going to do with a man in the condition of this dementia-præcox case? He has no money, and there is not provision of a public institution that isn't likely to do him more harm than good.

Men of well-to-do families aren't so much better off when they become chronic alcoholics. They are more likely to be sent to a private 'cure' than haled into court by their relatives. But splendidly managed as are the best private 'cures,' they don't cure. Occasionally they may do something of permanent advantage to a patient. Usually they can do nothing more than straighten him out physically and send him back to begin over again a fight he is bound to lose. Physical treatment and care will prolong the life of a chronic alcoholic, sometimes indefinitely. But all the physical treatment in the world won't cure a psychic defect, and it is psychic defects that lie at the root of chronic alcoholism nine times out of ten, perhaps ninety-nine times out of a hundred.

It is important that the underlying basis be recognized, for until that is removed there is no hope for curing the alcoholism which our daily experience carried on for years of failure in the treatment of these cases attests.

The psychic tests are too new to have been extensively used, as yet, in determining how far moderate drinking and drunkenness are similar in their causes. It is altogether reasonable to suppose that Dr. Reid's classification will stand. The man who drinks beer instead of water or buttermilk, when he is hot and dusty, may be a fool, but he is not necessarily suffering from mental disease. The connoisseur of wines who rolls a minute quantity of a vintage on his tongue in order to get its full savor may be the victim of a perverted taste which will injure both his health and his pocketbook, but he is not necessarily suffering from dementia præcox or manic-depressive insanity. Even the man who is able to enjoy a dinner party or

a chance meeting with an old friend if his barriers of reserve are broken down with cocktails may be mentally normal. These varieties of drinking are unfortunate, so unfortunate in their effects that mankind is gradually learning to do without them. But they are not such a red flag of danger as is the presence of the desire to get drunk.

The man who wants to get drunk, will do well to search out the nearest neurologist. The probability is that the desire is born of some hidden psychic defect. Normal men do not desire alcohol in excess. It is only the abnormal who are driven to drink. --*The Literary Digest.*

Putting out a Fire with Kerosene.

For every substance, no matter how combustible there is a limiting temperature below which it will not ignite. At or below this temperature it may be used to extinguish a fire, just as if it were non-combustible. This is how a recent fire in a cotton-warehouse in America was put out by a judicious use of kerosene oil, for cotton smolders at a comparatively low temperature. But one should, "proceed with extreme care." In most cases where water is handy it would doubtless prove to be a safe and efficient substitute for the kerosene--at any rate in any place but California, the land of wonders. For those of our readers who have started hundreds of fire in kitchen stoves and elsewhere by an application of kerosene, brief account of its successful use as an extinguisher should have especial interest.

What would you think if you got a hurry-up call for kerosene to put out a fire? Probably you would request a repetition of the order, thinking you had not heard aright, and when it was repeated without change you would feel justified in concluding that some one was mentally off balance or attempting a practical joke. But that would be because you never lived in Calexico, Cal., the metropolis of Imperial Valley, and by the same token knew nothing about cotton in the bale.

A cotton-bale has been subjected to a very heavy pressure; water will penetrate it but an inch or so, whereas kerosene will go clear to the center; a fire in a cotton-bale does not blaze, simply smolders and eats its way into the bale; at the comparatively low temperature at which cotton burns, and where is no flame, kerosene does not ignite, and that's the explanation. After the fire is extinguished the hands are removed from the bale and the burned portions of the cotton stripped off. It is said that the use of kerosene has practically no detrimental effects on the cotton, and after it has been spread out and aired for a few days all odor of the oil disappears.

--*The Literary Digest.*

PHALGUNI

A MUSICAL PLAY BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

'**P**HALGUNI' is the name of a month, the month which heralds Spring. *Phalguni* stands for that rejuvenation of India which is being heralded by the sweet *kokila* voice of Rabindranath. Fully

to appreciate the play you need to be yourself in the spring-time of the spirit into which India is wonderfully emerging.

The *Vairagya-sādhana*, the prelude of the play, gives you a key to its symbolism.

The *Maharaja* is disconsolate, for the first grey hair has arrived. His winter has begun: summer has gone, he thinks, for ever! The minister is not equal to the novel situation. The inevitable priest is sent for and he counsels of course renunciation and inaction, and exploits the occasion for securing numerous valuable gifts for himself. The Minister is perplexed beyond patience, for there is a sore famine, and administrative problems are heavy, and need immediate attention. At this crisis comes the Poet with the message of hope and joy of Spring ahead of every Winter, of the victory of life and activity over the deadening grasp of a belated past. He offers to enact a play before His Majesty to demonstrate his message. *Phalguni* is the play.

The four scenes of the play are each introduced by a musical prelude, wonderful in colour and sound and joy, which represent the quick and marvellous transformation of decrepit dead Winter into the graciously joyous living Spring. The warm Southern Wind is a necessary character. The Bamboo sings:

O South Wind, O Wanderer, push me and rock me,
thrill me into the outbreak of new leaves.
I stand a-tiptoe, watching by the wayside to be
startled by your first whisper, by the music
of your footsteps, a flutter of joy running
through my leaves, betraying my secret.

Then a Bird rocking in its branches
sings:

The sky pours light into my heart, my heart
repays the sky in songs

I pelt the South wind with my notes,

O blossoming palash (flame of the forest) the air
is afire with your passion, you have dyed my
songs red with your madness.

O Srish, you have cast your perfume nets wide in
the sky, bringing up the heart into my throat.

The Champak sings:

My shadow dances in your waves, everflowing river,
I, the budding Champak, stand unmoved in the
bank with my vigil,

My movements dwell in the stillness of my depth,
in the delicious birth of new leaves,
in flood of flowers,
in unseen urge of life towards the light;
its stirring thrills the sky, and the
silence of the dawn is mov'd.

But the hoary Winter is still about and
he must be dwelt with squarely. A crowd
of jolly youngsters set on him with a
boisterous song—

We are out seeking our play-mates, waking them
up from every corner before it is morning.

We call them in bird-songs, beckon them in trem-
bling branches, we spread our enchantment for
them in the sky.

You shall never escape us, O Winter!

You shall find our lamp burning even in the heart
of the darkness you seek!

Venerable old Winter would fain be
let alone:

Leave me, Oh, let me go.

I am ready to sail across the South Sea for the
frozen shore

Your laughter is untimely, my friends, you weave
with my farewell tunes your song of the new
arrival.

But the crowd is insistent:

Life's spies are we, lurking in all places.

We have been waiting to rob you of your last
savings of dead leaves,

Scattering them in South Winds.

We shall bind you in flower chains
where Spring keeps his captives
for we know you carry your
jewels hidden in your grey rags.

And they tease him:

How grave he looks, how laughably old,
how seriously busy with the preparations of
death!

But before he reaches home we will change his
dress and his face shall change.

We will confound his calculations, snatch away
his bag, bulging out with dead things,
and there shall be unveiled the reckless and the
young in him.

O the time comes, it has come,
when he shall know that he is our own, when
the mad torrent shall be unloosed from the
misery grip of the ice, and the north wind in its
ring dance shall turn round.

O the time comes, it has come,
when the magic drum shall be sounded,
when the sun shall smile at the change of your
grey into green.

All on a sudden the old man is attack-
ed, his ancient trappings and grey beard
and hoary hair are torn off. A fine athletic
young man emerges. He is staggered at
the new aspect of the same old world of
his. "O, who are you?" he asks. "I
am Vakul!" "Indeed! and who are you?"
"I am Parul." "And who are these
others?" "Why we are Mango-blossoms
landed on the shore of light." And so
forth. They are the same old-time friends
of his, but what a change in them now,
with life quivering forth in every branch
and leaf into bud and blossom, into scent
and colour! So are also his old feathered
friends transformed! He realizes his
failure.—He had sought Death and pursued
it steadily, but behold he has crossed the
portal into a new youth.

"Do you own defeat at last at the hand of the
Hidden life?"—"Yes!"
"Have you, in the end, met the Deathless in
Death?"—"Yes!"
"Is the Dust driven away that steads your City of
the Immortal?"—"Yes!"

Interwoven in this beautiful musical setting is the Play itself. Full of action, humour and beauty as it is, it is really profound in its symbolism. Until the author himself gives the interpretation to the world, it is the privilege of the student to construe the parable according to his own lights.

The four scenes are named, Outburst, Search, Doubt and Discovery. In the life of a people as in that of an individual there comes a day when there is a sudden manifestation of great stirrings within, an unrest, a gnawing dissatisfaction with things as they are, a desire for something of life that is more abundant, more real, more satisfying. This feeling though vague, is nevertheless strong and real. This is the *Outburst*. In this stage the wise saws which answered hitherto are found ridiculous in their trite vacuity. The day for them and for the professional mentors who traded in them is past. But there is as yet nothing to take their place.

The true wisdom of the Ancients must be rediscovered. It led them to such marvellous achievements in every line of effort then available to the thinker and the ruler. That light has been shivered by sects and parties, obscured by the compromises of worldly-wise charlatans, discoloured by self-seeking professionals. The thing is to rediscover the original *Shekinah*, pure and self-effulgent, uncontaminated by any media. Hence the *Search*.

But how is this Search to be accomplished? Surely the place to seek is among the Ancients. It was there and should be there still. Let us turn our steps backwards and go into those dark recesses where it must still be hidden. The essential spirit of the new Outburst however is not convinced. It feels that the *Shekinah* must be perennially with men, and that the very Outburst is due to its undying workings within. And so the quest is launched in perplexity and after an uncertain lead.

The conventional guides are of no avail. They know nothing of realities. They are still at the level of the platitudinous wisdom of the professional, which the seekers have discarded as ridiculous. The

quest must therefore proceed unaided and with independent effort. It becomes long and wearisome, perhaps desperately depressing, before a discovery is made. A new light is revealed in the symbolism of the *Blind-singer*.

Blindness has given him the advantage of freedom from the distractions and trivialities of life. His "inner eye" is all the brighter. "He sees with his all." And he sees beneath and beyond, perceives the essential unity of past and present, and indicates the direction where the object of the quest is to be sought. The most heroic spirit among the seekers ventures on the lead, plunges into an untrodden cave, and discovers the *Ancient* who does bear the *Shekinah* of the quest. The Ancient is brought into full view and lo, who is it, but the *Eternal Youth*, the Spring-spirit of their own Outburst! The realization of this discovery means unbounded joy, and it is expressed in a classic scene, where all the actors join in a final chorus:

Come and rejoice! for April is awake.
Fling yourselves into the flood of being,
bursting the bondage of the past.
April is awake.
Late's shoreless sea is heaving in the sun before
you.
All the losses are lost and death is drowned in its
waves.
Plunge into the deep without fear with the glad-
ness of April in your blood.

In this chorus we recognize one of the greatest truths in which the Poet voices the spiritual renaissance of India. We recall the now world-famous stanza of the *Gitanjali*.

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of
beads
Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark
corner of a temple with doors all shut?
Open thine eyes and see, thy God is not before
thee!
He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard
ground and where the pathmaker is breaking
the stones:
He is with them in sun and in shower, and his
garment is covered with dust.
Put off thy holy mantle and even like him
come down on the dusty soil:
Deliverance! Where is this deliverance to be
found?
Our Maker himself has joyfully taken upon Him
the bonds of creation: He is bound with us
all forever.
Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy
flowers and thy incense!
What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered
and stained?
Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat
of thy brow.

It is not renunciation and inaction, but joyous service in the work-a-day world that conserves the undying freshness of the spirit, whether of an individual or of a people.

Phalguni has another great Truth too to tell us children of Mother India. How ardently we desire the heyday of Spring for our country. But Spring is not born of the Sea or the Sky. Spring is in the bosom of Winter. True Spring is utterly unspeakably different in many ways from Winter. Nevertheless Spring emerges from Winter and from none else. "Who are you?" I am *Vakul*. The wonderfully scented stars now falling from the *Vakul* tree imply the conserving, the strengthening, the sustaining influences of hoary Winter on the tree as it stood through the weary depressing months stolid and sober

with darkened leaves and scragged bark. The India that is to be, *must* come out of the India that has been. Ancient India can never be New India, any more than Winter can be Spring yet. It is equally true that New India can never issue but from the loins of Ancient India. New forces, strange agencies do and will have to operate, some of them of infinite power such as that of the *Phalguni Sun* (for does not 'Rohi' mean Sun). The deadening grasp of the belated forces must be rent asunder with more or less violence. Suffering is inevitable in the critical stages of the metamorphosis, but it is the suffering of the birth-pang, and does not lessen the certainty that in the great essentials of being there must be a real continuity.

K. T. PAUL.

THE MAIDEN'S SMILE

TRANSLATED BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE
FROM A BENGALI POEM BY DEVENDRANATH SEN.

Althinks, my love, in the dim daybreak of life, before you came to this shore
You stood by some river-source of run-away dreams filling your blood with its
liquid notes.

Or, perhaps, your path was through the shade of the garden of gods
where the merry multitude of jasmines, lilies and white oleanders
fell in your arms in heaps and entering your heart became boisterous.
Your laughter is a song whose words are drowned in the tunes, an odour of
flowers unseen.

It is like moonlight rushing through your lips' window when the midnight moon
is high up in your heart's sky.

I ask for no reason, I forget the cause, I only know that your laughter is the
tumult of insurgent life.

MY OFFENCE

TRANSLATED BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE
FROM A BENGALI POEM BY DEVENDRANATH SEN.

When you smilingly held up to me, my sweet, your child of six months, and I said,
"Keep him in your arms,"

Why did a sudden cloud pass over your face, a cloud of pent-up rain and hidden
lightning?

Was my offence so great?

When the rose-bud, nestling in the branch, smiles back to the laughing morn,
is there any cause for anger if I refuse to steal it from its leaves' cradle.

Or when the *Kokil* fills the heart of the spring's happy hours with love-dreams
am I to blame if I cannot conspire to imprison it in a cage?

INVINCIBLE

O Fate ! between the grinding-stones of pain
 Tho' you have crushed my life like broken grain,
 Shall I not leaven it with my tears and knead
 The bread of Hope to comfort and to feed
 The myriad hearts for whom no harvests blow
 Save bitter herbs of woe ?

O Fate ! upon the threshold of my trust,
 Tho' you have trod my spirit into dust,
 Shall not my dust reblossom like a grove
 To shelter under burgeoning boughs of Love
 The myriad souls for whom no gardens bloom.
 Save bitter buds of doom ?

SAROJINI NAIDU

Hyderabad, Deccan.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Under the heading

The Study of Indian Art

Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes to the *Hindustan Review* for January an article which is refreshing in its candour and truthfulness and which should prove useful to the Indian and foreigner alike in understanding and appreciating Indian Art. Mr. Gangoly is well-known as an art critic of no mean calibre and he deserves to be heard.

The following observations on the modern educated (?) Indian and the European savants who take an interest in Indian artistic productions, though verging on the caustic are nevertheless justified. Says Mr. Gangoly :

As one of the results of the denationalizing process that has been at work for the last decade the modern educated Indian has lost all pride in or even capacity to understand the magnificent achievements of his own people in any sphere of life,—be it in the field of letters, commerce, industry or art. The educational system of this country has been founded on assumptions which have engendered the belief that there was nothing deserving of attention in

the ancient and hereditary culture of the land which should be preserved, continued and developed. This has helped to a great extent, to the cultivation amongst our educated brethren, of a strong sense of depreciation of all that appertains to the cultural history and civilization of India. It has become an unfortunate characteristic of the contact between the East and the West that the value of Oriental civilization has been supremely discounted. Some European *savants* have taken a sort of an amateurish interest in the study of Oriental culture and have attempted to appreciate the masterpieces of Indian Literature and Philosophy and to appraise their value by the touchstone of scientific criticism. But this study has been the hobby of a very limited few who are themselves looked upon by their countrymen as cranky and outlandish in their tastes. When we come to examine the nature of this study itself we find that even this does not go far enough, being exclusively confined to the philological, anthropological and historical branches of indology. The fixation of the date of the Indian epics seems to be of greater importance than the appreciation of the cultural value of their contents. Scores of lengthy articles have appeared on the "Date of Kalidasa" but the study of the poetry of Kalidasa has never been awarded a place in European culture.

The writer goes on to say that

The *Indianness* of Indian culture makes no appeal to our European Pandits. They find it difficult to

and stand, appreciate or sympathize with standards different from their own. And it considerably tickles their vanity and self-complacency to believe, that *the world has nothing new to learn from the records of Indian civilization.*

Indian culture whether relating to pictorial art or literary draws admiration only where it has points of similarity with similar European productions. As an instance in point the writer cites the appreciation in England of the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore.

Apropos Sir Rabindranath's welcome to the literary coteries of England it will be useful to quote a few passages from the *Times' Literary Supplement* (May 15th, 1914) which make revelations of a significant character regarding the value of this welcome and appreciation:—"There was another element in that welcome which was not quite so obvious, there was one of a company (Sir Rabindranath Tagore) that turned even more earnestly to Christianity than to the Upanishads. Rabindranath Tagore is and remains a significant figure. He leads to a re-statement of the teachings of Christ." So, Sir Rabindra's works are deserving of appreciation not because it introduces to the literature of the world a novel spiritual temperament and a new flavour added from the Indian Garden, but because they have constant resemblances to the teachings of Christ, to the psalm of Job and the Song of Solomon, *i. e.*, because of their points of similarity and not on account of their specialities. Similarly the Gandharan Sculptures attract the European mind because it is less Indian in character and type and being an illegitimate offspring of Greek and Roman art-traditions are reminiscent of familiar art-forms.

This attitude of mind, this unwillingness to follow, grasp or understand the specialities of Indian civilization is nowhere better illustrated than in the department of archaeology and the methods and preferences by which the ancient remains of India are studied. In this anxiety to take stock of the un-Indian features of the hands the official archaeologist hardly if ever leaves any opportunity to himself to recognize and study the characteristically Indian features of these remains or to appraise their artistic value. The so-called similarity of Mauryan pillared-hall to the Persepolitan work of the time of Darius Hystaspes looms so largely in his mind and dominates his judgment that he is unable to distinguish the Indian elements which govern Mauryan Art. For a like reason he must necessarily turn his back against the masterpieces of Hindu Mediaeval Sculpture—for they do not conform to the formularies of the Greek and Roman art-canon,—they must therefore be brushed aside as ugly, fantasmique or monstrous.

Every sane lover of art will readily admit that

In order to fully appreciate and correctly apprehend the meaning and the value of the art-productions of a foreign nationality, it is necessary as much as possible to approach the subject with the eyes of the people themselves for whom they were originally created. Even the so-called special or local elements of a work of art may themselves constitute the very new lights or qualities by which the art of the world is destined to be enriched. In the foreign student of Indian Art I would offer

the suggestions which the late Sister Nivedita made to the student of Indian religious ideas: "If you desire to understand a religious idea, reproduce as perfectly as you can in every detail the daily life of the man to whom it came or the race to which it was familiar. To understand the Buddhist Bhikku go out and beg. To understand Aurangzeb, sit on the mosque at Delhi and pray the prayers of the Mahomedan."

For ages past the connoisseurs of the West have grown up in the belief that ideals and standards of artistic expression have once for all been found and determined by the ancient Greeks and have been established as the universal criteria by which the art-productions of all races and in all times must be studied and measured. It may be doubted if any system of aesthetics can be adopted as final. For after all aesthetics are founded on the achievements of the artists and a fresh manifestation in art may upset all philosophical calculations. And this has been nowhere better illustrated than in the modern appreciation of the art of the Far East. The art of Japan was the first to open this sealed book to the Western world, and to the hitherto accepted ideas of fine art and the artistic canons of Europe based on Greco-Roman traditions, the revelations of Japanese art-forms came as a great and unexpected shock. Students and connoisseurs immediately set out to explore the unknown realms of Eastern aesthetics and found that they must necessarily revise their ancient theories of art which they had fondly believed to be final, and the admission has come slowly though reluctantly that the art of Japan and the other eastern countries, though not answering to the Greco-Roman tests, stands high as fine art as any art of Europe.

But the study of Indian Art from its own point of view has yet to begin.

India and Illiteracy.

Mr. S. M. Dikshit, who was an unfortunate victim of the recent *Persia* disaster collected the following interesting statistics of illiteracy which were sent to us for publication along with many other journals:

WORLD STATISTICS.

Percentage of population over 12 years of age unable to read and write.

Country.	1840	1870	1900.
Germany . . .	18	4	1
Norway . . .	..	3	1
Sweden . . .	20	3	1
Switzerland . . .	20	5	1
New Zealand . . .	..	7	4
France . . .	53	15	5
United Kingdom . . .	41	10	6
Australia . . .	..	..	9
Holland . . .	30	14	10
United States . . .	20	13	10
Belgium . . .	55	20	12
Austria . . .	79	45	31
Italy . . .	84	53	44
Spain . . .	..	68	..
Russia in Europe . . .	98	85	78

(Quoted in the Encyclopaedia of Social Reform, mainly from Pearson's "Civilization Table.")

The following figures relate to Asia and Oceania :—
Population over ten years.

Ceylon (All races)	...	78.3	All ages	1901
Ceylon (European races).	...	11.9	"	1901
Ceylon (other than European)	...	78.1	"	1901
India	...	92.5	Population over ten years	1901
Philippine Islands	...	55.5	"	1903
Russia in Asia	...	87.3	"	1897
Hawaii	...	36.3	Population over six years	1896
American Negroes	...	30.5	Population over ten years	1910

(Quoted from American Cyclopaedia of Education.)

From the above it will be seen that, as regards illiteracy India possesses the unique distinction of occupying the first place!

in the *Young Men of India* for February Rev. J. C. Winslow introduces:

The Poetry of Narayan Vaman Tilak

In English Garb.

"The name of Narayan Vaman Tilak," we are told, "is famous in Western India, and deserves to be more widely known. Several volumes of his poetry are now to be published. At present one only has appeared, dealing with a variety of subjects of a general kind. The translations below are taken from this volume."

THE POET'S SUPPLICATION

Reader, behold my heart laid bare,
And freely plant thy dagger there;
Yet on these poems—ah! forbear—
Though ne'er so soft the hand thou place,
Nor tricked with ne'er so deft a grace,
That lightest touch
Is yet too much!
Sweeter were death to poet heart
Than profanation of his art
For mark thee well, these songs I sing,
Nor mine nor thine their secret spring:
Bethink thee at Whose quickening
These fires upstart
Within my heart,
Ay, in that Presence trembling stand,
Then, if thou dar'st, stretch forth thy hand.
See on those clouds how sunset throws
Chance tints, nor plan nor order knows,—
Thence all their charm!—You rambling rose
Counts not her flowers,
But in random showers
Droops and trails them with ne'er a thought!
Ever such is true beauty's sport.
Worship or scoff! yet draw not nigh
This sacred revel of poetry
See, with clasped hands, with suppliant sigh
I beg, I pray,
Conjure thee—nay,
Prone in the dust thy feet I kiss,—
Touch not my songs! I ask but this!

A RIDDLE

There is a plant grows in the soil of Pain—
Guess ye its name?—that drinketh tears for rain,
And climbs most swiftly skyward when the rays
Of Separation's sun all fiercely blaze.
There is a potion—can ye name it true?—
At taste whereof dead men gain life anew,
Dumb lips break forth in music past compare,
And blind eyes open on visions heavenly far.
There is a spell so strange—guess yet again—
It shows men frenzied, though in heart most sane,
Its mystic wisdom leaves not "thou" nor "I,"
And he who plumbs its secret scales the sky.
Guess ye my riddle—what is this so fair
That, where it blossoms, God is always there?

'PREMSAMADHI' or THE BURIAL OF LOVE

Ah love, I sink in the timeless sleep,
Sink in the timeless sleep;
One Image stands before my eyes,
And thrills my bosom's deep;
One Vision bathes in radiant light
My spirit's palace-halls,
All stir of hand, all throb of brain,
Quivers, and smokes, and falls.
My soul fires forth, no fetters now
Chain me to this world's shore.
Sleep! I would sleep! In pity spare;
Let no man wake me more!

Art and Education

In the course of an article in the *Crucible* Mr. Kundan Lal tries to explain the supreme position of Art as an educator. Says he:

If we wish to teach something to a person we teach him in the language that he understands. We cannot teach history in Chinese to a young Persian boy. When we desire to teach more than one person we must do so in a language that is understood by all of them. Similarly if we have to teach something to many nations we must teach in a language that is understood by all those people. Thus, you will readily admit that the more universal the medium in which a knowledge is sought to be conveyed to the people the greater is its educational value. Leonardo da Vinci, an Italian genius and archetypal forerunner of the modern European civilization once said that that branch of human activity should occupy the more important place in the scheme of evolution the fruits of which are more universally comprehensible, and conversely, that science which is communicable to the least has the least significance in that scheme.

Which is the language which is most universally known? The language of nature. When man cries you know that he is in pain even though you be an Indian and he a Hottentot; if you are in France and you see the trees shedding golden leaves you know it is autumn there though you speak no French: when your mother looks at you in a certain way you know she loves you even though she may not tell you so. It is a certain change in the curvature of her eyelids and a peculiar light in her eyes that betrays her emotion, but it is very probable you received the sensation without knowing what it was in her eyes that conveyed it to you. This language of nature is the language of art. By this you must be careful not to think that art is the imitation of nature. No,

art in this respect is identical with nature. The artist does what nature does. The artist uses—sometimes, but always—the forms that are found in nature, and as far as you may say he imitates nature, but then these forms are merely the materials in which the artist moulds his thoughts. The artist draws and colours to display an emotion in its depths. The artist never paints a tree. It is always the light on the tree that he wishes to display.

We said that the facts of nature being the same all over the world, and the thoughts of an artist being expressed in terms of nature, are the most universally understandable. Now, if you admit that the more rivers of a medium for education the greater is its life, you will also have to admit that there is no other language that can compete with that of art in that respect.

Art alone is a mode of expression that is both universal and constant in time. From generation to generation, and century to century and to every continent on the earth a figure on paper, or an image fashioned out of stone demonstrates the philosophy and the poetry of a culture in a form physically visible, and needing no other interpretation but that of a sympathetic eye and an æsthetic culture which do not differ according to time or geography. Here let us recall that there is no greater falsehood than the pernicious saying that the appreciation and interpretation of art is a matter of personal judgment or opinion. No, the success of art depends upon success with which the dreamer, and you so often are, the harmony and rhythm of nature revealed by it. Art points out the way that nature is trying to follow—the evolution of matter to suit the evolution of the spirit, and it is quite possible that only art and never nature be able to do it in a physically visible state.

The following observations of the writer explain why the partial suppression of the form of a painting is necessary to reveal the underlying soul of the picture.

A mere historian writing of Shri Krishna that he would never be able to portray him faithfully, the historian will make him a figure of flesh and blood, a wonderful incarnation, yet still living on earth and in time, but not the eternal spirit that lives in the consciousness of a Vaidhva, he is never imaged in the emotions of the Bhaktas, he is a conception of the collective psychological and religious yearning of the people. The painter in his rhythmic lines and the lights and shadows of his symbolic colours, the sculptor in the angles of his stone and the balance of his curves, and the writer in the poetry of his words tell more than the mere delineation of a tall and feature, or the meaning of a mere word, can ever convey.

In a *ragini* a particular emotion is conveyed not by the words of a song but by the rhythm, the time, and the melody of the music. Musicians will tell you that words count for little in a *ragini* and so painting and in sculpture the face and the features are merely the material for the expression of that which the Hindu artists call the *Rasas* (roughly speaking emotions and feelings). You can no more represent an emotion in prose or portray man through photography than describe music by words.

In concluding the writer establishes the superiority of art as a medium for knowledge.

Mr. Walter Pater says in one place that the service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit is to rouse, to startle it into sharp and eager observation, and to bestow on it great passions which may give it a quickened sense of life. Art is the most potent magic that can be used to rouse people from lethargy, to stir up their emotions, or to wake in their breasts memories of the past, to make them conscious of the present or ambitious for the future.

In the course of an erudite article published in the January number of the *Arya*, dealing with the

Ideal of Human Unity

we read the following observations about the possibility of destruction or other wise of the nation and the empire.

The nation is a persistent psychological unit which Nature has been developing throughout the world in the most various forms and educating into physical and political unity. The political unity is not the essential; it may not yet be realised, but the nation persists and moves inevitably towards its realisation; it may be destroyed, but the nation persists and travels and suffers but refuses to be annihilated. In former times the nation was not always a real and vital unit, the tribe, the clan, the commune, the tribal pool were the living groups. Therefore those nations which in the attempt at national evolution destroyed these living groups without arriving at a vital nationhood, disappeared once the tribal or political unit was broken. But now the nation stands as the one living group, unit of humanity into which all others must merge or to which they must become subservient. Even old persistent race units and cultural units are powerless against it. The Catalans in Spain, the Breton and Provençal and Alsatian in France, the Welsh in England may cherish the signs of their separate existence, but the attraction of the greater living unity of the Spanish, the French, the British nation is too powerful to be repelled by these persistences. For this reason the nation in modern times is practically indestructible, unless it dies from within. Poland, torn asunder and crushed under the heel of three powerful empires, has ceased to exist; the Polish nation survives. More than forty years of the German yoke remain faithful to her French nationhood in spite of her minorities of race and language with the exception of Alsace. All modern attempts to destroy by force or break up a nation are foolish and futile, because they ignore this law of the natural evolution. Empires are still perishable political units; the nation is immortal; and so it will remain until a greater living unit can be found into which the nation idea can merge itself obeying a superior attraction.

And then the question arises whether the empire is not precisely that destined unit in course of evolution. The mere fact that at present not the empire, but the nation as the vital unit can be no bar to a future reversal of the relations. Obviously, in order that they may be reversed the empire must cease to be a mere political and become rather a psychological entity. But there have been instances in the evolution of the nation in which the political unity preceded and became a basis for the psychological as in the union of Scotch, English and Welsh to form the British nation. There is therefore no insurmountable reason why

a similar evolution should not take place and the imperial unity be substituted for the national. Nature has long been in travail of the imperial grouping, long casting about to give it a greater force of permanence, and the emergence of the conscious imperial ideal all over the earth and its attempts, though still rude, violent and blundering, to substitute itself for the national, may not irrationally be taken as the precursory sign of one of those rapid leaps and transitions by which she so often accomplishes what she has long been gradually and tentatively preparing.

Guru Nanak's Message

pened by T. L. Vassian and appearing in the *Sikh Review* for January is an eloquent piece of contribution clothed in beautiful language. For the benefit of our readers we call the following from the article under notice:

What is the Glory the Lord beholds in all that is? Men often think their glory consists in the exercise of the power they possess.

There be not a few of the world's kings, generals, warriors, statesmen who have thought so and interpreted glory in terms of power, dominion, conquest. Not unoften even little men dressed in brief authority show their glory by exercising their little power.

The Lord's glory is not shown forth by power which often means the suffering of many and the passing pleasure of a few: the Lord beholds His Glory in His *perpetual sacrifice* for the Universe. So many worlds, so many planets, stars, systems, may

we not regard them as the Lord's self-offering on the plane of manifestation? May we not say the Universe is the self-giving,

The Self-Oblation of the Lord?

so we read in the Bhagavad Gita that the world is a fragment of the Lord's own Self. In starry skies, in all the wonders of the world, everywhere, in every place the Lord beholds the Glory of His perpetual Self-giving. This sacrifice, self-giving involves no pain: sacrifice is painful to us because we are often reluctant to give up for another what we have appropriated for ourselves. We are often selfish, grasping and so sacrifice involves effort, struggle, pain. The Lord's sacrifice is Joy: His self-giving is an overflow of His Eternal Joy. Many there be who pass by the wondrous forms of Nature-beauty, but let an artist gaze at the glory of the sunrise or sunset, the mountain height, the midnight moon, the sea, and skies; he cannot keep the vision to himself; he needs must express it. The universe is an expression of the Joy-vision of the Lord, Himself the Lord of Life and Joy.

He builds up finite centres of consciousness

to share with us His Life and Joy. Therefore do we adore Him as Love.

If you be a seeker of the Light, fling yourself in joy on the pathway as the King in His Beauty passeth by, and in your self-giving will the Lord behold His Glory and with His blessed Hands will He raise you from the dust, and into your life, emptied thus of self, He will breathe His Breath divine and through you shall a wondrous melody flow from soul to soul and star to star and the master's Joy shall be yours.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

In the course of an eulogistic short notice of the

Poems of Ralph Hodgson

the *Times* says:

In these dark and anxious days we realize as we may never have realized before that poetry is not a luxury but a necessity. For many it has proved a true encouragement and consolation. The unrelaxed strain (of reading) of the horrors of war gradually closes in the mind and curtains its windows. Like any personal and circumstantial danger or difficulty, it may become an obsession. And every obsession imperils true sanity and restricts freedom of action. Patriotism itself cannot live and flourish in any air but that of the imagination. The best things of life, all that is generous and beautiful, and unearthly and enduring, are things of peace.

Poetry—certainly dramatic and lyric poetry—is itself a form of action. It is the outcome, the revelation, of those rare moments when life's every energy is concentrated upon a single issue. No true poem

was ever written in cold blood or out of an empty heart.

In interpreting Ralph Hodgson's poetry the *Times* says:

There is a poetry in which the words themselves have almost the force and efficacy of deeds. They seem to have been fused into their places by the intensity of thought and feeling of which they are the expression. There is no violence, no overemphasis, for these are symptoms of a dissipation of energy. The man in earnest never wastes. His speech is as clean and incisive as a blow. It is this forcefulness, this clean-cut insistency and onset that are the conspicuous marks of the poetry of Mr. Ralph Hodgson.

His "complete works" would go into a small volume. An early collection of verse was published some time ago. And a year or two before the war appeared a series of four little chapbooks, bound in mustard-colored and gray wrappers, with drawings by Mr. Lovat Fraser (price sixpence plain and two and sixpence colored), and privately published, so to speak, at the Sign of Flying Fame. These have lately been reissued from the Poetry Bookshop; and two of

them, "The Bull" and "A Song of Honor," were "crowned" last year and won the Polignac Prize presented by the Academic Committee of the Royal Society of Literature.

In the words of Hodgson "A song of Honor" is:

The Song of courage, heart and will
And gladness in a fight,
Of men who face a hopeless hill
With sparkling and delight . . .
From men whose love of motherland
Is like a dog's for one dear hand,
Sole, selfless, boundless, blind.

That is the primary acceptance of this poetry. It does not argue, it does not dissect or explore or teach or attempt to criticize life, or to do anybody any particular good. Beauty is its impulse rather than its goal; truth the road it treads. And its effect is as downright and straight-forward as that of a formidable nose in a vigorous face, the sparring attitude of a fearless young pugilist. Open as sunlight, as fairlane, it has few fine shades and little of what is generally meant by atmosphere. It states and asserts, loves and despises. It is concerned almost exclusively with things in themselves rather than because. It proclaims "I am."

The statement contained in the last line—the very thing which has been so beautifully expressed in *Vairagya sathan*, the new play of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Here is the poetry of a man in love with the natural innocence, the instinctive nature, of all creatures great and small, of a man perfectly, effortlessly happy with a world so fresh and lovely with life and light and "million tinted" diversity as it was on the crest of all Sundays, violently menacing and fiery against tyranny and cowardly oppression, the lost of the strong against the weak.

Pity him, this dupe of dream,
Leader of the herd again
Only in his daft old brain,
Once again the bull supreme,
And bull enough to bear the part
Only in his tameless heart.

Pity him that he must wake;
Even now the swarm of flies
Blackening his bloodshot eyes,
Bursts and blisters from the flies,
Scattered from the feast half fed,
By great shadows overhead.

And the dreamer turn away
From his visionary herds
And his splendid yesterday,
Turns to meet the loathly birds
Flocking round him from the flies,
Waiting for the flesh that dies.

Here are a few beautiful lines of Hodgson:

He came and took me by the hand
Up to a red rose tree,
He kept his meaning to Himself
But gave a rose to me.

I did not pray Him to lay bare
The mystery to me,
Enough the rose was Heaven to smell
And his own face to see.

The article under "review" concludes thus:

Fundamental brainwork has long been acknowledged as essential to the writing of poetry; fundamental heart work is as indispensable. A man is half dead who exists without either; a poet without them has not yet been born at all. What we each ask of poetry, what precise proportions of its necessary ingredients, is a personal question. Poetry, as such, is elemental. In all poetry we take what is given to us as it is given. Mr. Hodgson's poetry depends for its originality on its pure singleness of spirit and purpose. There is little of the metaphorical, very little imagery, practically no allusiveness, nothing elaborate or literary. It is bare, vivid, wasteless—as near action as words can be. It serves life, it serves beauty. And its beauty and music is as much its own as its love and faith and courage are his that made it:—

The song of men all sorts and kinds,
As many tempers moods and minds
As leaves are on a tree,
As many faiths and castes and creeds,
As many human bloods and breeds
As in the world may be;
The song of each and all who gaze
On Beauty in her naked blaze,
Or see her dimly in a haze,
Or get her light in fitful rays
And unmet needles even,
The song of all not wholly dark,
Nor wholly sunk in stupor stark
Too deep for groping Heaven—
And alleluia's sweet and clear
And wild with beauty men mishear
From chimes of song as near and dear
To Paradise as they,
The everlasting pipe and flute
Of wind and sea and bud and brute,
And lip-deaf men imagine mute
In wood and stone and clay,
The music of a lion strong
That shakes a hill a whole night long,
A hill as loud as he,
The twitter of a mouse among
Melodious greenery,
The ruby's and the rainbow's song,
The nightingale's—all three
The song of life that wells and flows
From every leopard, lark and rose
And everything that gleams or gors
Lack lustre in the sea.

Why should Hindu Girls Go to America.

Miss K. Tullaskar, who is an M.A. of the Chicago University, (in fact she is the first Hindu girl to get the Master's degree from an American University) very ably answers the above question in the pages of the *Hindustanee Student*. Says she:

American universities are more democratic and

broadier than our own universities. The purpose of Indian universities is to enable students to pass government examinations and thus be eligible to hold government positions. The Hindu girls may need schooling, but they are sadly in need of education. In Indian universities girls learn things that they never use in life. If they are in the American universities they learn the practical things that are most useful to them in life. This education equips them to take their right position whether at home or in the world. They may enter the married life or remain unmarried, but they have several duties and obligations toward their families and their fellow beings. If they are interested in humanity they have many responsibilities toward those who are less fortunate than themselves.

American universities give a practical training as well as culture and prepare a person for his vocation in life. There is a vast field open to girls in American colleges. They may develop their faculties in special lines for which they have talent. Their education abroad will enable them to understand the right position for them to take in the upbuilding of the nation.

The subjects that our girls can study in America are sanitation, hygiene, psychology, sociology, domestic science. Then besides these are subjects that bring culture and breadth of mind as science, history, political economy, literature, etc. The work is interesting because we get different points of view. The study of history which seems to us so dry in India becomes very interesting here; because here the professor does not try to stuff the memory of his students with dry facts, dates and military strategy. It is a study of living human society and its affairs, the several forces that affect these affairs, the stages through which the society was passing in the past and the reaction on the future.

Another reason for their coming is that here they have a choice of subjects and do not have to take the studies that they dislike or in which they could never make much progress. We all know that that is not the case in India. The reason that education is a failure or makes so little progress is because it is based on wrong lines and is not according to improved and modern scientific methods. What we need in India is democracy, broad and practical education. We want trained women who can help the cause of education of women. We want women who will be able to take up the several problems that confront us in India.

Our girls do know the simple and practical things of every day life. But they would be more efficient if they knew how to make things scientifically and use the scientific methods. This scientific learning is available in American universities which are far more advanced than our own.

Before Marching and After

is the title of a pretty poem contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* and written in memory of F. W. G. by Thomas Hardy. The poem, which we quote below, might as well have been written in memory of the hundreds of thousands of warriors of all nationalities who rushed to battle to court death.

Orion swung southward askant
Where the starved Egdon pine-trees had thinned,
The Fieads aloft seemed to pant
With the heather that twitched in the wind;
But he looked on indifferent to sight, such as these,
Unswayed by love, friendship, home joy or home

sorrow,

And wondered to what he would march on the
morrow.

The crazed household clock with its whim

Ran midnight within as he stood,

He heard the low sighing of her

Who had striven from his birth for his good

But he still only asked the spring starlight, the
breeze,

What great thing or small thing his history would
borrow

From that Game with Death he would play on the
morrow.

When the hearth wore the robe of late summer,

And the furthest bells, hot in the sun,

Hung red by the door, a quick corner

Brought things that marching was done

For him who had pined in that game overseas

Where Death stood to win; though his memory would
borrow

A brightness therefrom not to die on the morrow.

What is a good Plot?

In noticing Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Author's Craft" the *Times* expresses its views as to what it thinks to be a good plot. Though it is not binding on the novelist to abide by the *Times'* point of view, for as Mr. Bennett says quite rightly, no critic has a right to tell the artist what he ought to do, still we can't the following with a hope that it would be of some help to our young literary men who may be thinking of writing novels or short stories.

A plot is not necessarily good because you cannot tell in it what is going to happen next. "In some of the most tedious novels ever written you cannot tell what is going to happen next—and you do not care a fig what is going to happen next." But, he adds, "It would be nearer the mark to say that the plot is good when you want to make sure what will happen next. Good plots set you anxiously guessing what will happen next."

Most people would agree to this; but is it true? Is it true that in the best novels or the best plays we guess anxiously what will happen next? We assume the best novels and the best plays to have the best plots, because plots are made for novels, not novels for plots.

The aim of a plot is, not to produce anxiety, but to have cumulative power, which is also the aim of structure in music. Every one says that the interest of a plot ought to increase up to the end, which is true; but this increase of interest is not necessarily an increase in anxiety, for it is, in the best works, interest in the present that increases, not in the future; and the interest is caused by what has happened, not by what we expect to happen.

The plot is entirely the writer's affair; it is a piece of contrivance by means of which he makes the best of himself, contrivance being necessary to act in this imperfect world. But, being contrivance, it saves us when the reader is not aware of it, and the greater the artist the less contrivance he will need; which, no doubt, is the reason why critics so often say that the plots of the greatest works are not good. The critic takes to judge—it is his weakness—and he cannot judge contrivance where there is none, or where he does not see it.

The Unfinished World.

The universe is not perfect, it is incomplete. There is yet plenty of disorder, plenty of things that remain to be made, plenty of energy that is being wasted over a bad cause. Evil there is, but we need not despair, since it is not a permanent element in the universe. The material universe is the symbol and the commencement of the moral and spiritual world. It is spirit, not mere force, that restrains the tempest.

This is the subject-matter of a short article in the *Nation*. We read further:

We live in a universe only in part reduced to order, only in part rescued from chaos, rudimentary, in process of becoming, and incomplete. There is goodness in the world, but imperfect goodness; reason, but incomplete reason; law, but law imperfectly formulated and enforced. It was an unfinished world from the creation on which "God rested", distant is His, and our, Sabbath; as yet it is not; it *remains* *ethos* for the people of God." On the supposition of a finished creation the world would be a tangle of conflicting and broken purposes, life meaningless, God a dream. This was the truth underlying the old dualistic religions which pictured the world as a battlefield between light and darkness, the good and the evil principle. Their error lay in the relative significance which they attached to the two elements, not in the recognition of the actual conflict between them. This conflict is a primary fact of experience. St. Paul's famous argument in the Epistle to the Romans is built upon it. The glory is not, but "shall be," revealed in us, the creature is not, but "shall be" delivered from the bondage of corruption; as we "wait for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body," so its "earnest expectation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God." In Nature this conflict takes the shape of evolution; in speculation it becomes the Dialectic of the Idea; in religion it is the "God all in all" viewed as the remote goal of the world progress. But throughout the world is for us a thing not become but becoming, a design imperfectly realized, potential, in process of reduction to actuality. Hence the home longing of the soul: "here have we no abiding city, but we seek one to come."

Were it not so, future would be written large upon the world, life, and man. Think of the creations which have gone under in past time, the fauna and flora of vanished worlds; the oceans, the continents, the civilizations sunk in the waste of the ages. Were the visible all, could we escape from the conclusion that

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made on; and our little life,
Is rounded with a sleep."

In the course of an article under the title

Readers and Specialists

the *Saturday Review* makes the following observations:

General reading, much abused, is, after all, at the root of most of the ideas and beliefs of educated people. It is, of course, better to be a specialist—relied in all the original sources of information. It is, indeed, almost essential to know at least one thing well, for to have followed out one line of thought to its origins gives one clearness and confidence in the present of others. It gives one a sense for the truth, and judgment in assessing evidence. But to despise general reading on principles, to refuse some excellent historian because one cannot read the Statutes and the Court Rolls, is absurd.

It is commonplace that deep study of a subject is likely to be more instructive, and a better discipline for the mind, than a more general acquaintance; that a man would discipline his mind more effectually by studying the whole range of Greek literature than by reading, say Grote's "History of Greece." But this does not imply that the person who reads and forms his opinions from Grote has no right to speak at all.

The theory that to obtain any knowledge worth having it is necessary to go back to original sources of information leads, if closely followed, to feebleness and timidity of thought. It condemns a person to specialism or to silence.

Stephen Graham writing in the *Times* about

Russian Literature and the War

says:

The war seems to have brought a stimulus to Russian literature similar to that experienced in England. On the whole, however, nothing striking has been produced during the year of the war, no book that has appeared stands out attracting universal attention. It is the quantity rather than the quality that calls for comment.

The most curious product of the war period is the collections of war stories, five or six of which are contributed to by leading tale-writers and novelists.

They all seem to be engaged chiefly in their artistic work. But Kuprin, Kuzmin, Sologub have all produced interesting war stories. Perhaps the best collection is the "Lukomorie Sbornik," where in a remarkable passage in one of the stories a Russian gives his verdict on the war—In years to come people will say that this was a bad war, but I who have just come back from the war tell you that it is a good war, that it brings out good things in people.

Maxim Gorky has published two books, "Childhood" and "In Russia". The autobiographical volume must have been written by Gorky whilst he was abroad, since it appeared serially in the *Russian Word* before he returned to Russia. So the other volume is the first written by him under the fresh influence of

seeing Russia. Unfortunately for the reader it is hardly representative of Gorky's new life. It is a book of powerful realist sketches done in his old manner that they say—nothing of the New Russia and Gorky's passion to have her more Western.

The only volume of poems to achieve four editions during the year is Severanin's "Victoria Regia," where fun is made of the war and the poet says that war is for the warlike but not for him.

It does not mean to be a traitor,
To be joyful and young,
Not torturing prisoners,
Nor hurrying into the shrapnel smoke,
To go to the theatre or the cinematograph,
To wait, yes, buy myself a muren,
Or to put many sweet and gentle things
In a letter to my sweetheart.

As a contrast to this cheerful flippancy there is the selection of beautiful poems from Alexander Blok, entitled "Russia."

In the pages of the *Poetry Review* E. Hamilton Moore makes us familiar with the lovely verses of

Alexander Stephen

who was unknown to fame. The story of his life as told by the writer is sweet and serene and ennobling albeit pathetic in the extreme.

He pressed and left no name, or memory save in the hearts of the few who knew and loved him. When I met him he was old, gray haired and poor. He lived in a sordid suburb, arid, dreary, a man in the desert wherein human souls die parched. He toiled at a tedious and ungenial task in a sunless office in a grimy city, and he treasured memories, far off memories, of singing birds, green woods and flashing sea. I see him still: his ever-cver smiling eyes peering behind his glasses, his pointed beard pushing a little forward, his characteristic and Caledonian nostrils smiling the interest and the joy of life, even in the dingiest street; under his arm some bundle of the classics, purchased, after long fingering, at a second-hand stall, purchased with "tram-fares," and a tramp home through the rain. Over the backyard gate in secrecy the precious bundle must be slipped at nightfall, that he may thereafter enter his own front door with obviously empty hands to mock wifely supervision. I never heard him utter unkind word to or of living creature. I never heard him breathe despondency. His presence reconciled funds and was a source of still content. And yet, he nursed his dreams of days gone by.

Before I knew him he had followed many callings. He told me he had been "postie" in a Scottish rural district; that on his rounds about the lanes and fields he had learned to love the bees and fleeting clouds and murmurous leaves, and had been first inspired to sing their beauty. He was schoolmaster too, in some now forgotten school where surely he understood the heart of youth. He turned news agent also, but without success. It was only too easy for the village scallywags to engross him in some well imagined theme, while a pattering accomplice loitered by to snatch unguarded booty from an eye averted with

dreams. His worst lapse was into an insurance agent; a calling in which he found his purgatory. To expose defaulters was beyond his power. He struggled to pay their debts. At last so deeply did he stand involved that he flung his books and papers into the river, took his bidde and bade farewell to his native land, and so fiddled his road to the city where I met him.

About his letters and verses we are told that

A tiny manuscript volume, rubricated and paper covered, and some three or four letters in the same fastidious hand remain as mementoes of a kindly fellowship.

The letters are as characteristic as the poems; even more so, perhaps, being completely free from the conventions of the amateur versifier, more expressive of the gentle humor which was among the man's most salient features. One of the most charming is written round that well-worn theme, the weather, and imports into its grayness a pathetic April sunshine:

"I believe the weather must have been 'lovely' in some places, yesterday. I don't think I noticed it much. I have a sort of blurred notion that the light was a little better than usual. Your enthusiasm of last night has made me rather more observant this morning. When I look up from this paper, I can see that the sky has a good deal of light in it. Above the blank brick wall of the warehouse opposite, it shows like a large sheet of tin foil seen through a gauze veil, sadly in want of washing; and there is a suggestion of brightness about the legend, in huge enamelled letters, which reads C.C.D. & Co., Ltd. This scene would have more enchantment if the wall long window of plate glass, through which I survey it were to be gone over with a wet wash-leather to remove the fine mottling of Arcotics dust, diversified by small clots of dried mud, that somewhat obscures its transparency.

"But in spite of such drawbacks, one does have a kind of subconsciousness that the weather must be rather fine somewhere. Perhaps there may be a hint of coming greenness on the fields, if one could see them, and the sparkle of sunlight on running water. It may even be that on some, as yet, budless tree, an optimistic bird may find himself surprised into a brief twitter of premature song.

"One can imagine lots of things if one lets fancy loose, to fly beyond smoke-grained windows and soot-encrusted brick-walls, until it reaches some spot where men may see

The jocund day

Stand tip toe on the misty mountain-tops."

Gentle and cordial as he was to every man, it was rather round places than persons that the clinging tendrils of his affection fastened, above all round places loved in earliest years:

Dunnottar, O Dunnottar,

A spell is in the name!

I unnottar, O Dunnottar,

It's Youth, an' Love, an' Hame!

Once and again he returns to the same theme, emphasizing the simple verses with a pencilled note of modest author's pride, "My own favorite," at the foot:

The bonnie green woods of Dunnottar,

I'm thinkin' it's mornin' there,

An' the gowans are white on the braes again,

An' the song of the birds ance mair

Is mellow, an' sweet, an' gleesome
As it was in the days lang syne,
When we were there in the Spring time
O the years we were laith to tyne !

The bonnie auld wood of Dunnottar,
Far dearer it is to me
Than the fairest scenes that the waul' can show
In mony a fur countree '
We hae played on its braes as bairnies,
We hae loved an' sorrowed there,
Gad we win to the wood o' Heaven
Do you think they will be as fair

From memories and regrets which never strike
a poignant note, he looks out with serene philosophy
heart rather than intellect, on life's transitory
ows. This attitude is illustrated in the verses "On
Lifelong Friendship."

Remembering the old days, the swift sweet seasons,
(To memory grown, alas ! how swift and sweet
I search my soul again to-day for reasons
Whereon our faith may stand with steadier feet
There comes no answer I can frame in words,
Only the birds

Sing as they did then, and I use to go,
Feeling that, somehow, I am answered so.
For Spring again has tiled the land with flowers,
Clothing the woods and happy fields in green,
Larks in the blue and linnets in the bowers
Carol again as if there had not been
Winter or night, to kill or chill their song ;
And all day long
They charm with their unwearying melodies
The listening, whispering woods and sunlit leas.

Their little lives, like ours, go out unheeded,
And with the withered leaves are swept away.
But song lives on, immortal, unimpeded,
New as the dawn is, and the enduring day :
Yea, though the singer dies the song remains,
In deathless strains,

And Hope, awakening, holds a scroll unfurled,
"Youth, Love and Song live ever in the world !"
Yea, Song endures and fills the world for ever,
Youth is re-born with every sun-dawn fair,
Though we are but as ripples on the River
That flows, we know not whence, we know not
where,
With ever-deepening and broadening wave,
Yet every grave
We make drifts backward, and is lost to sight
In an effulgence of Eternal Light !

A year or two later he wrote in the same calm
spirit the "Ballade of the Burnside" :

Calm as the current of my days
Along its wonted channel flows
The stream that winds by well known ways,
Now fallen into then old repo e

Around it lie the winter snows
Sown from a gray sky overhead,
And sea ward peacefully it goes,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

At times a sunbeam o'er it plays,
But on the brink it finds no rose :
On sheltered banks by which it strays
No longer any wild flower grows.

No more this winding pathway knows
Thy feet, where now alone I tread,
Yet memory nameless bloom bestows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

Here summer ever with me stays,
And fair, unfading flowers disclose
Their sweets to me where'er I gaze,
While August sunlight round me glows.

No flowers on earth abide like those
(On dews of Love and Memory fed ')
The heart with deathless bloom endows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead

ENVOT

Dear eyes that bade my heart unclose,
Dear Heart on mine that sunset shed,
For me Love's flower immortal blows,
Though summer flowers have long been dead.

Here is a sonnet written by Alexander
Stephen and entitled "An April Eve."

Between me and the sun's pale beam
I saw a blackbird, sitting lone and high
Among the branches, dark against the sky,
Silent and still, as if some happy dream
Possessed him, as he listened to the stream
That o'er its white pebbles trickled by.
Then with a chuckled song I saw him fly
Far through the wood, and so lost sight of him.
Within the wood the wind seem'd whispering
Some secret thing, unutterably sweet.
In fitful sights that grew and died away.
And in the dim light there were shadowy feet
Among the shadows, pausing, hastening,
And voices, that had in unvellous things to say.

The following lines sum up most fitly
the worth and significance of the little
volume of verses :

These few songs the years have won from me,
The fleet winged years of youth that shone and fled,
And now are dear with memories of the dead,
Songs that seem echoes of the wind and sea
Heard over fields whose fruit are harvested,
And where our feet again may never be.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER

BY A DISCIPLE OF DR. J. C. BOSL.

III

AFTER the success achieved at the conservative University of Oxford, it was now necessary that the Master's work should become widely known all over Europe. And for this purpose no scientific institution commanded greater authority and respect than the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION.

As the history of this great institution, from which epoch-making discoveries have startled the scientific world for the last hundred years, is not well known in this country, I shall give a short account of some of the important work that has been carried out in this institution. The Royal Institution was founded in 1799 by Count Rumford and a few of his friends "to prosecute research and to illustrate and diffuse the principles of Inductive and Experimental Science." It never had any State aid but had grown and expanded with its growing scientific activities. Unlike many institutions the tragic history of which is but too common, stone and masonry did not here crush the scientific spirit. Its outward opulence kept pace only with its inner growth. Under its shelter have been worked out many of the fundamental ideas upon which is reared the vast industrial fabric which has enriched England. Within its walls were achieved those epoch-making discoveries in electricity which have transformed the economic conditions of the modern age. The eminent men who have successively directed its continuous research have collectively made contributions of incalculable value for the world's well-being.

THOMAS YOUNG here (1801 to 1803) established the undulatory theory of Light by his historic discovery of Interference of Light.

HUMPHRY DAVY continued the work from 1802 to 1815. He made many discoveries in Electro-Chemical Science, succeeded in decomposing Potash, isolated

Potassium, Sodium and Chlorine and by his researches on Fire damp and Flame made the famous Safety Lamp which has been the means of saving thousands of lives.

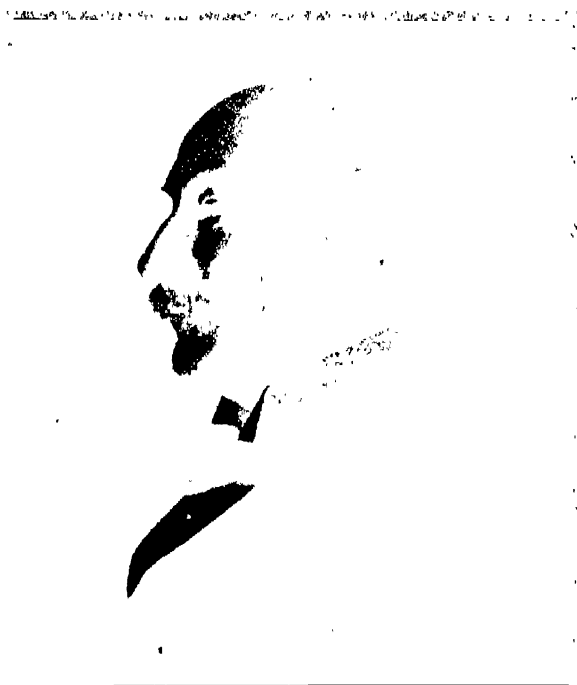
MICHAEL FARADAY, the greatest scientific man of the age, worked here from 1833 to 1867. He discovered here the Magnetic Rotations, was able to liquify Chlorine and other gases, made that epoch-making discovery of Magneto-Electricity the numerous applications of which have transformed the modern conditions of life. As the visitor enters the great Institution he sees in front of him Faraday's life-size statue, which bears no inscription. More eloquent than any inscription is an iron ring which he holds in his hand and round which is wound a helix of copper wire. The sparks that flamed across from the ends of this helix proved to be as mighty as the thunderbolt of Jupiter. The laws which govern the electric decomposition of compound substances were discovered by him and bear his name. He determined the Specific Inductive Capacity, visualised the Lines of Magnetic Force, and determined the Magnetic Rotation of Light. The instruments with which he made these discoveries have been preserved in loving reverence and their exhibition serves to inspire men who are trying to follow his footsteps.

It is also here that JOHN TYNDALL worked from 1853 to 1887 and thrilled his audience by his remarkable oratorical powers and his extraordinary gift as an experimenter.

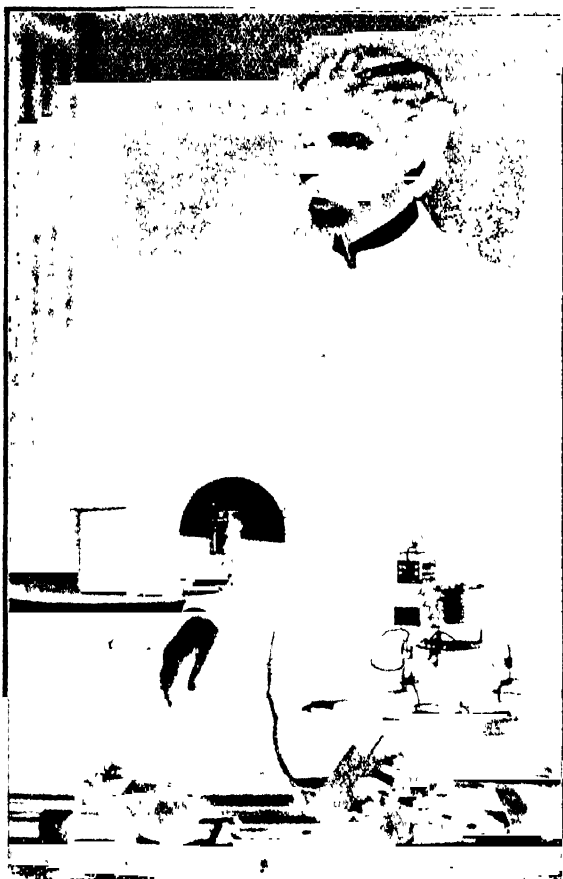
One of the greatest living physicists of the age, LORD RAYLEIGH, also worked here from 1887 to 1905, and is still the Honorary Professor of the Institution. The photograph reproduced is the most recent and was sent by him to the Master a fortnight ago. It was Lord Rayleigh's work that contributed greatly to the determination of the exact values of the standards of Electrical Measurements. His work on Sound and Electri-



John Tyndall.



Lord Rayleigh.

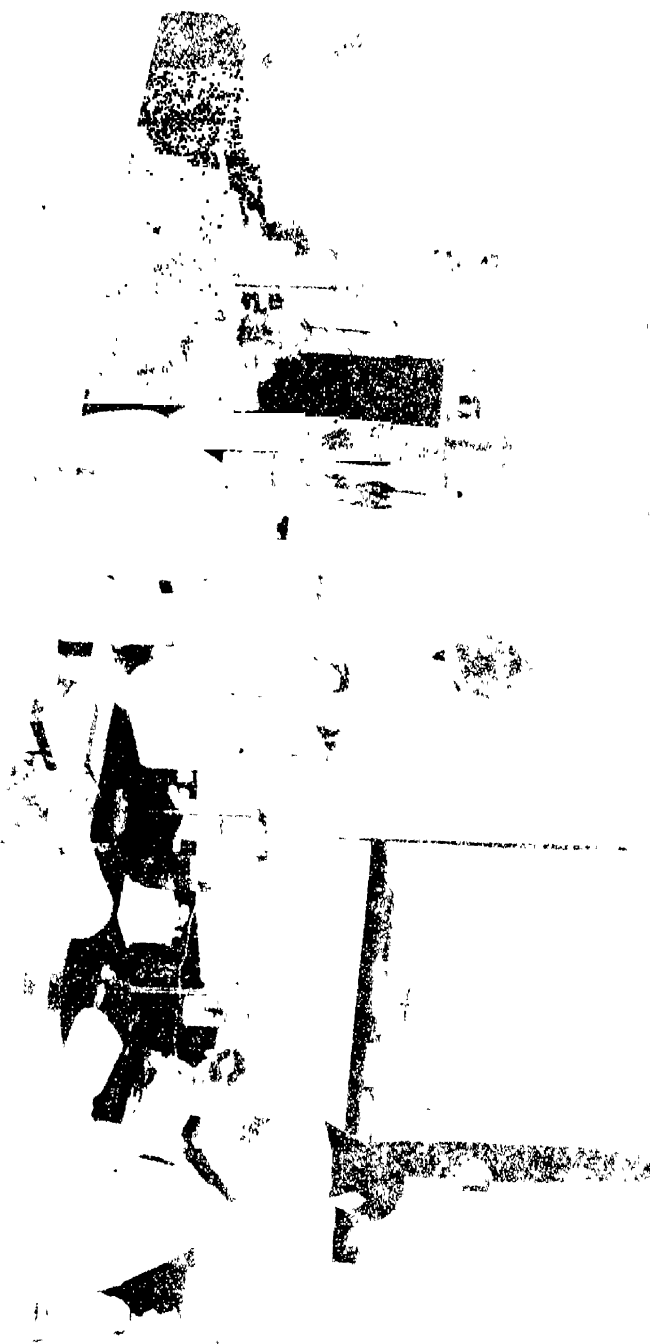


Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1897.



Statue of Michael Faraday at the Royal Institution.

Dr J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1914.



city are classical. It was his determination of the density of atmospheric nitrogen that led him to predict the discovery of Argon. The wide range of his scientific activities is well known in such works as *Phenomena of Water Jets and Water Drops*, *Colours of Thin Plates*, *Diffraction of Sound*, *Interference Bands*, *Investigation on Argon*, *Limits of Audition*, *Foams*, and *Animal Flights*.

SIR J. J. THOMSON has been working here since 1905 on Rays of Positive Electricity, on carriers of Positive Electricity, on Electric Striation, on a New Method of Chemical Analysis and the Results of the Application of Positive Rays to the Study of Chemical Problems.

SIR JAMES DEWAR has been the Fullerian Professor of Chemistry since 1877. His has been the great achievement of Liquification of Air, Researches on Liquid Air and Zero of Absolute Temperature, on Phosphorescence and Ozone, on the Scientific uses of Liquid Air, on Liquid Hydrogen, on Solid Hydrogen, on New Low Temperature Phenomenon, on the Nadir of Temperature and allied problems, on the problems of Helium and Radium, and on the coming age of the "Vacuum flask," which is one of the most important practical outcomes of his discoveries.

Such is the great tradition of the Royal Institution, and no recognition could be greater than to be asked to lecture before this Institution. Here in addition to the regular series of lectures there is organised a special series known as the Friday Evening Discourses. At these Meetings a lecture of one hour is delivered by one of the recognised authorities upon a new discovery or the most recent development of some great scientific speculation. To be chosen to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse is regarded as an unique honour. The lecturer enters the historic Hall and stands at the identical place occupied by Davy and Faraday and commences his Discourse without any introduction; for one asked to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse must be already well known all over the scientific world and therefore requires no introduction. He begins his lecture abruptly without making any reference to the President or the audience. For it is understood that his message is to the world and not to any group of people. These innovations, at first, are startling to a visitor unaccus-

tomed to the traditions of the Royal Institution. The audience at Albemarle Street is crowded by the aristocracy of intellect and culture. The street itself becomes almost impassable on account of the waiting carriages and motors. In order to avoid serious dislocation of traffic it is absolutely necessary that the lecture should begin at the stroke of nine and end with the stroke of ten. This tradition was, however, broken once when the enthusiastic audience at the Royal Institution demanded with one voice a longer continuation of my Master's Discourse.

MASTER'S DISCOURSE ON ELECTRIC WAVES.

The unique honour of being asked to address at the Royal Institution has on three different occasions been conferred on the Master. It was on January 29, 1897, that he, for the first time, delighted and astonished the audience at the Royal Institution by his Discourse on Electric Waves. The apparatus which he invented is so perfect that the most delicate and astonishing results were demonstrated with a precision that challenged belief. In fact Lord Rayleigh in coming forward to offer his heartiest congratulations remarked that to give this marvellous demonstration an air of reality it would have been better if one or two experiments had failed. No compliment could be greater than this at the very place which had witnessed the demonstration given by such experimenters as Faraday and Tyndall. Indeed the Master's unrivalled experimental dexterity so impressed the Western world that he has often been termed the Wizard from the East! The celebrated Hiram Maxim, perhaps one of the greatest inventors of the age, was so struck by my Master's experiments that after the lecture he came forward and introduced himself as Maxim the mechanician. He asked as a personal favour to feel his hands to realise for himself that tactile sensibility which could so unerringly feel the pulse of Nature. Not less significant than these experimental wonders were his theoretical insight by which many phenomena relating to the Electro-Molecular properties of matter were revealed for the first time. Sir Henry Roscoe in an address spoke of his methods as "opening out means of knowing the internal molecular structure of bodies perfectly opaque to the ordinary eye of which we have hitherto had no

means of examination; these are now as open, as clear as the sky or day light." Another most important discovery announced at this lecture was the selective transparency of certain bodies in virtue of which an identical substance was perfectly transparent when held in one way and perfectly opaque when placed at right angles to the first position. When he was invited to repeat this lecture at Helmholtz's Laboratory in Berlin Prof. Warburg, who succeeded Helmholtz, led him to the lecture Hall and on the way pointed out his own research room and made a great mystery of some investigation in which he has been engaged for the last four years. This research was regarded of such importance that it was imperative to observe special secrecy. The door of the research room could therefore be opened for half an inch and then hastily closed. While the Master was arranging his experiments in the lecture Hall something attracted Prof. Warburg's attention. This was a particular crystal which the master had discovered, having the remarkable property of selective transparency for electric waves which was demonstrated before the astonished Professor in the course of half a minute. To my Master's amazement the German Professor rushed out of the Hall only to return with his assistant Karl and to tell him that what they had failed to demonstrate after four years of laborious research was accomplished by this Indian visitor in the twinkling of an eye. Professor Warburg deservedly occupies the very front rank in physical science, and this brought to his laboratory a very celebrated American investigator, Professor Milikan, whose recent measurements of mass of sub-atoms have astonished the scientific world. At that time Mr. Milikan was interested in Electric Waves and asked Prof. Warburg to help him to carry out researches on this subject. "Ah!" said the German savant, "this subject has been taken up by a man in Calcutta called Bose. He is that sort of man who leaves nothing for other fellows to attempt."! And thus this American scientist was diverted to another subject which he has enriched by his contributions. In this Friday Evening Discourse, the success of the experiments was due to the absolute certainty and extraordinary delicacy of the wireless detector which my Master invented. Great commercial value

was attached to a detector of this type and before the commencement of his lecture, he was approached by the President of a Syndicate to secure a patent for him for his invention. My Master, however, refused to commercialise his scientific contribution and the *Electrical Engineer* expressed its astonishment that

"No secret was at any time made of the wonderful apparatus, so that it has been open to all the world to adopt it for practical and money-making purposes."

The success of this lecture was so great that an important professorship at a well-known University was offered to him, if he chose to accept. Many of his friends urged him on international grounds to secure this recognised position in the world of European science, and the advantages offered for the prosecution of his researches. My Master thought, however, that the duty of every Indian was to share the disabilities of his countrymen and his true place was in India and to work for her and for the college which he entered when he was unknown. Nothing, therefore, gave him greater gratification than the tribute paid by the *Electrician* to his country and his college:

"The scientific world is immensely indebted to Dr. Bose for the researches he has already completed and presented to it—researches which redound greatly to the credit of India and more specially of the Presidency College, Calcutta, from which Dr. Bose is now on a visit to this country."

One is still haunted by the concluding portion of his address at the Royal Institution when he asked his audience to imagine a gigantic electric organ provided with infinite number of stops, each stop giving rise to a particular ether note.

"Imagine an unseen hand pressing the different stops in rapid succession, producing higher and higher notes. The ether note will thus rise in frequency from one vibration in a second, to tens, to hundreds, to thousands, to hundreds of thousands, to millions, to millions of millions! While the ethereal sea in which we are all immersed is being thus agitated by these multitudinous waves, we shall remain entirely unaffected, for we possess no organs of perception to respond to these waves. As the ether note rises still higher in pitch, we shall for a brief moment perceive a sensation of warmth. This will be the case when the ether vibration reaches a frequency of several billions of times in a second. As the note rises still higher our eye will begin to be affected, a red glimmer of light would be the first to make its appearance. From this point the few colours we see are compressed within a single octave of vibration—from 400 to 800 billions in one second. As the frequency of vibration rises still higher, our organs of perception fail us completely, a great gap in our consciousness obliterates the rest. The brief flash of light is succeeded by unbroken darkness."

DISCOURSE ON UNIVERSAL SENSITIVENESS OF MATTER.

The next time when he was asked to address the Royal Institution was to announce his great discovery of the Universal Sensitiveness of Matter, when he demonstrated by means of automatic records the common history of stress and strain in the Living and the Non-Living. We are still thrilled by his peroration on that memorable day, May 10, 1901:

"It was when I came upon the mute witness of these self-made records and perceived in them one phase of a pervading unity that bears within it all things—the note that quivers in ripples of light, the teeming life upon our earth and the radiant suns that shine above us—it was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago—

"They who see but one in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth—not to none else, not to none else!"

Now the Master was asked on this the third occasion to deliver a Discourse on his recent discoveries in the unvoiced world of plants. Lord Rayleigh, who always takes great interest in my Master's work, realising the extreme delicacy of the experiment the success of which depended on uncertain conditions of the weather, sent word advising him not to attempt more than one or two experiments. The duration of the lecture being strictly limited to one hour, any untoward failure would seriously affect the success of the lecture. Such a veteran experimentalist as Sir Michael Foster was completely nonplussed at the beginning of one of his lectures before the Royal Institution by the sudden stoppage of the heart-beat of the frog which was the subject of demonstration. No physiological experiment could be simpler than this, yet one of the greatest physiologists of the age found himself unable to repeat it at the critical moment. So the advice of every one about performing difficult experiments was the emphatic "Don't." A very striking experiment was specially devised for my Master's lecture on chromatic effects and its wonderful variation exhibited by the reflection from a soap film demonstrating the principle of sympathetic vibration. Mr. Heath, who was the special assistant of Tyndall, now in charge of the Royal Institution Laboratory, dissuaded us from attempting it. Taking me into his confidence he said that it was only last week when he

was demonstrating certain experiments on soap film given by one of the eminent physicists that the "wretched film took all the conceit out of them by suddenly bursting at the very psychological moment!" And he told us off many other instances.

DISCOURSE ON PLANT AUTOGRAPHS.

On the other hand the Master realised the fact that his theories had already been for several years before the public; it was blank incredulity that stood in the way of their wide acceptance and nothing short of visual demonstration could bring conviction to all. He, therefore, took the bolder step and risked failure on the chance of success. The assistants of the Royal Institution kindly offered their services to help him in these demonstrations, but he was determined that this was purely to be a contribution from India in every detail. He took us to the Royal Institution early in the morning where we could arrange our experiments in the preparation room on a table the top of which could be transferred to the Hall immediately before the lecture. I had for my comrade Jyoti Prokash Sircar. The Master looked after every detail and made us follow the order in strict sequence. All this time we were tense with anxiety but as the hour approached he asked us to throw away all fear. Everything that could be foreseen had been done and nothing further need worry us. We now felt a great quiet and were not a bit afraid for the results. The Master's address was on Plant Autographs and their Revelations. Almost next door to this great Institution of learning there were flourishing establishments in Bond Street of crystal-gazers and other exponents of the occult art. He commenced his Discourse by referring to these professors of sciences bordering on the mystical who claimed to read a man's character and antecedents by mere inspection of his handwriting. As to the authenticity of such claims scepticism might be allowed. But there was no doubt that one's handwritings are profoundly modified by conditions mental and physical. At this moment there was thrown on the screen photographs of signatures of Guy Fawkes, of Gun Powder celebrity, before his trial and after his conviction. The sinister variations in these signatures were at once evident. The crabbed and distorted character of the last words that Guy Fawkes wrote on

earth as in the dark hours of the morning on which he was executed he set his hand to the written confession of his crime, told their own tale of what had transpired in the solitary imprisonment of that fateful night. Such is the history that unfolded itself to the critical eye by the lines and curves of a human autograph. Under a placid exterior, there is also a hidden history of the life of the plant. Storm and sunshine, warmth of summer and frost of winter, drought and rain, all these and many more influences come and go about the plant. What coercion do they exercise upon it, what subtle impress do they leave behind? Then after raising these questions he explained how the plants could be made to reveal their inner history by means of scripts in answer to questioning shocks. Now began a series of experiments each more startling than the previous one.

The soap film that reflected the light did not burst but was thrown into sympathetic vibrations in answer to a cry from a distance. The colour pattern hitherto quiescent was converted into a whirlpool of peacock green and molten gold. The *Mimosa* seen on the table, automatically recorded the speed of its nervous impulse. Our *Bon Chandal* or the Telegraph plant recorded its throbbing pulsations and the plant under the shock of death recorded its death-spasm. All these experiments were repeated with the utmost success without a moment's loss of time, each experiment being punctuated by the enthusiastic applause of an audience of appreciative European savants. And there was almost a hush of awe when the Master concluded the story of these our mute companions silently growing beside our door and of the pathos of life that is unvoiced.

(*To be continued*).

ADDENDUM

The following lines were inadvertently omitted from the article entitled *Two PANJABI PLAYS*, page 80, 2nd column of the January number after the lines "My dolls, my dolls! Let me play with my dolls!" Kauran mad with grief follows.—

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"Both these plays breathe the atmos-

phere of India, or perhaps I should say of the Punjab. True they are criticisms, but that fact does not rob them of beauty and of the simple humanity that pervades them. They are as splendidly Indian as the Irish plays are splendidly Irish. If this standard of writing is kept up great things may yet be done for Indian drama. India at this stage of her evolution teems with subject matter for artists. Such a time of transition, of rapid outgrowth from old customs, is rich with problems and with the conflict necessary for drama."



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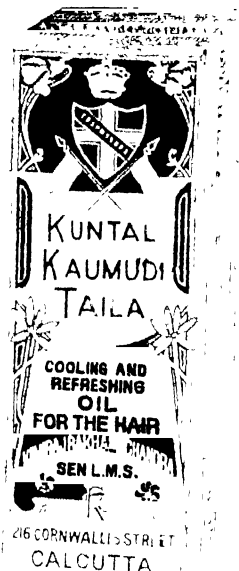
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No 112

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(13) *My Father.*

SHORTLY after my birth my father took to constantly travelling about. So it is no exaggeration to say that in my early childhood I hardly knew him. He would now and then come back home all of a sudden, and with him came foreign servants with whom I felt extremely eager to make friends. Once there came in this way a young Panjabi servant named Lenu. The cordiality of the reception he got from us would have been worthy of Ranjit Singh himself. Not only was he a foreigner, but a Panjabi to boot,—what wonder he stole our hearts away? We had the same reverence for the whole Panjabi nation as for Bhima and Arjuna of the Mahabharata. They were warriors; and if they had sometimes fought and lost, that was clearly the enemy's fault. It was glorious to have Lenu, of the Panjab, in our very home. My sister-in-law had a model war-ship under a glass case, which, when wound up, rocked on blue-painted silken waves to the tinkling of a musical box. I would beg hard for the loan of this to display its marvels to the admiring Lenu. Caged in the house as we were, anything savouring of foreign parts had a peculiar charm for me. This was one of the reasons why I made so much of Lenu. This was also the reason why Gabriel, the Jew, with his embroidered gaberline, who came to sell *attars* and scented oils, stirred me so; and the huge Kabulis, with their dusty, baggy trousers and knapsacks and bundles, brought to my young mind a fearfully fascination.

Anyhow, when my father came, we

would be content with wandering round about his entourage and in the company of his servants. We did not reach his immediate presence.

Once while my father was away in the Himalayas, that old bogey of the British Government, the Russian invasion, came to be a subject of agitated conversation among the people. Some well-meaning lady friend had enlarged on the impending danger to my mother with all the circumstance of a prolific imagination. How could a body tell from which of the Tibetan passes the Russian host might suddenly flash forth like a baleful comet? My mother was seriously alarmed. Possibly the other members of the family did not share her misgivings; so, despairing of grown-up sympathy, she sought my boyish support.

"Won't you write to your father about the Russians?" she asked.

That letter, carrying the tidings of my mother's anxieties, was my first one to my father. I did not know how to begin or end a letter, or anything at all about it. I went to Mahananda, the estate munshi.* The resulting style of address was doubtless correct enough, but the sentiments could not have escaped the musty flavour inseparable from literature emanating from an state office.

I got a reply to my letter. My father asked me not to be afraid; if the Russians came he would drive them away himself. This confident assurance did not seem to have the effect of relieving my mother's fears, but it served to free me from

* Correspondence clerk.

all timidity as regards my father. After that I wanted to write to him every day and pestered Mahananda accordingly. Unable to withstand my importunity he would make out drafts for me to copy. But I did not know that there was the postage to be paid for. I had an idea that letters placed in Mahananda's hands got to their destination without any need for further worry. It is hardly necessary to mention that, Mahananda being considerably older than myself, these letters never reached the Himalayan hill-tops.

When, after his long absences, my father came home even for a few days, the whole house seemed filled with the weight of his presence. We would see our elders at certain hours, formally robed in their *chogas*, passing to his rooms with restrained gait and sobered mien, casting away any *pan* they might have been chewing. Everyone seemed on the alert. To make sure of nothing going wrong, my mother would superintend the cooking herself. The old mace-bearer, Kinnu, with his white livery and crested turban, on guard at my father's door, would warn us not to be boisterous in the verandah in front of his rooms during his midday siesta. We had to walk past quietly, talking in whispers, and dared not even take a peep inside.

On one occasion my father came home to invest the three of us with the sacred thread. With the help of Pandit Vedantavagish he had collected the old Vedic rites for the purpose. For days together we were taught to chant in correct accents the selections from the Upanishads, arranged by my father under the name of "Brahma Dharma," seated in the prayer hall with Becharam Babu. Finally, with shaven heads and gold rings in our ears, we three budding Brahmins went into a three-days' retreat in a portion of the third storey. It was great fun. The earrings gave us a good handle to pull each other's ears with. We found a little drum lying in one of the rooms with which we would stand out in the verandah, and, when we caught sight of any servant passing along in the storey below, we would rap a tattoo on it. This would make the man look up, only to beat a hasty retreat the next moment with averted eyes. In short we cannot claim

that these days of our retirement were passed in ascetic meditation. I am however persuaded that boys like ourselves could not have been rare in the hermitages of old. And if some ancient document has it that the ten or twelve-year old Saradwata or Sarngarava* is spending the whole of the days of his boyhood offering oblations and chanting *mantras*, we are not compelled to put unquestioning faith in the statement; because the book of Boy Nature is even older and also more authentic.

After we had attained full brahminhood I became very keen on repeating the *gayatri* †. I would meditate on it with great concentration. It is hardly a text the full meaning of which I could have grasped at that age. I well remember, what efforts I made to extend the range of my consciousness with the help of the initial invocation of "Earth, firmament and heaven." How I felt or thought it difficult to express clearly, but this much is certain that to be clear about the meaning of words is not the most important function of the human understanding. The main object of teaching is not to explain meanings, but to knock at the door of the mind. If any boy is asked to give an account of what is awakened in him at such knocking, he will probably say something very silly. For what happens within is much bigger than what he can express in words. Those who pin their faith on University examinations as a test of all educational results take no account of this fact.

I can recollect many things which I did not understand, but which stirred me deeply. Once, on the roof terrace of our river-side villa, my eldest brother, at the sudden gathering of clouds, repeated aloud some stanzas from Kalidas's "Cloud Messenger." I could not, nor had I the need to, understand a word of the Sanskrit. His ecstatic declamation of the sonorous rhythm was enough for me. Then again, before I could properly understand English, a profusely illustrated edition of "The Old Curiosity Shop" fell into my hands. I went through the whole of it, though at least nine-tenths of the words were unknown to me. Yet, with the vague ideas I conjured up

sacred-thread investiture, before the ceremony is complete.

* Two novices in the hermitage of the sage Kanva, mentioned in the Sanskrit drama, Sakuntala.

† The text for self-realisation,

* Spices wrapped in betel-leaf.

† It is considered sinful for non-brahmins to cast glances on neophytes during the process of their

from the rest, I spun out a variously coloured thread on which to string the illustrations. Any university examiner would have given me a great big zero, but the reading of the book had not proved for me quite so empty as all that.

Another time I had accompanied my father on a trip on the Ganges in his house-boat. Among the books he had with him was an old Fort William edition of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*. It was in the Bengali character. The verses were not printed in separate lines, but ran on like prose. I did not then know anything of Sanskrit, yet because of my knowledge of Bengali many of the words were familiar. I cannot tell how often I read that *Gita-Govinda*. I can well remember this line:

'The night that was passed in the lonely forest cottage.'

It spread an atmosphere of vague beauty over my mind. That one Sanskrit word,

'Nihrita-nikunja-grīham'

meaning 'the lonely forest cottage' was quite enough for me. I had to discover for myself the intricate metre of Jayadeva, because the division of metre was lost in the clumsy prose form in which the book was printed. And this discovery gave me very great delight. Of course I did not fully comprehend Jayadeva's meaning. It would hardly be correct to aver that I had got it even partly. But the sound of the words and the lilt of the metre filled my mind with pictures of wonderful beauty, which impelled me to copy out the whole of the book for my own use.

The same thing happened, when I was a little older, with a verse from Kalidas's "Birth of the War God." The verse moved me greatly, though the only words, of which I gathered the sense, were 'the breeze carrying the spray mist of the falling waters of the sacred Mandakini and shaking the deodar leaves.' These left me pining to taste the beauties of the whole. When, later, a Pandit explained to me that in the next two lines the breeze went out "splitting the feathers of the peacock plume on the head of the eager deer-hunter," the thinness of this last conceit disappointed me. I was much better off when I had relied only upon my imagination to complete the verse.

Whoever goes back to his early childhood will agree that his greatest gains were not in proportion to the completeness

of his understanding. Our Kathakas* know this truth well. So their narratives always have a good proportion of ear-filling Sanskrit words and abstruse remarks not calculated to be fully understood by their simple hearers, but only to be suggestive.

The value of such suggestion is by no means to be despised by those who measure education in terms of material gains and losses. These insist on trying to sum up the account and find out exactly how much of the lesson imparted has been understood. But children, and those who are not over-educated dwell in that primal paradise of knowledge where men acquire knowledge without going through the process of understanding. And only when that paradise is lost comes the evil day when they must understand everything. The road which leads to knowledge, without going through the dreary process of understanding, that is the royal road. If that be barred, though the world's marketing may yet go on as usual, the open sea and the mountain top cease to be possible of access.

So, as I was saying, though at that age I could not realise the full meaning of the *Gayatri*, there is something in us which can do without a complete understanding. I am reminded of a day when, as I was seated on the cemented floor in a corner of our schoolroom meditating on the text, my eyes overflowed with tears. Why those tears came I know not, and to a strict cross-questioner I would probably have given some explanation having nothing to do with the *Gayatri*. The fact of the matter is that what is going on in the inner recesses of consciousness is not always known to the dweller on the surface.

(11) A journey with my Father

My shaven head after the sacred thread ceremony caused me one great anxiety. However partial Eurasian lads may be to things appertaining to the Cow, their reverence for the Brahmin† is notoriously lacking. So that, apart from other missiles, our shaven heads were sure to be pelted with jeers. While I was worrying over this possibility I was one day summoned upstairs to my father. How would I like

* Bards or reciters.

† The Cow and the Brahmin are watchwords of modern Hindu Orthodoxy.

to go with him to the Himalayas, I was asked. Away from the Bengal Academy and off to the Himalayas! Would I like it? Could I have reached the skies with a shout, that might have given some idea of the How?

On the day of our leaving home my father, as was his habit, assembled the whole family in the prayer hall for divine service. After I had taken the dust of the feet of my elders I got into the carriage with my father. This was the first time in my life that I had a full set of clothes made for me. My father himself had selected the pattern and colour. A gold embroidered velvet cap completed the costume. This I carried in my hand, being assailed with misgivings as to its effect in juxtaposition to my hairless head. As I got into the carriage my father insisted on my wearing it, so I had to put it on. Every time he looked another way I took it off. Every time I caught his eye it had to resume its proper place.

My father was very particular in all his arrangements and orderings. He disliked leaving things vague or undetermined and never allowed slovenliness or makeshifts. He had a well-defined code to regulate his relations with others and theirs with him. In this he was different from the generality of his countrymen. With the rest of us a little carelessness this way or that did not signify; so in our dealings with him we had to be anxiously careful. It was not so much the little less or more that he objected to as the failure to be up to the standard. My father had also a way of picturing to himself every detail of what he wanted done. On the occasion of any ceremonial gathering, at which he could not be present, he would think out and assign the place for each thing, the duty for each member of the family, the seat for each guest; nothing would escape him. After it was all over he would ask each one for a separate account and thus gain a complete impression of the whole for himself. So, while I was with him on his travels, though nothing would induce him to put obstacles in the way of my amusing myself as I pleased, he left no loophole in the strict rules of conduct which he prescribed for me in other respects.

Our first halt was to be for a few days at Bolpur. Satya had been there a short while ago with his parents. No self-respecting nineteenth century infant would

have credited the account of his travels which he gave us on his return. But we were different, and had had no opportunity of learning to determine the line between the possible and the impossible. Our Mahabharata and Ramayana gave us no clue to it. Nor had we then any children's illustrated books to guide us in the way a child should go. All the hard and fast laws which govern the world we learnt by knocking up against them.

Satya had told us that, unless one was very very expert, getting into a railway carriage was a terribly dangerous affair—the least slip, and it was all up. Then, again, a fellow had to hold on to his seat with all his might, otherwise the jolt at starting was so tremendous there was no telling where one would get thrown off to. So when we got to the railway station I was all-a-quiver. So easily did we get into our compartment, however, that I felt sure the worst was yet to come. And when, at length, we made an absurdly smooth start, without any semblance of adventure, I felt woefully disappointed.

The train sped on; the broad fields with their blue-green border trees, and the villages nestling in their shade flew past in a stream of pictures which melted away like a flood of mirages. It was evening when we reached Bolpur. As I got into the palanquin I closed my eyes. I wanted to preserve the whole of the wonderful vision to be unfolded before my waking eyes in the morning light. The freshness of the experience would be spoilt, I feared, by incomplete glimpses caught in the vagueness of the dusk.

When I woke at dawn my heart was thrilling tremendously as I stepped outside. My predecessor had told me that Bolpur had one feature which was to be found nowhere else in the world. This was the path leading from the main buildings to the servants' quarters which, though not covered over in any way, did not allow a ray of the sun or a drop of rain to touch anybody passing along it. I started to hunt for this wonderful path, but the reader will perhaps not wonder at my failure to find it to this day.

Town bred as I was, I had never seen a rice-field, and I had a charming portrait of the cowherd boy, of whom we had read, pictured on the canvas of my imagination. I had heard from Satya that the Bolpur house was surrounded by fields of ripening

rice, and that playing in these with cow-herd boys was an everyday affair, of which the plucking, cooking and eating of the rice was the crowning feature. I eagerly looked about me. But where, oh where was the rice-field on all that barren heath? Cowherd boys there might have been somewhere about, yet how to distinguish them from any other boys, that was the question!

However it did not take me long to get over what I could not see,—what I did see was quite enough. There was no servant rule here, and the only ring which encircled me was the blue of the horizon which the presiding goddess of these solitudes had drawn round them. Within this I was free to move about as I chose.

Though I was yet a mere child my father did not place any restriction on my wanderings. In the hollows of the sandy soil the rainwater had ploughed deep furrows, carving out miniature mountain ranges full of red gravel and pebbles of various shapes through which ran tiny streams, revealing the geography of Lilput. From this region I would gather in the lap of my tunic many curious pieces of stone and take the collection to my father. He never made light of my labours. On the contrary he waxed enthusiastic.

"How wonderful!" he exclaimed. "Wherever did you get all these?"

"There are many many more, thousands and thousands!" I burst out. "I could bring as many every day."

"That *would* be nice!" he replied. "Why not decorate my little hill with them?"

An attempt had been made to dig a tank in the garden, but the subsoil water proving too low, it had been abandoned, unfinished, with the excavated earth left piled up into a hillock. On the top of this height my father used to sit for his morning prayer, and as he sat the sun would rise at the edge of the undulating expanse which stretched away to the eastern horizon in front of him. This was the hill he asked me to decorate. I was very troubled, on leaving Bolpur, that I could not carry away with me my store of stones. It is still difficult for me to realise that I have no absolute claim to keep up a close relationship with things, merely because I have gathered them together. If my fate had granted me the prayer, which I had pressed with such insistence, and undertaken that I should carry this load of stones

about with me for ever, then I should scarcely have had the hardihood to laugh at it to-day.

In one of the ravines I came upon a hollow full of spring water which overflowed as a little rivulet, where sported tiny fish battling their way up the current.

"I've found such a lovely spring," I told my father. "Couldn't we get our bathing and drinking water from there?"

"The very thing," he agreed, sharing my rapture, and gave orders for our water supply to be drawn from that spring.

I was never tired of roaming about among those miniature hills and dales in hopes of lighting on something never known before. I was the Livingstone of this undiscovered land which looked as if seen through the wrong end of a telescope. Everything there, the dwarf date palms, the scrubby wild plums and the stunted jambolans, was in keeping with the miniature mountain ranges, the little rivulet and the tiny fish I had discovered.

Probably in order to teach me to be careful my father placed a little small change in my charge and required me to keep an account of it. He also entrusted me with the duty of winding his valuable gold watch for him. He overlooked the risk of damage in his desire to train me to a sense of responsibility. When we went out together for our morning walk he would ask me to give alms to any beggars we came across. But I never could render him a proper account at the end of it. One day my balance was larger than the account warranted.

"I really must make you my cashier," observed my father. "Money seems to have a way of growing in your hands!"

That watch of his I wound up with such indefatigable zeal that it had very soon to be sent to the watchmaker's in Calcutta.

I am reminded of the time when, later in life, I was appointed to manage the estate and had to lay before my father, owing to his failing eyesight, a statement of accounts on the second or third of every month. I had first to read out the totals under each head, and if he had any doubts on any point he would ask for the details. If I made any attempt to slur over or keep out of sight any item which I feared he would not like, it was sure to come out. So these first few days of the month were very anxious ones for me. As I have said, my father had the habit of keeping everything clearly before his mind.

—whether figures of accounts, or ceremonial arrangements, or additions or alterations to property. He had never seen the new prayer hall built at Bolpur, and yet he was familiar with every detail of it from questioning those who came to see him after a visit to Bolpur. He had an extraordinary memory, and when once he got hold of a fact it never escaped him.

My father had marked his favourite verses in his copy of the *Bhagavadgita*. He asked me to copy these out, with their translation, for him. At home, I had been a boy of no account, but here, when these important functions were entrusted to me, I felt the glory of the situation.

By this time I was rid of my blue manuscript book and had got hold of a bound volume of one of Lett's diaries. I now saw to it that my poetising should not lack any of the dignity of outward circumstance. It was not only a case of writing poems, but of holding myself forth as a poet before my own imagination. So when I wrote poetry at Bolpur I loved to do it sprawling under a young coconut palm. This seemed to me the true poetic way. Resting thus on the hard, level gravel in the burning heat of the day I composed a martial ballad on the "Defeat of King Prithwi." In spite of the superabundance of its martial spirit, it could not escape an early death. That bound volume of Lett's diary has now followed the way of its elder sister, the blue manuscript, leaving no address behind.

We left Bolpur and making short halts on the way at Sahelganj, Dinapore, Allahabad and Cawnpore we stopped at last at Amritsar.

An incident on the way remains engraved on my memory. The train had stopped at some big station. The ticket examiner came and punched our tickets. He looked at me curiously as if he had some doubt which he did not care to express. He went off and came back with a companion. Both of them fidgetted about for a time near the door of our compartment and then again retired. At last came the station-master himself. He looked at my half-ticket and then asked,—

"Is not the boy over twelve?"

"No," said my father.

I was then only eleven, but looked older than my age.

"You must pay the full fare for him," said the station-master.

My father's eyes flashed as, without a word, he took out a currency note from his box and handed it to the station-master. When they brought my father his change he flung it disdainfully back at them, while the station-master stood abashed at this exposure of the meanness of his implied doubt.

The golden temple of Amritsar comes back to me like a dream. Many a morning have I accompanied my father to this *Gurudwar* of the Sikhs in the middle of the lake. There the sacred chanting resounds continually. My father, seated amidst the throng of worshippers, would sometimes add his voice to the hymn of praise, and finding a stranger joining in their devotions they would wax enthusiastically cordial, and we would return loaded with the sanctified offerings of sugar crystals and other sweets.

One day my father invited one of the chanting choir to our place and got him to sing us some of their sacred songs. The man went away probably more than satisfied with the reward he received. The result was that we had to take stern measures of self-defence,—such an insistent army of singers invaded us. When they found our house impregnable, the musicians began to waylay us in the streets. And as we went out for our walk in the morning, every now and then would appear a *Tambura*,* slung over a shoulder, at which we felt like game birds at the sight of the muzzle of the hunter's gun. Indeed, so wary did we become that the twang of the *Tambura*, from a distance, scared us away and utterly failed to bag us.

When evening fell, my father would sit out in the verandah facing the garden. I would then be summoned to sing to him. The moon has risen; its beams, passing through the trees, have fallen on the verandah floor; I am singing in the Vahaga mode:

"O Companion in the darkest passage of life....."

My father with bowed head and clasped hands is intently listening. I can recall this evening scene even now.

I have told of my father's amusement on hearing from Srikantha Babu my maiden attempt at a devotional poem. I am reminded how, later, I had my recompense.

* An instrument on which the keynote is strummed while singing.

On the occasion of one of our *Magh* festivals several of the hymns were my composition. One of them was :

"The eye sees thee not, who art in the pupil of every eye....."

My father was then bed-ridden at Chinsurah. He sent for me and my brother Jyoti. He asked my brother to accompany me on the harmonium and got me to sing all my hymns one after the other,—some of them I had to sing twice over. When I had finished he said :

"If the king of the country had known the language and could appreciate its literature, he would doubtless have rewarded the poet. Since that is not so, I suppose I must do it." With which he handed me a cheque.

My father had brought with him some volumes of the Peter Parley series from which to teach me. He selected the life of Benjamin Franklin to begin with. He thought it would read like a story book and be both entertaining and instructive. But he found out his mistake soon after we had started. Benjamin Franklin was much too business-like a person. The narrowness of his calculated morality disgusted my father. In some cases he would get so impatient at the worldly prudence of Franklin that he could not help using strong words of denunciation.

Before this I had nothing to do with Sans-

krit beyond getting some rules of grammar by rote. My father started me on the second Sanskrit reader at one bound leaving me to learn the declensions as we went on. The advance I had made in Bengali* stood me in good stead. My father also encouraged me to try Sanskrit composition from the very outset. With the vocabulary acquired from my Sanskrit reader I built up grandiose compound words with a profuse sprinkling of sonorous 'm's and 'n's making altogether a most diabolical medley of the language of the gods. But my father never scoffed at my temerity.

Then there were the readings from Proctor's Popular Astronomy which my father explained to me in easy language and which I then rendered into Bengali.

Among the books which my father had brought for his own use, my attention would be mostly attracted by a ten or twelve volume edition of Gibbon's Rome. They looked remarkably dry. "Being a boy," I thought, "I am helpless and read many books because I have to. But why should a grown up person, who need not read unless he pleases, bother himself so?"

* A large proportion of words in the literary Bengali are derived unchanged from the Sanskrit. Tr.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE PROGRESSIVE RULER OF NABHA

BY SAINT Nihal Singh.

NABHA—one of the important Indian States in the Punjab—shows how a few years of rule by a modernised Maharaja can result in increased administrative efficiency. During the four years that the present Ruler, His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh *Malvendar Bahadur*, has been in power, the executive machinery has been remodelled, the intervention of the Maharaja in judicial matters has ceased, primary education has been made free, and steps are being taken to introduce compulsory education. All persons who are interested in the advance-

ment of India by Indians should know of the influences that have moulded the character of the Maharaja Sahib, and of the policies that he is pursuing.

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was born in 1883. His father, His Highness Maharaja Hira Singh *Malvendar Bahadur*, was 40 years old at the time and hailed the arrival of his heir with great joy.

Maharaja Hira Singh was, in his own way, a great man. He had not troubled to learn any Western language, nor had he adopted alien ways of life. He knew *Gurmukhi* and had made a study of Sikh

and other Punjabi literature as few persons have done. He also had spent much time and taken great pains to acquire wisdom from Hindi and Sanskrit literature. The casual references that he made, in private conversation, to episodes that occurred in our Motherland in ancient days amazed me more than once, and showed to all who came in personal contact with him that his mind was a repository of the precious heritage that our forefathers have left us.

His Highness was a great patron of learning. A large number of scholars, especially those versed in sacred literature and astrology, and poets, received regular stipends or handsome presents from him. I am sure that without his generous assistance Max A. Macauliffe would not have been able to complete "The Sikh Religion"—the invaluable work that he left us. The Maharaja Sahib asked me, in 1910—not long before he died—to undertake to write in English a history of the Sikhs, and said he would meet all expenses incurred in connection with it if I would take up the work—an offer I could not accept at the time, owing to my other commitments.

Maharaja Hira Singh knew how to preserve peace throughout his State, which, according to the Census of India, 1911, had an area of 928 square miles, and a population of 248,887 persons. He looked upon his subjects as his children, and ruled them like a patriarch.

If he learned that some one was misbehaving, he would at once send for him, ask him what he meant by his misconduct, and reprimand him as severely as the circumstances required. People knew that His Highness could punish as well as give stipends and presents; and censure from him was nearly always sufficient to bring an erring individual to his senses. Whenever it came to his notice that a husband and wife were having domestic difficulties, he would make them come to him and bring about a reconciliation on the spot.

He did not believe in permitting litigation to be expensive, or justice to be delayed. He would often send for a file and the persons involved in the case, and settle the matter in the course of a few minutes. He told me that he lived near the court-house primarily so that he could see to it that justice was dealt out speedily.

His Highness was a great builder. Architects were constantly at work putting up new structures and remodelling old

ones. There used to be a story current relating to him to the effect that a designing contractor had bribed an astrologer to predict that the Maharaja Sahib would die the moment he stopped building. I once committed the *faux pas* of repeating this tale to His Highness. He laughed heartily and dismissed the subject, thereby furnishing me with the true measure of the man. Why do foreigners allege that our Rajas do not possess a sense of humour?

Whatever he may have spent upon building dharmshalas, sinking wells, and constructing other public works, and whatever he may have given to scholars and saints, His Highness spent very little upon himself. He lived very simply—far more so than many of our landed magnates and "educated Indians" do. His fare was plain, and not much varied. His every-day dress was inexpensive. His favourite fabric was white muslin; and his one extravagance was that his garments should always be snow-white. Foreigners who talk of the pomp of Maharajas in season and out of season, surely display their ignorance of the real facts.

Living so simply as he did himself, His Highness could not bear to see any one rioting in luxury. As a necessary corollary to this, he paid his highest officials small salaries. The administration of Nabha, as conducted by Maharaja Hira Singh, was inexpensive, and the tax-payer bore a light burden. As His Highness's eye saw all, and his ears heard all, the officials did not dare to oppress his subjects by exacting bribes from them. Nabha, in consequence, was a happy State—though from the modern point of view its administration was old fashioned in the extreme.

Such was the man and the Ruler who brought up the present Maharaja of Nabha. As can be imagined, the Tikka Sahib (Heir Apparent), as he was then called, learned to love purity of character, knowledge, and simple living from his infancy upwards. His father's example and precept taught the future Maharaja that his whole aim should be to devote all his time, talents, and energy to promote the good of those among whom he was born and over whom he would rule in the fulness of time.

The time in which the Tikka Sahib first opened his eyes upon the world was far different from that in which his father had been born. The Punjab had not yet been



Maharaja Hira Singh Malvender Bahadur
the late Maharaja of Nabha.

annexed by the British when Raja Hira Singh came into the world, and Western ideas had not penetrated into that part of India. When the present Maharaja was born, however, the Punjab had been a part of British India for more than a generation. The Punjab University had been established, and many Punjabis had graduated from schools and colleges. Western books and papers were being read by persons who could decipher them, and Occidental notions were influencing even those who did not know English, through translations of English books and by other means. As a consequence of these changes, the Tikka Sahib of Nabha enjoyed educational advantages which his father never had.

The Tikka Sahib showed a great desire to assimilate both Eastern and Western culture, and a great capacity for acquiring useful knowledge. In the course of a few years he learned to write well in Punjabi and English. He had acquired such a grasp of the Indian situation that in 1906



H. H. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvender
Bahadur, Maharaja of Nabha.

the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab had him appointed as an Additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Many readers will remember how this appointment was considered at the time to be a device on the part of a Local Government to appoint an Indian who would be an echo of the British-Indian bureaucracy. The Tikka Sahib had not been long in the Council when all unprejudiced persons were compelled to change such views. He at once showed the desire to represent Indians. He exerted his influence to advance Indian interests in every manner possible. He associated with men like the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, instead of cliquing with aristocrats. I shall quote here what he recently wrote about his companionship with Mr. Gokhale in and out of the Council:

"I had the privilege of counting the late lamented Mr. K. Gokhale among my personal friends and of being associated with him for some time as a colleague in the Imperial Legislative Council. I thus often came in touch with his charming and brilliant personality and had the opportunity of observing the

great powers of head and heart which, in his comparatively short public career, so thoroughly won for him the confidence and affection of his countrymen. India has, indeed, suffered an irreparable loss in his premature death, and it is but fit and proper that the memory of that true and great patriot be perpetuated in a suitable manner by his grateful countrymen."

The Tikka Sahib's term in the Legislative Council, extending from 1906 to 1908, enabled him to extend his knowledge, to come in close contact with Indian leaders of thought and progressive movements.

The Tikka Sahib left India for a tour in Europe shortly after his work in the Council had ended. His residence in England, during which he had personal audience of His Majesty the King-Emperor and met many eminent men and women, and investigated numerous institutions, helped to widen his intellectual horizon.

He had gone to Europe accompanied by his wife. It is not realized by many persons that the Maharani Sahiba is a most cultured woman, and has had a great influence upon her husband. I know, through personal knowledge, how her father, Sardar Gurdial Singh Man, took pains to educate Her Highness. A relative of mine acted as her tutor for some time, many years ago, and I had the opportunity of seeing her at her work more than once. Her Highness speaks English fluently, and is very fond of reading Eastern and Western books. Her stay in England enabled her to see much of Western life, and made her a most congenial companion to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib.

Every one who had come in contact with the Tikka Sahib confidently expected that he would modernize the administration of Nabha as soon as he came into power. What has happened since his elevation to the throne of his fathers on December 25, 1911, has justified such hopes. His Highness has refrained from making violent changes—and quite wisely. He, however, has been steadily modifying the State organization.

His Highness has been aiming at making the public services of Nabha efficient by appointing duly qualified men to hold the various posts, remunerating them adequately, and assuring their future. He wishes to employ his own subjects, as far as is practicable; and is taking measures to enable promising young men to fit themselves to occupy positions of responsibility.

The administrative exigencies of Nabha required not only men with higher qualifications than those who had been employed before, but also necessitated an increase in the number of officials. His Highness has considerably strengthened the revenue service by increasing the number of Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars. This much needed reform has had the effect of saving the peasant proprietors from taking long journeys to the headquarters of Tehsils.

Every department of the State shows the effect of His Highness's personal interest in it. Take, for instance, the one that controls finance. Great changes have been inaugurated in this department. A qualified official has been appointed Accountant General and placed in charge of the State Treasuries. In order to make the system of checking accounts effective, the Accountant General has been given an independent status.

The judicial department also has been greatly improved. A High Court has been established. Men versed in law are being appointed to act as judges, and are left alone by His Highness to make systematic inquiries into civil and criminal cases, carefully to weigh evidence, and to arrive at an impartial decision. The policy of arresting procedure at any stage has been completely abandoned. The Maharaja Sahib limits his judicial work to revision of the judgments passed by the High Court in important cases, or where an appeal is preferred.

The laws of the State are being codified by an experienced officer who holds the degree of Bachelor of Law.

A qualified engineer has been placed in charge of the Public Works. Irrigation canals and wells are being constructed. Schemes for water works are under consideration. The Maharaja Sahib is especially anxious to promote sanitation, agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Nothing is so dear to the heart of the Maharaja Sahib as the education of his people. He deplores the illiteracy of his subjects—only 7,143 out of the 248,887 inhabitants of the State could read and write in 1911; and he longs for the day when it will have entirely disappeared. He made primary education free in 1913. Speaking, some time after taking this action, to a party of students who had presented him with an address, His Highness said that he intended to make elementary



Installation Ceremony according to Sikh Usages of H. H. Maharaja Rup Lalman Singh
Malvendar Bahadur Maharaja of Nabha

instruction compulsory. I quote the following from the speech that he made on this occasion, as it shows his ideas on education and kindred matters :

"It gave me great pleasure to make elementary instruction free in my State the other day, and it is my aim to make it compulsory as well in due course. In advanced foreign countries the duty of the State in the matter of providing education has been realized, and in India progressive States, like Baroda and Mysore, are following this noble example.

But we are bound to one another by reciprocal duties. If you parents and the State have certain duties towards you you also owe something in return to your parents and the State. I view you with special interest because you have latent powers which if properly developed and carefully applied are sure to bring about great results, and I hope you will prove an honour to your country and the Government when it comes your turn to play your part in the affairs of this world. I assure you that every reasonable help which you may deserve by your merits will be readily given to you by the State."

His Highness attaches special importance to the education of girls, believing that the diffusion of knowledge among women prepares them intelligently to discharge the functions of motherhood, and thereby exerts an enlightening influence upon the rising generation. He has

recently established a girls' school at his capital, and has set apart scholarships for girls.

The Maharaja Sahib is also interested in giving higher education to his subjects. He has inaugurated a scheme of awarding scholarships to promising young men to enable them to pursue studies at various colleges in the Punjab. I understood, some years ago, that he had in mind a scheme for sending students abroad, which I have no doubt he will put into operation shortly.

The Maharaja Sahib, like his father, encourages learning outside the State. Both gave large benefactions to the Girls' School at Perczepur founded by Bhai Takht Singh and Bibi Harnam Kour, the latter dying some years ago after working indefatigably for the advancement of Punjabi women. The present Maharaja also gave a liberal donation to the Girls' School at Bhasaur (Punjab).

His Highness's patronage of learning is of a catholic character. This was evidenced by the lakh of Rupees that he gave, some time ago, to the Hindu University

The remarks that he made at the time show his enlightened policy. He said in effect that he would have donated a larger sum if the educational needs of his subjects had not had a prior claim upon the State Treasury.

In order to educate his subjects in the science of self-government, the Maharaja Sahib has constituted District and Advisory Committees. The District Committees are elected by the people. It is their duty to help the District Officers (Nazims) to perform their administrative work. They send representatives to the Central Committee. His Highness expects to develop these bodies into real self-governing institutions in course of time.

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh does not believe in intervening in the administration of his State except in cases of flagrant mismanagement. He considers that carefully selected officials should be given scope for exercising their initiative and bearing responsibility, their powers, privileges, and limitations being strictly defined. He thinks that the functions of a Maharaja should be to keep a watchful eye on the work of his officials, to counsel them in times of doubt and difficulty, to guide them when occasion arises, and to decide issues of the greatest importance involving the establishment of new principles and precedents.

His Highness has abandoned the policy that prevailed before his accession of departments requiring the Maharaja's sanction to items of expenditure that had been incorporated in the Budget. I may note, *en passant*, that he has given increased

powers to the Executive Council which consists of two Members, Khan Sahib Mohamed Munawar Ali Khan and Sardar Hazara Singh. The Executive Council does not interfere in judicial matters.

In order to insure against oppression by officials, His Highness makes frequent tours through different parts of his State, and gives every opportunity to persons with grievances to tell him their troubles. Anyone who has a complaint to make can write to him and be sure that his letter will be opened and read by the Maharaja himself, and inquiry immediately made, and such redress given as circumstances may justify.

So far I have spoken of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh as an administrator. To what has been written must be added a few sentences showing his work as a man. His Highness lives a simple and useful life, and is a total abstainer. An example such as his cannot but uplift those amongst whom he moves. From his early manhood he has been a social reformer. This was amply acknowledged when the Indian Social Conference invited him to preside over their deliberations at their Lahore session in 1909. His Highness wants to do away with caste prejudices, the purdah system, early marriage, enforced widowhood, polygamy, and like social abuses. Though he has no son and heir, he has refused to use that pretext to marry a second wife.

It is fortunate for Nabha that it has so progressive a Ruler as His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

I.

SO reads the title of a paper read before a learned society and published in their literary organ, noted for the originality of the articles which find place therein. And above all, proceeding as it does from the pen of a scholar who had been trained by the dons of three of the foremost nations of the modern world, Japan, America and Germany, it has created an unique interest among scholars.

The author of the paper, Dr. D. Brainerd Spooner, has already made a name by the discovery of the Kanishka Chaitya and the relics of Buddha at Peshawar*. Students

* His excavations at Sabri-Bahhal have been on the whole successful and at present he has the unique distinction of being the only Sanskrit scholar among the European members of the Archaeological Department. Dr. Spooner is the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Department and one of the Secretaries of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

of Indian history are familiar with such a conventional division as the Indo-Greek or the Scythian period; but a Zoroastrian period, I dare say, opens up a new vista of research and speculation. Those who have wandered far and wide in the unknown wilds of Indian antiquity might, perhaps, have come across some stray specimens reminding them of the ancient Persian civilisation of the Achaemenidæan period. But these are being commonly taken as evidences of the Persian occupation of the north-western regions of India. Their scarcity, hitherto, has prevented Orientalists from making any serious attempt at building up any sort of theoretical speculation. Dr. Spooner's exposition of this new period has therefore been awaited with great interest by the majority of serious students; and it was surmised that his discoveries would, at last, link Indian history with the general history of the Ancient East. So far Indian history had been an isolated study and India could not be assigned a proper place in the history and chronology of the great Oriental nations of antiquity. It was as Elphinstone had put it nearly a century ago, "no date of Indian history could be determined with exactitude before Alexander's invasion."

Dr. Spooner's learned paper has been printed in two instalments in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, for 1915. Beyond a general outburst of journalistic feeling any serious attempt does not seem to have been made either in this country or in Europe to consider calmly the conclusions of the learned author, or to examine the facts and methods, discovered and employed by him to arrive at these conclusions. We know from the inscriptions of the emperors of the Achaemenidæan dynasty of Persia as well as from the sober statements of the Hellenic historians that a portion of the north-western regions of India was included in the Persian Empire down to the conquest of Alexander the Great. These regions were divided into a number of Satrapies;* the subject races of Indians paid their taxes in coined silver money and the Indian regiments fought under Persian Generals in the Greco-Persian Wars.† These facts have been put beyond doubt by the corroborating statements of foreign

historians and epigraphical evidences. And perhaps we may safely point to the history of this period as a real and a tangible beginning. But for all that, it is the darkest period of Indian history. A discussion of the materials available for the historical study—nay, for the reconstruction of the history itself—cannot fail to be of passing interest to all those who are labouring under immense difficulties to throw light on this obscure period. A fresh interest has also gathered round this topic by the excavation of the historic site of Pataliputra under the supervision of the author of the paper. The accounts published from time to time in the daily papers of the numerous and valuable finds unearthed in the excavated area and mostly assigned by the author of the paper to the period under discussion are partly responsible for the great sensation which the theory has created among the scholarly public.

As Dr. Spooner's theory is entirely based on the results of the Pataliputra excavations, we should examine them thoroughly before proceeding to discuss his modes and methods. About a quarter of a century ago the ruins of Pataliputra were excavated by Lieut-Col. L. A. Waddell and the late Mr. Purna Chandra Mukherji. In opening the discussion, Dr. Spooner very gracefully introduces Dr. Waddell's name but omits to mention the part played by Mr. Mukherji. It is well-known that the first excavations of Pataliputra were mainly conducted by Mr. Mukherji and Dr. Waddell's share in it was very little.

Dr. Waddell found some "fragments of polished stone with a curving surface, which he rightly judged to be portions of Maurya pillars." We know from the statements of the Chinese pilgrims "that Asoka erected at least two inscribed pillars in his capital." Dr. Waddell thought that he had discovered some fragments of the one or the other of those pillars. Dr. Spooner says that when the excavations were begun "the Department was not without hope of proving that Colonel Waddell was right."

The second excavation of Pataliputra was begun on the 6th of January, 1913. Numerous fragments of sandstone with curved and polished surface were found in the excavated spot, a field lying between "two tanks" in the immediate neighbourhood of Kumrahar, a village

south of the modern city." The conclusion to which Dr. Spooner has been led by the number of these fragments is stated in the following terms :—

"It soon became apparent, then, from the multiplicity, varied texture and small diameter of our pillar fragments that they could not have emanated from an edict column. I, therefore, assumed that some Mauryan building must have been situated here and altered my method of work to suit this changed hypothesis."

This was the first false step that he took. The learned excavator should not have altered the method of his work to suit a mere hypothesis. Pre-conceived notion and hypothetical assumption, I am afraid, have no place in sober archaeology. Day-dreams are for poets and not for archaeologists to indulge in. A thorough antiquarian should have imprinted in his mind the words of Lord Acton and of Mr. Flinders Petrie. What one would believe is that the learned excavator of Pataliputra in a fit of forgetfulness was thrown off his guard. The glamour of the ancient city distorted the vision of the learned Doctor and so his further observations became incapable of being accepted *in toto* by the scientific students of history.

I had the good fortune of visiting the site along with hundreds of other laymen. I find no reason whatsoever in support of the learned Doctor's theory. The first year's excavation had yielded a number of fragments of polished sandstone pillars, which had been piled up at regular distances with a wooden or bamboo rod over each pile. The fragments were certainly not discovered in that state. They have been put together at these places with some object. One of the assistants at work kindly pointed out to me that these little piles marked the spots where the pillars of the columnar hall were supposed originally to stand. The absence of the columnar hall or any indication of it left the visitor non-plussed. But the gentleman's explanation of the next object of interest cleared his vision. It was a section of the virgin soil, mostly Gangetic alluvium, in which there was a solid column of blackish grey ash. The section of the column of ash is very neat. It appeared as if somebody had sunk a well and filled it up with ashes. Here and there were found one or two pieces of brick or of polished fragments of a stone column. This was all that I saw. On the border of the excavated ground there were some

tents, and a few fragments of stone carving were found lying scattered round it. I found no clear evidence which pointed undoubtedly to the existence of a pillared hall on the excavated spot. I had better quote Dr. Spooner's explanation of the columns of ashes. In the first place he begins by saying that "the actual structure of the Mauryan hall has almost, if not entirely, disappeared."*

Then he goes on to say that it is at all events certain that the Mauryan building was buried with 8 feet of earth over its floor before the fire occurred which finally destroyed it. This refers to the alluvial soil in which the columns of the ash have been found. Then comes the explanation of these circular ash columns †

"It is certain that the tubular funnels of ash which we now find descending vertically from the ash stratum are nothing more than the holes left by the pillars which originally stood at these points."

It should be noted here that a belt of grey ash covers the entire surface of the ground above the level of the vertical columns of ash in question. Dr. Spooner's theory is explained by a diagram at the bottom of p. 46 of the Report of the Archaeological Survey, E. C., 1913-14. It seems quite clear from Dr. Spooner's statements that his theory about the pillared hall rests more on these circular wells filled with ashes and less on the number of fragments with curved sides. His idea is that the pillars have sunk below leaving these cylindrical holes in the soil which have been immediately filled up with ashes. Dr. Spooner has already conjured up a vision of the Mauryan pillared hall and attempted to reconstruct its plan.

"It should be noted furthermore that for purposes of tracing and reconstructing the Mauryan pillared hall it is really not a matter of vital importance whether the columns have sunk or not. So long as we can be perfectly sure that in any event these vertical ash funnels are the equivalents of Mauryan stone pillars, all that is necessary for a reconstruction of ground plan of these pillars is to note and record the position of these ash funnels."‡

Now let us go back in our argument. Dr. Spooner was led by the number of fragments of polished stone discovered at this place to assume that a Mauryan building

* An. Rep., Arch. Surv. of Ind., E. C., for 1913-14, p. 45.

† *Ibid.* p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 48.

existed here. The fragments do not come from a monolithic obelisk.*

The learned author of the paper says that these fragments could not have emanated from an edict column, in total disregard of the fact that such columns have been mentioned by the Chinese travellers.

This minor discrepancy should be disregarded as the fragments found had been thought to have come from more than two columns. According to the hypothesis of the excavator, here stood a hall with several rows of pillars, the position of which are indicated by circular shafts in the soil filled with ashes. It should be noted here that besides these fragments Dr. Spooner has discovered only a half or a third of one of these entire columns. The discovery of this larger fragment is important, as it proves that one at least of the columns was not led by its weight to sink so deep as to make it impossible to recover it at present. Dr. Spooner is perhaps right in thinking that the columns were not in position when the Gupta builders cleared the ground for building purposes.† In 1913-14 his idea was that the upper parts of these pillars were destroyed by the expansion of the copper-bolts when the fire occurred. The lower parts were encased in the alluvial muddy soil and escaped destruction.‡

"When the wooden foundations decayed, the great weight of these pillars forced them to sink vertically." In 1915 when the excavations had spread over a considerable extent Dr. Spooner changed his opinion about this alluvial soil. The excavation has proved that this alluvial soil was not spread over the entire surface and consequently it could not be a deposit of river mud due to a flood. Moreover, careful examination had disclosed particles of straw (*blusa*) mixed up with clay. So Dr. Spooner's second opinion is that this alluvial soil was the remain of a *kutch* brickwork with which the hollow space enclosed by the high plinth or stylobate was filled. Perhaps it did not occur to the learned gentleman that a field of grass when flooded and covered with silt may exhibit traces or particles of straw even hundreds of decades afterwards. But even

if we accept his explanation and take it for granted that the level of the "blue clay" is really the ground level, that there was a high plinth in the construction of the supposed column or hall as in many Persian buildings of the Achaemenidae period, though the Hall of a Hundred Columns had none, and that the mass of the alluvial clay is really the remains of a *kutch* brickwork laid above the wooden foundations, to fill in the hollow space between the plinths on all sides, even then one question remains unanswered; namely, that whether these pillars were originally set up by being inserted partially into this mass of *kutch* brickwork. This the learned excavator does not seem to have tackled. The polished surface of the pillars were certainly not intended to have been left underground. The evidence of other Asoka monoliths is against this. The lower ends of other monoliths which were intended to be covered with earth or brickwork are rough and unpolished. Therefore all these columns must have been unprotected by this belt of clay at the time of the occurrence of the fire and must have been destroyed totally. Dr. Spooner admits the original position of the columns. He says, "originally the columns and sculptures stood on the top of the stylobate."*

But even then he does not give up his theory of the sinkage of the columns. He says: "It will be observed that incidentally the theory of sinkage is confirmed." The learned gentleman admits that originally the columns stood upon the plinth or stylobate and were not imbedded in its clayey core. Therefore it must be admitted that the clay did not protect any portion of the polished shafts at the time of the fire, which must have split these columns into fragments. Therefore it is legitimate to conclude that they could not have been inserted into the circular clayey shafts now filled by the superimposed belt of ashes. It may also be observed that Dr. Spooner has not yet succeeded in recovering any of these columns below the ground level (the original ground level which according to him is the line of "blue clay"), and has offered various explanations for their non-recovery. It seems clear, therefore, even to the unini-

* Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., 1915, p. 64.

† An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1913-14, p. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*

tiated that the circular horizontal shafts can have no possible connection with the position of the columns of the hall, if there had been, as the learned Doctor admits, a high stylobate filled with kutchra bricks and the columns stood above it. Hence the position of the columns in the supposed hall cannot be determined from those shafts. It would not at all be safe to determine the position of the columns from the position of the neatly stacked piles of polished fragments which, Dr. Spooner says, are found above each of these shafts. When a pillar of stone is split by fire or the action of intense heat, the fragments do not fall in neat piles. They would be scattered far and wide and would be thrown with great force. I would invite the learned scholar to test the truth of this statement by a practical demonstration. "It is not easy to believe," he says, "that vandals would have had the courtesy, not only to dig and refill these cavities with the nicety now observable, but further to collect the fallen fragments of their ravished pillars and stack them in such neat piles, precisely above their pits, as to admit of our tracing

the building from a measurement of these accumulations."* Whoever they might have been, whether vandals or not, it is certain that somebody kept the fragments arranged in piles above these ash-pits. None would dare admit that the action of fire led these fragments to pile themselves so neatly for the benefit of a twentieth-century excavator. We owe the solution of the problems of these stacks and the ash-pits to the ingenuity of the learned excavator of Pataliputra. It is certain that the excavations of Pataliputra have not revealed either the plan or the indication of a "pillared hall" and I believe that the charm and the glamour of Asoka's name and his ancient capital added to personal enthusiasm carried to excess have affected the judgment of the unemotional archaeologist. The excavations at Pataliputra have failed. They have failed to produce any important result like those of Sarnath or of Taxila. It has failed like other excavations carried on by the Archaeological Department in Bihar, whether at Rajgir, at Bosrah or at Patna.

NIMROD.

* An. Rep. A. S. R., I. 1913-14.

THE WOODSMAN'S BATTLE-AXE

A MARATHA MOTHER'S BALLAD

VERSIFIED BY FLORENCE AND AGNES BARKER.

Victorious stand the foemen hold
On conflict's bloody field,
Deserting the Maratha cause,
Must their own Peshwa yield.
While fast the news spreads o'er the land,
And all bemoan the gallant band
Hear on the wooded Diva Ghauts
The aged mother's cry :
"Would that my long dead lord were here"
This were the time to die,
And with the heroes fall and bleed
To help his country in her need."
Restless and sad, with tottering step
She seeks the forest glade,
Where plies her son the woodman's axe,
In manhood's strength array'd.
"Come forth, nor stay to fell yon tree ;
Thy country's cause hath need of thee
"Thick as the trees in Diva's wood
The foes around thee stand.
Arise ! for now their traitor heads
Must fall beneath thy hand.
And long the minstrels' songs shall tell
Of the hero who served his country well
Forthwith towards the battle field
The woodman's thoughts were turn'd,
And, kindled by his mother's words,
A fire within him burn'd ;
"With this axe for thy sword and spear
No foeman's *hatyar* needst thou fear."

Once more victorious on the field
The gallant foemen stand,
And Ashta's plain is strewn with dead,
The flower of all the land.
While sorrowing *Gondhals* tell the tale
Of sad Maratha mothers' wail.
See o'er the dismal battle field
The aged mother bends,
Scanning each face, to which the night
A gruesome terror lends
Behold ! at length she finds him lain
Amongst the foes his axe has slain.
For one brief space a mother's grief
Has overwhelmed her heart ;
Then "God be praised" she cries, "My son
Has nobly played his part"
His country needs no braver men
To bring her to her own again !
"Go, woodsman-warrior, valiant son,
And live among the blest ;
This bloodstain'd axe thou wieldst so well
Shall in *Devara* rest ;
That evermore its blade may tell
Of the hero who served his country well '"

(N. B. According to the *Gondhal* song, the descendants of the hero's mother were reduced to such straits in time of famine in the Maratha country that they were obliged to sell the axe by auction; the valuable heirloom realized only one and a half annas !)

MASHI

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI OF SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By W. W. PEARSON.

“MASHI!” *

“Try to sleep, Jotin, it is getting late.”

“Never mind if it is. I have not many days left. I was suggesting that Mani should go to her father’s house.—I forget where he is now.”

“Sitarampur.”

“Oh, yes! Sitarampur. Send her there. She should not remain any longer near a sick man. She herself is not strong.”

“Just listen to him! How can she bear to leave you in this condition?”

“Does she know what the doctors—?”

“But she can see for herself! The other day she cried her eyes out at the merest hint of having to go to her father’s house.”

It is necessary to explain here that in this statement there was a slight distortion of truth, to say the least of it. The actual conversation that took place with Mani was as follows.

“I suppose, my child, you have got some news from your father? For I thought I saw your cousin Anath here.”

“Yes! Next Friday will be my little sister’s *annaprashan*† ceremony. So I’m thinking—”

“All right, my dear. Send her a gold necklace. It will please your mother.”

“I’m thinking of going myself. I’ve never seen my little sister and I want to ever so much.”

“Whatever do you mean? You surely don’t think of leaving Jotin alone? Haven’t you heard what the doctor says about him?”

“But he said that just now there’s no special cause for—”

“Even if he did, you can see his condition.”

* The maternal aunt is addressed as Mashi.

† The Annaprashan ceremony takes place when a child is first given rice. Usually it receives its name on that day.

“This is the first girl after three brothers, and she’s a great pet.—I have heard that it’s going to be a grand affair. If I don’t go, mother will be very—”

“Yes, yes! I don’t understand your mother. But I know very well that your father will be angry enough if you leave Jotin just now.”

“You’ll have to write a line to him saying that there is no special cause for anxiety, and that even if I go, there will be no—”

“You’re right there; it will certainly be no great loss if you do go. But mind, if I write to your father, I’ll tell him plainly what is in my mind.”

“Then you needn’t write. I shall ask my husband and he will surely—”

“Look here, child, I’ve borne a good deal from you, but if you do that, I won’t stand it for a moment. Your father knows you well enough, so you won’t be able to deceive him.”

When Mashi had left her, Mani lay down on her bed in a pet.

Her neighbour and friend came and asked what was the matter.

“Look here! What a shame it is! Here’s my only sister’s *annaprashan* coming and they don’t want to let me go to it!”

“Why! Surely you’re never thinking of going, are you, with your husband so ill?”

“I don’t do anything for him, and I couldn’t if I tried. It’s so deadly dull in this house, that I tell you frankly, I simply can’t bear it.”

“You are an extraordinary woman!”

“But I can’t pretend (as you people do) and look glum lest anyone should think ill of me.”

“Well, tell me your plan.”

“I must go. Nobody can prevent me.”

“Isss! What an imperious young woman you are!”

Hearing that Mani had wept at the mere suggestion of going to her father’s

house, Jotin was so excited that he sat up in bed. Pulling his pillow towards him he leaned back and said, "Mashi open this window a little and take that lamp away."

The still night, like a pilgrim of eternity, stood silently at the window; while the stars, witness through untold ages of countless death scenes, gazed in.

Jotin saw his Mani's face traced on the background of the dark night, and saw those two big dark eyes brimming over with tears, as it were for all eternity.

Mashi felt relieved when she saw him so quiet, thinking he was asleep.

Suddenly he started up and said, "Mashi, you all thought that Mani was too frivolous ever to be happy in our house. But you see now—"

"Yes, I see now, my Baba,* I was mistaken—but trial tests a person."

"Mashi!"

"Do try to sleep, dear!"

"Let me think a little, let me talk. Don't be vexed, Mashi!"

"Very well."

"Once, when I used to think I could not win Mani's heart, I bore it silently. But you—"

"No dear, I won't allow you to say that; I also bore it."

"Our minds, you know, are not clods of earth which you can possess by merely picking up. I felt that Mani did not know her own mind and that one day at some great shock—"

"Yes! Jotin, you are right."

"Therefore I never took much notice of her waywardness."

Mashi remained silent, suppressing a sigh. Not once, but often she had noticed Jotin spending the night on the verandah wet with the splashing rain, yet not caring to go into his bedroom. Many a day he lay with a throbbing head, longing, she knew, that Mani would come and soothe his brow, while Mani was getting ready to go to the theatre. Yet when Mashi went to fan him, he sent her away petulantly. She alone knew what pain lay hidden in that vexation. Again and again she had wanted to say to Jotin, "Don't pay so much attention to that silly child, my dear, let her

learn to want,—to cry for things." But these things cannot be said and are apt to be misunderstood. Jotin had in his heart a shrine set up to the goddess Woman and there Mani had her throne. It was hard for him to imagine that his own fate was to be denied his share of the wine of love poured out by that divinity. Therefore the worship went on, the sacrifice was offered and the expectation of a boon never ceased.

Mashi imagined once more that Jotin was sleeping, when he suddenly cried out,

"I know you thought that I was not happy with Mani and therefore you were angry with her. But, Mashi, happiness is like those stars. They don't cover all the darkness, there are gaps between. We make mistakes in life and we misunderstand, and yet there remain gaps through which truth shines. I do not know whence comes this gladness that fills my heart to-night."

Mashi began gently to soothe Jotin's brow, her tears unseen in the dark.

"I was thinking, Mashi, she's so young! how will she occupy herself when I am—?"

"Young, Jotin? She's old enough. I too was young when I lost the idol of my life, only to find him in my heart for ever. Was that any loss do you think? Besides, is happiness so absolutely necessary?"

"Mashi, it seems, as if just when Mani's heart shows signs of awakening, I have to—"

"Don't you worry about that, Jotin. Isn't it enough if her heart awakes?"

Suddenly Jotin recollected the words of a village minstrel's song which he had heard long before

"Oh my heart! you woke not when the man of my heart came to my door.

At the sound of his departing steps you woke up.

Oh you woke up in the dark!"

"Mashi, what is the time now?"

"About nine."

"So early as that! Why, I thought it must be at least two or three o'clock. My midnight, you know, commences from sundown. But why were you so anxious for me to sleep, then?"

"Why, you know, how late last night you kept awake talking; so to-day you must get to sleep early."

"Is Mani asleep?"

* Baba literally means Father, but is often used by elders as a term of endearment. In the same way "Ma" is used.

"Oh, no, she's busy making some soup for you."

"You don't mean to say so, Mashi? Does she—?"

"Certainly! Why, she prepares all your diet, the busy little woman."

"I thought perhaps Mani could not—"

"It doesn't take long for a woman to learn such things. When the need arises it comes of itself."

"The fish soup, that I had in the morning, had such a delicate flavour, I thought it was your preparation."

"Dear me, no! Surely you don't think Mani would let me do anything for you? You know she does all your washing herself. She knows you can't bear anything dirty about you. If only you could see your sitting-room, how spick and span she keeps it! If I were to let her haunt your sick-room, she would wear herself out. But that's what she really wants to do."

"Is Mani's health, then—?"

"The Doctors think she should not be allowed to visit the sick-room too often. She's too tender-hearted."

"But Mashi, how do you prevent her from coming?"

"Because she obeys me so implicitly. But still I have constantly to be giving her news of you."

The stars glistened in the sky like tears. Jotin bowed his head in gratitude to his life that was about to depart, and when Death extended his right hand towards him through the darkness, he took it in perfect trust.

Jotin sighed, and, with a slight gesture of impatience, said:

"Mashi! If Mani is still awake, then, could I—if only for a—?"

"Very well! I'll go and call her."

"I won't keep her long, only for five minutes. I have something particular to tell her."

Mashi sighing, went out to call Mani. Meanwhile Jotin's pulse began to beat fast. He knew too well that he had never been able to have an intimate talk with Mani. The two instruments were tuned differently and it was not easy to play them in unison. Again and again Jotin had felt pangs of jealousy on hearing Mani chattering and laughing merrily with her girl companions. Jotin blamed only himself,—why

couldn't he talk irrelevant trifles as they did? Not that he was unable to do so, for with his men friends he often had to chat on all sorts of trivialities. But the small talk that suits men is not suitable for women. You can hold a philosophical discourse in monologue, ignoring your inattentive audience altogether, but small talk requires the co-operation of at least two. The bagpipes can be played singly, but there must be a pair of cymbals. How often in the evenings had Jotin, when sitting on the open verandah with Mani, made some strained attempts at conversation, only to feel the thread snap. And the very silence of the evening felt ashamed. Jotin was certain that Mani longed to get away. He had even wished earnestly that a third person would come. For talking is easy with three, when it is hard for two.

He began to think what he should say when Mani came. But such manufactured talk would not satisfy him. Jotin felt afraid that this five minutes of to-night would be wasted. Yet, for him, there are but few moments left for intimate talk.

3.

"What's this child, you're not going anywhere, are you?"

"Of course, I'm going to Sitarampur."

"What do you mean Who is going to take you?"

"Anath."

"Not to-day my child, some other day."

"But the compartment has already been reserved."

"What does that matter? That loss can easily be borne. Go to-morrow, early morning."

"Mashi, I don't hold by your inauspicious days. What harm if I do go to-day?"

"Jotin wants to have a talk with you."

"All right! there's still some time. I'll just go and see him."

"But you mustn't say that you are going."

"Very well, I won't tell him, but I shan't be able to stay long. To-morrow is my sister's annaprashan and I simply must go to-day."

"Oh my child! I beg you to listen to me this once. Quiet your mind for a while and sit by him. Don't let him see your hurry."

"What can I do? The train won't wait

for me. Anath will be back in ten minutes. I can sit by him till then."

"No, that won't do. I shall never let you go to him in that frame of mind. Oh you wretch! the man you are torturing is soon to leave this world; but I warn you, you shall have to remember this day till the end of your days! That there is a God! there is a God! you will some day understand!"

"Mashi! You mustn't curse me like that."

"Oh, my darling boy! My darling! Why do you go on living longer? There is no end to this sin, yet I cannot check it!"

Mashi after delaying a little returned to the sick-room, hoping by that time Jotin would be asleep. But Jotin moved in his bed when she entered. Mashi exclaimed:

"Just look what she has done!"

"What's happened? Hasn't Mani come? Why have you been so long, Mashi?"

"I found her weeping bitterly because she had allowed the milk for your soup to get burnt! I tried to console her, saying, 'Why there's more milk to be had!' But that she could be so careless about the preparation of *your* soup made her wild. With great trouble I managed to pacify her and put her to bed. So I haven't brought her to-day. Let her sleep it off."

Though Jotin was pained when Mani didn't come, yet he felt a certain amount of relief. He had half feared that Mani's bodily presence would do violence to his heart's image of her. Such things had happened before in his life. And the gladness of the idea that Mani was miserable at burning *his* milk filled his heart to overflowing.

"Mashi!"

"What is it, Baba?"

"I feel quite certain that my days are drawing to a close. But I have no regrets. Don't grieve for me."

"No dear, I won't grieve. I don't believe that only life is good and not death."

"Mashi! I tell you truly that death seems sweet."

Jotin, gazing at the dark sky, felt that it was Mani herself who was coming to him in Death's guise. She has immortal youth and the stars are flowers of blessing showered upon her dark tresses by the hand of the World-Mother. It seemed as if once more he had his first sight of his bride under the

veil of darkness.* The immense night became filled with the loving gaze of Mani's dark eyes. Mani, the bride of this house, the wee little girl, became transformed into a world-image,—her throne on the altar of the stars at the confluence of life and death. Jotin said to himself with clasped hands, "At last the veil is raised, the covering is rent in this deep darkness. Ah! beautiful one, how often have you wrung my heart, but no longer shall you forsake me!"

4.

"I'm suffering Mashi, but nothing like you imagine. It seems to me as if my pain were gradually separating itself from my life. Like a laden boat it was so long being towed behind, but the rope has snapped and now it floats away with all my burdens. Still I can see it, but it is no longer mine, But, Mashi, I've not seen Mani even once for the last two days!"

"Jotin, let me give you another pillow."

"It almost seems to me, Mashi, that Mani also has left me like that laden boat of sorrow which drifts away."

"Just sip some pomegranate juice, dear! Your throat must be getting dry."

"I wrote my will yesterday; did I show it to you? I can't recollect."

"There's no need to show it me, Jotin."

"When mother died, I had nothing of my own. You fed me and brought me up. Therefore I was saying—"

"Nonsense child! I had only this house and a little property. You earned the rest."

"But this house——?"

"That's nothing. Why you've added to it so much that it's difficult to find out where my house was!"

"I'm sure Mani's love for you is really—"

"Yes, yes! I know that Jotin. Now you try to sleep."

"Though I have bequeathed all my property to Mani, it is practically yours, Mashi. She will never disobey you."

"Why are you worrying so much about that, dear?"

"All I have, I owe to you. When you see my will, don't think for a moment that—"

"What do you mean Jotin? Do you think I shall mind for a moment because

* The bride and the bridegroom see each other's face for the first time at the marriage ceremony under a veil thrown over their heads

you give to Mani what belongs to you? Surely I'm not so mean as that?"

"But you also will have——."

"Look here Jotin, I shall get angry with you. You want to console me with money!"

"Oh Mashi! How I wish I could give you something better than money!"

"I hat you have done, Jotin!—more than enough. Haven't I had you to fill my lonely house? I must have acquired that great good fortune in many previous births! You have given me so much that now, if my destiny's due is exhausted, I shall not complain. Yes, yes! Give away everything in Mani's name—your house, your money, your carriage and your land—such burdens are too heavy for me!"

"Of course I know you have lost your taste for the enjoyments of life, but Mani is so young, that—"

"No! you mustn't say that. If you want to leave her your property, it is all right, but as for enjoyment—"

"What harm if she does enjoy herself, Mashi?"

"No, no, it will be impossible. Her throat will become parched and it will be dust and ashes to her."

Jotin remained silent. He could not decide whether it was true or not, and whether it was a matter of regret or otherwise, that the world would become distasteful to Mani for want of him. The stars seemed to whisper in his heart:

"Indeed it is true. We have been watching for thousands of years and know that all these great preparations for enjoyment are but vanity."

Jotin sighed and said: "We cannot leave behind us what is really worth giving."

"It's no trifle you are giving, dearest. I only pray she may have the power to know the value of what is given her."

"Give me a little more of that pomegranate juice. Mashi, I'm thirsty. Did Mani come to me yesterday, I wonder?"

"Yes she came, but you were asleep. She sat by your head, fanning you for a long time, and then went away to get your clothes washed."

"How wonderful! I believe I was dreaming that very moment that Mani was trying to enter my room. The door was slightly open and she was pushing against it, but it wouldn't open. But,

Mashi, you're going too far—you ought to let her see that I am dying, otherwise my death will be a terrible shock to her."

"Baba! Let me put this shawl over your feet, they are getting cold."

"No, Mashi! I can't bear anything over me like that."

"Do you know, Jotin, Mani made this shawl for you. When she ought to have been asleep, she was busy at it. It was finished only yesterday."

Jotin took the shawl and touched it tenderly with his hands. It seemed to him that the softness of the wool was Mani's own. Her loving thoughts have been woven night after night with its threads. It is not made merely of wool, but also of her touch. Therefore, when Mashi drew that shawl over his feet, it seemed as if, night after night, Mani had been caressing his tired limbs.

"But Mashi! I thought Mani didn't know how to knit,—at any rate she never liked it."

"It doesn't take long to learn a thing. Of course I had to teach her. Then it contains a good many mistakes."

"Let there be mistakes; we're not going to send it to the Paris Exhibition. It will keep my feet warm in spite of its mistakes."

Jotin's mind began to picture Mani at her task, blundering and struggling and yet patiently going on night after night. How sweetly pathetic it was! And again he went over the shawl with his caressing fingers.

"Mashi! Is the doctor downstairs?"

"Yes, he will stay here to-night."

"But tell him it's useless for him to give me a sleeping draught. It doesn't give me real rest and only adds to my pain. Let me remain properly awake. Do you know, Mashi, that my wedding took place on the night of the full moon in the month of Baisakh? To-morrow will be that day, and the stars of that very night will be shining in the sky. Mani perhaps has forgotten. I want to remind her of it to-day; just call her to me for a minute or two.... Why do you keep silent? I suppose the doctor has told you I am so weak that any excitement will—but I tell you truly, Mashi, to-night if I can have only a few minutes' talk with her there will be no need for any sleeping draughts. Mashi, don't cry like that! I am quite well, to-day my heart is full as it has never been in my life before. That's why I want to see Mani. No, no,

Mashi! I can't bear to see you crying! You have been so quiet all these last days, why are you so troubled to-night?"

"Oh Jotin, I thought that I had exhausted all my tears, but I find there are plenty left. I can't bear it any longer."

"Call Mani. I'll remind her of our wedding night so that to-morrow she may——"

"I'm going, dear. Shombhu will wait at the door. If you want anything, call him."

Mashi went to Mani's bedroom and sat down on the floor crying,—“Oh come, come once, you heartless wretch! Keep his last request who has given you his all! Don't kill him who is already dying!”

Jotin hearing the sound of footsteps started up, saying, “Mani!”

“I am Shombhu. Did you call me?”

“Ask your mistress to come?”

“Ask whom?”

“Your mistress.”

“She has not yet returned.”

“Returned? From where?”

“From Sitarampur.”

“When did she go?”

“Three days ago.”

For a moment Jotin felt numb all over and his head began to swim. He slipped down from the pillows, on which he was reclining, and kicked off the woollen shawl that was over his feet.

When Mashi came back after a long time, Jotin didn't mention Mani's name and Mashi thought he had forgotten all about her.

Suddenly Jotin cried out, “Mashi, did I tell you about the dream I had the other night?”

“Which dream?”

“That in which Mani was pushing the door and the door wouldn't open more than an inch. She stood outside unable to enter. Now I know that Mani has to stand outside my door till the last.”

Mashi kept silent. She realised that the heaven she had been building for Jotin out of falsehood had toppled down at last. When sorrow comes, it is best to acknowledge it.—When God strikes, it is no use trying to dodge the blow.

“Mashi! The love I have got from you

will last through all my births. I have filled this life with it to carry it with me. In the next birth, I am sure you will be born as my daughter, and I shall tend you with all my love.”

“What are you saying, Jotin? Do you mean to say I shall be born again as a woman? Why can't you pray that I should come to your arms as a son?”

“No, no, not a son! You will come to my house in that wonderful beauty which you had when you were young. I can even imagine how I shall dress you.”

“Don't talk so much, Jotin, but try to sleep.”

“I shall name you ‘Lakshmi.’”

“But that is an old-fashioned name, Jotin!”

“Yes, but you are my old-fashioned Mashi. Come to my house again with those beautiful old-fashioned manners.”

“I can't wish that I should come and burden your home with the misfortune of a girl-child!”

“Mashi, you think me weak and are wanting to save me all trouble.”

“My child, I am a woman, so I have my weakness. Therefore I have tried all my life to save you from all sorts of trouble,—only to fail.”

“Mashi! I have not had time in this life to apply the lessons I have learnt. But they will keep for my next birth. I shall show then what a man is able to do. I have learnt how false it is to be always looking after oneself.”

“Whatever you may say, darling, you have never grasped anything for yourself, but given everything to others.”

“Mashi, I can brag of one thing at any rate. I have never been a tyrant in my happiness, or tried to enforce my claims by violence. Because lies could not content me, I have had to wait long. Perhaps truth will be kind to me at last.—Who is that Mashi, who is that?”

“Where? There's no one there, Jotin!”

“Mashi, just go and see in the other room. I thought I——”

“No, dear! I don't see anybody.”

“But it seemed quite clear to me that——”

“No, Jotin it's nothing. So keep quiet! The doctor is coming now.”

“Look here, you mustn't stay near the patient so much, you excite him. You go to bed and my assistant will remain with him.”

“No, Mashi! I can't let you go.”

"All right, Baba ! I will sit quietly in that corner."

"No, no ! you must sit by my side. I can't let go your hand, not till the very end. I have been made by your hand and only from your hand shall God take me."

"All right, you can remain there. But Jotin Babu, you must not talk to her. It's time for you to take that medicine."

"Time for my medicine ? Humbug ! The time for that is over. To give medicine now is merely to deceive ; besides I am not afraid to die. Mashi ! Death is busy with his physic, why do you add another nuisance in the shape of a doctor ? Send him away, send him away ! It is you alone I need now ! No one else, none whatever ! No more falsehood !"

"I protest, as a doctor, this excitement is doing you harm."

"Then go, doctor, don't excite me any more !—Mashi, has he gone?...That's good ! Now come and take my head in your lap."

"All right dear ! Now Baba, try to sleep !"

"No, Mashi ! Don't ask me to sleep. If I sleep, I shall never awake. I still need to keep awake a little longer. Don't you hear a sound ? Somebody is coming."

"Jotin, dear, just open your eyes a little. She has come. Look once and see !"

"Who has come ? A dream ?"

"Not a dream, darling, Mani has come with her father."

"Who are you ?"

"Can't you see ? This is your Mani !"

"Mani ? Has that door opened ?"

"Yes, Baba, it is wide open."

"No, Mashi ! Not that shawl ! Not *that* shawl ! That shawl is a fraud !"

"It is not a shawl, Jotin ! It is our Mani, who has flung herself on your feet. Put your hand on her head and bless her. Don't cry like that, Mani ! There will be time enough for that. Keep quiet now for a little."

SATNAMIS AND SIKHS : 17th CENTURY

SUCH open attacks on Hinduism by all the forces of Government as marked the reign of Aurangzib naturally produced great discontent among the persecuted sect. Some frantic attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and ended in failure. The wandering Hindu saint Uddhav Bairagi was imprisoned in the police station "as a punishment for his seduction of men to falsehood." In June 1669, two of his Rajput disciples stabbed to death Qazi Abul Mukaram, by way of revenge. Aurangzib put to death not only the two murderers but also their innocent spiritual guide.—(M. A. 84.)

Early in 1669 a most formidable popular rising took place in the Mathura district. The Indian peasant, especially in Agra, Mathura and Oudh, was a bad tax-payer in Muslim times, and the collection of revenue often required the use of force. Akbar's wise regulations for giving fixity to the State demand and protecting

the ryots from illegal exactions had disappeared with him. Under his successors, no doubt, a revenue collector was removed from his post when his oppression became intolerable and the public outcry against him repeatedly reached the Emperor's ears. But such cases were exceptional. In the Mathura district in particular, nothing was done by Government to win the love and willing obedience of the peasantry, but rather a policy was followed which left behind it a legacy of undying hatred.

For instance, we read how a local faujdar named Murshid Quli Khan Turkman (who died 1638) took advantage of his campaigns against refractory tenants to gratify his lust. When the villagers were defeated he seized all their most beautiful women and placed them in his harem. Another practice of this licentious officer is thus described in the *Masir-ul-umara* (iii, 422).

"On the birthday of Krishna, a vast

gathering of Hindu men and women takes place at Govardhan on the Jamuna opposite Mathura. The Khan, painting his forehead and wearing a *dhoti* like a Hindu, used to walk up and down in the crowd. Whenever he saw a woman whose beauty filled even the Moon with envy, he snatched her away like a wolf pouncing upon a flock, and placing her in the boat which his men had kept ready on the bank, he sped to Agra. The Hindu [for shame] never divulged what had happened to his daughter."

Abdun Nabi Khan who was faujdar of Mathura from August 1660 to May 1669, was free from such vices. But he gave the people equally strong provocation in another way. He had started life as an officer of Sadullah Khan, the famous *wazir*. His able and honest management of his master's private estates greatly improved their income and prosperity. It attracted Shah Jahan's attention. One day he smilingly asked his *wazir*, "How is it that you have a Philosopher's stone but do not show it to me?" Sadullah understood his meaning and replied, "Yes, your Majesty, Abdun Nabi is a man in outward form, but he has the property of creating gold." Passing on to the imperial service, Abdun Nabi occupied trusted though subordinate positions and rose to the rank of a commander of Two Thousand before his death. He amassed property worth more than 30 lakhs of Rupees, besides building a grand mosque at his own expense.

Aurangzib chose him as faujdar of Mathura probably because he, being "a religious man" (as the Court history calls him), was expected to enter heartily into the Emperor's policy of "rooting out idolatry." Soon after joining this post Abdun Nabi built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-1662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. Later, in 1666, he forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Kesav Rai's temple. When in 1669 the Jat peasantry rose under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat, Abdun Nabi * marched out to attack them in the village of Bashara, but was shot dead during the encounter (about 10th May).

* Abdun Nabi, *Ruqat* No. 34 ('Philosopher's stone'), A. N. 573, 966, M. A. 75, 83 (death) N. W. Gaz. viii. Pt. 1. 93, *Akhbarat*, 97. There is a village named after Abdun Nabi on the left bank of the Jamuna, opposite Mathura and south of Gokla.

Gokla, flushed with victory, looted the parganah of Sadabad, and the disorder spread to the Agra district.

At this Aurangzib sent a strong force under Radandaz Khan to quell the rebellion, while high officers like Saf Shikan Khan and Hassan Ali Khan were successively appointed faujdars of Mathura. Throughout the year 1669 lawlessness reigned in the district. An attempt in September to make terms with Gokla by granting him a pardon on condition of the restitution of all his booty, failed. By the end of November the situation had become so serious that the Emperor had to march from Delhi to the affected area. On the 4th December Hassan Ali Khan attacked the rebel villagers of Rewarah, Chandar-kaha, and Sarkhud. They fought till noon, when being unable to resist any longer, many of them slaughtered their women and rushed upon the swords of the Mughals, fighting with the recklessness of despair. The loss of the imperialists was heavy, while the rebels had 300 killed and 250 (both men and women) taken captive. During the campaign the Emperor very humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them or taking any child prisoner.*

Next month Hassan Ali Khan with his lieutenant Shaikh Razi-uddin of Bhagalpur (who was a rare combination of soldier, theologian, traveller and business man in one) defeated Gokla. The rebels, who mustered 20,000 strong, mostly Jats and other stalwart peasants, encountered the imperial forces at a place 20 miles from Tilpat, and charged most gallantly. But after a very long and bloody contest they gave way before the superior discipline and artillery of the Mughals, and fled to Tilpat, which was besieged for three days and at last stormed at the point of the sword. The havoc was terrible. On the victors' side 4,000 men fell and on the rebels' 5000, while 7000 persons, including Gokla and his family, were taken prisoner. The Jat leader's limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra, his family was forcibly converted to Islam, and his followers were kept in prison in charge of the provost of the Imperial camp.

* Peasant risings in Mathura and Agra districts—M. A. 83, 92-94, 110; Ishwardas, 53 (fall of Gokla); *Akhbarat*, 112, 113, 114.

Innocent strangers who had been arrested along with the rebels, were ordered to be set free after proper inquiries, while the old men and children were handed over to an eunuch of the Court.

But the trouble did not die out with the loss of one leader. We read that even as late as March of that year (1670), Hassan Ali Khan was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, extirpating their families, and dismantling their strong [mud] forts." These measures had the desired effect, and in a short time peace was restored to the district.

But the peace did not last more than ten years. In June 1681, the faujdar of the environs of Agra had to lead an expedition against some villagers and was mortally wounded by them. This was a purely agrarian revolt, and was probably soon ended. In 1688, when the Emperor was engaged with his many enemies in the Deccan, the second great Jat rising began, under the leadership of Rajah Ram, and though Rajah Ram was soon slain, his brother Churaman Jat with his headquarters at Sansani, carried on an intermittent war till the end of Aurangzib's life, and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decadent successors.

The revolt of the Satnami faqirs in May 1672 has gained a place in the history of Aurangzib out of all proportion to its size or political importance. Unlike other popular disturbances of the reign it appealed to the vulgar craze for the supernatural and sent a short thrill of fear to the capital itself. Hence, men greatly marvelled at it and it became the talk of the age.*

The *Satnamis* are a Hindu sect so called from their devotion to the name of the true God (*Satya nam*). The people nicknamed them *Mundivas* or Shavelings from their practice of shaving off all the hair,—even the eye-brows, from their heads. The sect is scattered all over Upper India, and has monasteries in many places, but its stronghold in that century was the district of Narnol, 75 miles south-west of Delhi. The religious mysteries practised by these

sectaries were abominable, and a contemporary Hindu historian, Ishwardas Nagar, thus describes the repulsion which they excited: "The Satnamis are extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it! In sin and immorality they see no blame." (61b.)

But evidently their esoteric doctrines and rites did not make them bad citizens or men. Khafi Khan (ii. 252) gives them a good character as an honest and manly brotherhood, saying, "Though they dress like faqirs, most of them follow agriculture or trade on a small capital. Following the path of their own faith they wish to live with a good name and never attempt to obtain money by any dishonest or unlawful means. If any one tries to oppress them, they cannot endure it. Most of them carry arms."

These people came into conflict with the forces of Government from a purely temporal cause. "One day a Satnamic cultivator near Narnol had a hot dispute with a foot soldier (*piada*) who was watching a field, and the soldier broke his head with his thick stick. A party of Satnamis beat the assailant till he seemed dead. The *shiqqadar* (petty revenue collector), hearing of it, sent a body of *piadas* to arrest the men; but the Satnamis assembled in force, beat the *piadas*, wounded some of them, and snatched away their arms. Their number and tumult increased every hour."

The quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzib himself. An old prophetess appeared among them and declared that her spells could raise an invisible army at night, that the Satnamis fighting under her banner would be invulnerable to the enemy's weapons, and that if one of them fell eighty others would spring up in his place. The movement spread like wild fire and the Government was completely taken by surprise. The rising looked like a sudden "irruption of ants out of the ground or of locusts from the sky." Soon some five thousand Satnamis were up in arms. The local officers underrated the danger and sent out troops in small parties who were successively defeated. These initial victories only raised the confidence of

* Satnamis.—M. A. 115, K. K. ii. 252—254, Ishwardas 61b; *Storia*, ii. 167—168. Akshay K. Datta's *Bharat barshiya Upasaka Sampradaya*, i. 260—270, and Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, evidently describe another sect bearing the same name but founded about 1775.

the rebels and confirmed the tale of their magical power. They plundered many villages in the district and when, at last, the faujdar of Narnol came out to meet them, they routed him with heavy loss and seized the town.

The danger now assumed threatening proportions. The victorious rebels plundered Narnol, demolished its mosques, and established their own administration in the district, holding it by means of outposts and collecting the revenue from the peasants. "The zamindars of the neighbourhood and some foolish Rajputs seized the opportunity to rebel and withhold the payment of revenue to the state. The disturbance daily grew worse." "The rebels marched to Bairat Singhana, looting the villages. The noise of their tumult reached Delhi, where grain became scanty and the citizens were greatly alarmed and distracted." Superstitious terror demoralised the imperial army. "Magical powers were ascribed to the Satnamies.... Great Rajahs and experienced generals with large armies were appointed against them, but refused to face them, though they had arrived within 32 or 34 miles of Delhi."

Aurangzib was now fully roused. On 15th March he sent a large force, 10,000 strong, under Radandaz Khan and many other high officers with artillery and a detachment from the Emperor's bodyguard against the rebels. To counteract the spells of the Satnamis, the Emperor, who had the reputation of a living saint (*Alamgir zinda pir*), wrote out prayers and magical figures with his own hand and ordered the papers to be sewed on to the banners of his army and displayed before the enemy. The encounter was terrible. "The rebels advanced to the attack. In spite of their poverty in materials of war, they enacted the scenes of the great war of the *Mahabharat*. The Muslim heroes reddened their pitiless swords in the blood of the wretches." After a most obstinate battle, two thousand of the Satnamis fell on the field, while many more were slain during the pursuit. "Very few of them escaped; and the tract of country was cleared of the infidels." In the imperial ranks 200 were killed, and Rajah Bishnu Singh Kachhwah, who had fought most gallantly, had his elephant wounded in seven places. The victors were richly rewarded. Radandaz Khan was given the title of Shujaet Khan, and all the officers, high and low alike, received promo-

tion and robes of honour. The artillery planted outside Delhi to command the approaches to the city stood there for some time after as an eloquent memorial of the panic created by the Satnami advance at the capital.

Towards the close of the 15th century, when the first wave of Muslim immigration into India had worn itself out, leaving the country in political disruption, social disorder and moral decadence, there arose in the extreme east and the extreme west of India two Hindu reformers who called upon the people to prefer the essence to the form of religion, a living faith to a dead mechanical ritual, and the spirit to the letter of their scriptures. Both of them insisted on the unity of the Godhead underlying the multitude of the idols of popular worship. Both taught that God can be realised only by means of a love as ardent and exclusive as the conjugal passion. Both urged on their hearers to work out their salvation personally by strenuous holy living and not to imagine that it can be won through any other man's exertions or the mechanical repetition of any other man's words. Both invited earnest believers to their folds without distinction of caste or creed, and tried to form a brotherhood of the elect. Both attempts, after glorious success for three generations, ended in failure, and their only result has been to add two more names to the long list of the religious sects of the Hindus. The goal of Chaitanya* was lost when his church passed under the control of Brahman Goswanis who developed a very subtle and esoteric theology in which the brain has suppressed the heart, and his Vaishnava followers now form two sharply divided sections,—an emotional but morally undisciplined rabble at the base, and a keenly intellectual but cold and fastidious priesthood at the top, without any link between them. The aims of Nanak were abandoned when his successors in the leadership of the Sikhs set up a temporal dominion for themselves and made military drill take the place of moral self-reform and spiritual growth.

"The liberation which Baba Nanak realised in his heart" was not political liberty, but spiritual freedom. Nanak had called upon his disciples to free themselves from selfishness, from narrow bigotry, from spiritual lethargy. Guru Gobind organised the Sikhs to suit a special purpose. He called in the human energy

* For the teachings of Chaitanya, see my work *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*.

of the Sikhs from all other sides and made it flow in one particular channel only; they ceased to be full, free men. He converted the spiritual unity of the Sikhs into a means of worldly success; he dwarfed the unity of a religious sect into an instrument of political advancement. Hence, the Sikhs who had been advancing for centuries to be true *men*, now suddenly stopped short and became mere *soldiers*! The end of Sikh history looks very sad. When a river, which had left the pure, snowy, cloud-kissing hill-tops to reach the ocean, disappears in a sandy plain, losing its motion, losing its song, a sorry sight is its failure. Even so, when the pure white stream of energy which issued from a *bhakta's* heart to cleanse and fertilise the earth ends in the red mire of a military cantonment, men can see no glory, no joy in it.....Today there is no spirit of progress among the Sikhs. They have crystallised into a small sect. Centuries have failed to produce new spiritual teacher from among them.*

Nanak, a Hindu of the small trader caste (Khatris), was born in 1469 at Talwandi, a place 35 miles S. W. of Lahor. In early youth he began to consort with holy men and wandering friars and have ecstatic visions, and then throwing up his post under Daulat Khan Lodi he took to a life of religious travel and preaching. The essence of his creed was belief in the one true living God, and the shaping of every man's conduct in such a way as to realise that God. In his moments of inspiration he held communion with his Maker and sang of Him in the very language of the Song of Songs. Like Kabir and other Indian saints before him, he preached against the hollowness of conventional beliefs and mechanical rites, and urged his hearers to go back to the very spring head of a personal and living faith. It was only natural that such a teacher should denounce the Hindus and Muhammadans of the age as false to their creeds and that his insistence on the common truth of all religions should make all spiritual-minded men among both sects accept him as their master and guide, even as Kabir had been accepted. But the vulgar people and the selfish priests raised the cry that Nanak had condemned their Scriptures as inefficacious for salvation, that he was saying "There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman," and even that he had "become a Turk!"†

Indeed, there was much in Nanak's speech and conduct to lend colour to such a charge. His dress was as eclectic as his doctrines.

"The Guru set out towards the east, having arrayed himself in a strange motley of Hindu and Muhammadan religious habiliments.....He wore a necklace of bones, and imprinted a saffron mark on his forehead in the style of Hindus." (Mac. i. 58.)

His devotion to one God, "the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Pure, the Invisible," made him reject incarnations and idols as abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and set prayers. As he said, repeating the words of Kabir, "O brethren, the Veds and the Quran are false, and free not the mind from anxiety...God can be obtained by humility and prayer, self-restraint, searching of the heart, and fixed gaze on Him." (Mac. i. 177).

Nanak (who lived till 1538) drew round himself a band of earnest worshippers, and in time they solidified into a sect. But his original intention was to save all souls without distinction, and not to found a narrow brotherhood with its peculiar dress, marks, doctrines, form of worship and scripture. He acknowledged no *guru* save God and no worship except the practice of virtue. Even his hymns were mostly adapted from the sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past, and had nothing distinctive, nothing sectarian about them.

This liberality of mind, devotion to the essence of religion, and contempt for wealth and power continued to mark the Sikh gurus throughout the 16th century, from Nanak to Arjun the 5th guru. Their saintly lives won the reverence of the Mughal Emperors and they had no quarrel either with Islam or the State.

Before the reign of Aurangzib the Sikhs were never persecuted on *religious* grounds, and their collision with the Mughal Government, which began in Jahangir's time, was due entirely to *secular* causes, and the change in the character of the gurus was solely responsible for it.

Nanak had no guru save God, and his two immediate successors were chosen for superior character only. But after the

* Rabindranath Tagore, as translated by me in *Modern Review*, April, 1911, 334-338.

† Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. I; Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, 583-594 (article by E. Pincott). *Dabistan-ul-mazahib* (Bombay lithographed text) 178-193 and Sujan Rai Khatri's *Khulasat-ul-tawarikh* as translated by me in *India of Aurangzib*, 88-91,

are our original sources of information about the Sikh gurus. I shall in future refer to the first of these works as 'Mac.'

3rd guru the headship of the Church became hereditary. The guru was credited with superhuman powers; he was invested with royal pomp, and man-worship began to infect the Sikhs. When boys of nine and even five years (lik^e Govind Rai and Har Kishan respectively) were accepted as spiritual leaders, it was clear that the Guru had ceased to be regarded as a human teacher and was held to be born with supernatural powers like an incarnation of God, whose acts could not be judged by the standard of human reason.*

Under Arjun, the 5th Guru (1581—1606) the number of Sikh converts greatly increased and with them the guru's income. As a contemporary remarked, "The Emperor [Akbar] and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him." (Mac. iii. 28) "The royal state and retinue" of this guru were so great that even a Chancellor (*diwan*) of the empire considered the guru's son a desirable match for his daughter, but the guru scornfully declined the alliance. With the business instincts of a Khatri (petty trader), Guru Arjun organized a permanent source of income. A band of agents called *masands* were stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca where there was a Sikh, to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful; and this spiritual tribute, so far as it escaped peculation by the agents, reached the central treasury at Amritsar. The guru was treated as a temporal king and girt round by a body of courtiers and ministers called *masands*, which is the Hindi corruption of the title *masnad-i-ala* borne by nobles under the Pathan sultans of Delhi. Like the Muslim kings, too, the gurus took several wives.†

The effects of this conversion of a spiritual guide into an earthly ruler began to show themselves clearly after the death of Arjun. That guru was a lover of peace and humility, and devoted himself to consolidating the Church. He completed the two sacred tanks at Amritsar, built the first temple for enshrining the Holy Book

(*Granth*) on the site of the present Golden Temple, drew up a scheme of daily religious services for the Sikhs, and gave the final shape to their Scriptures by compiling a volume of hymns selected from those composed by his four predecessors as well as those current among "the followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan, since the days of Jaidev." (Mac. iii. 60.)

At the very end of his career, Arjun made the sole mistake of his life. Moved by compassion and entreaty, he in a weak moment blessed the banners of Khasrau, the rival of Jahangir for the Mughal throne, and even gave money help to that prince. On the defeat of the pretender, Jahangir fined the guru two lakhs of Rupees for his disloyalty to the king *de jure*. The Sikhs were willing to subscribe the amount; but the man of God forbade them, saying "Whatever money I have, is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger." (iii. 92.) He regarded the fine as an unjust imposition, refused to pay it, and stoically endured imprisonment and torture, which were the usual punishments of revenue defaulters in those days. Worn out by being forced to sit in the burning sand¹ of Lahor, he died in June 1606. This was clearly not a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender.

With his son Har Govind (1606-1645), a new era began. He was a man of a less spiritual fibre than Arjun. "Unlike his father, Har Govind constantly trained himself in martial exercises and systematically turned his attention to the chase." Early in his pontificate, he began to enlist men and increase his bodyguard of 52 warriors till it became a small army. When the saintly old Sikh, Bhai Budha, remonstrated against this unspiritual passion, Har Govind replied, "I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion *and worldly enjoyment* shall be combined." His retinue during his tours to places of pilgrimage was large enough to scare away holy men by suggesting that some Rajah had arrived! (Mac. iv. 4-5, 53.)

● Under the easy and good-natured Jahangir, Har Govind was fairly well treated by the imperial family, though he had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort to make him pay the balance of his father's fine. But the

* So, too, Babu Atal, the son of Hara Gobind, though only 8 years old, conveyed "a profound meaning in whatever he said even jestingly" (Mac. IV, 130) and was believed to be "a treasury of miraculous power." (131.)

† Har Rai, 7th guru, when a mere boy of nine was "wedded collectively" to all the daughters of a follower named Daya Ram. (Mac. iii. 225.)

growing military strength and royal pomp of the guru and his worldly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the government of the country inevitable, and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession. When that emperor was hawking near Amritsar, the guru entered the same area in pursuit of game, and his Sikhs quarrelled with the servants of the imperial hunt about a bird. The two parties came to blows, and in the end the imperialists were beaten off with slaughter. An army was sent against the audacious rebel, but it was routed with heavy loss, at Sangrana, near Amritsar, 1628. (Mac. iv. 80-98.)

The victor's fame spread far and wide. "Many men came to enlist under the guru's banner. They said that no one else had power to contend with the Emperor."* Such an open defiance of imperial authority could not be tolerated near Lahor. Larger and larger armies were sent against the guru, and though he gained some successes at first, his house and property at Amritsar were, in the end, seized, and he was forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir hills beyond the reach of Mughal arms.†

Here he died in 1645, after investing his younger grandson, Har Rai, a boy of fourteen, as his successor. An elder grandson, named Dhir Mal, set up as guru in the Panjab plains, in alliance with the imperial government, and kept possession of the original copy of the *Granth*, which had already attained to the veneration of a tutelary idol.

Har Rai's pontificate (1645-1661) was uneventful. But Dara Shukoh had paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to *sadhus*, and the guru had blessed the Prince when a fugitive in the Punjab after the battle of Samugarh. Aurangzib summoned Har Rai to answer for his conduct. The guru sent his eldest son Ram Rai to Court, but that young man temporised and ingratiated himself with the Mughal, for which his father disinherited him. Har Rai died in 1661 after

investing his second son, Har Kishan, as his successor. Ram Rai immediately proclaimed himself guru and claimed his father's heritage. Taking advantage of the disputed succession to the leadership of the Church, "the masands collected and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves." (Mac. iv. 314-317).

Aurangzib summoned Har Kishan to Delhi to decide the suit. But before it could be done, the boy guru died of small-pox (1664), and the same scene of disorder and rapacity again broke out among the Sikhs. "Twenty-two [men] of Bakala claimed the right to succeed him. These self-made gurus forcibly took the offerings of the Sikhs." (iv. 332). After a time Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind, succeeded in being recognised as guru by most of the Sikhs. With his personal followers he accompanied Rajah Ram Singh (the son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh) to the Assam War (1668) and fought in the Mughal ranks; but he came back to Upper India in a few years, and took up his residence at Anandpur.

From this place he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzib had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated.* He encouraged the resistance of the Hindus of Kashmir to forcible conversion and openly defied the Emperor. Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor.

Now at last open war broke out between the Sikhs and Islam. The murdered guru's followers were furious; one of them threw bricks at the Emperor (27th Oct. 1676) when he was alighting from his boat on his return from the Jama Masjid. (M.A. 154). But such attempts at retaliation were futile. Soon a leader appeared among the Sikhs who organised the sect into the most efficient and implacable enemy of the Mughal Empire and the Muslim faith. Govind Rai, the tenth and last guru (1676-1708) and the only son

* He had so completely sunk the character of a religious reformer in that of a conquering general, that he had no scruple in enlisting large bands of Afghan mercenaries. These afterwards deserted him, joining the imperial general, and attacked the guru.

† *Dabistan*, 188. The Sikh accounts disguise the guru's defeat, but they can offer no explanation of his flight to the hills if he had been, as they allege, always victorious over the imperialists.

* Khafi Khan (ii. 652) says, "Aurangzib ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the guru's agents (*masands*) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities." Life of Tegh Bahadur in Mac. iv. 331-387. The Persian histories are silent about him.

of Tegh Bahadur, was a man of whom it had been prophesied before his birth that "he would convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks." He was not the person to leave his father's death unavenged. All his thoughts were directed to turning the Sikhs into soldiers, to the exclusion of every other aim.

We have by this time travelled very far indeed from Baba Nanak's ideal,* and we may here pause to consider what causes made the success of Guru Govind possible. The first was the gradual elevation of the guru to a superhuman position. Nanak, like every other Hindu religious preacher, had laid stress on the help which a true teacher (*guru*) can give in leading a man to the path of virtue; the guidance of one experienced in such things saves the disciple much difficulty, chance of error, and loss of time. "The object of the guruship is to save the world, to give instruction in the true Name, and to blend men with their Creator" (iv. 316). Such being the guru's function, he was to be implicitly obeyed. As Bhai Gurudas, who lived in the late 16th century, says in his exposition of the essence of the Sikh religion :

"The Sikh who receiveth the guru's instruction is really a Sikh. To become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead. A disciple must be like a purchased slave, fit to be yoked to any work which may serve his guru. Love none but the guru; all other love is false." (Mac. IV. 244-263.)

A natural consequence of such teaching was the blind unquestioning devotion of the Sikhs to their spiritual head. The author of *Dabistan*, who had frequent friendly intercourse with Har Govind, narrates a story (p. 193) how a certain guru praised a parrot and a Sikh immediately went to its owner and offered to barter his wife and daughter for the bird ! In other words, he had no hesitation in dooming his wife and daughter to a life of infamy simply to gratify a passing fancy of his guru. The perversion of moral judgment and ignorance of the relative value of things illustrated by this anecdote and another† that I have omitted for the

sake of decency, are extreme; but so too is the spirit of devotion among the followers of the gurus.

This implicit faith in a common superior knit the Sikhs together like the soldiers of a regiment. As Har Govind told his disciples, "Deem the Sikh who comes to you with the guru's name on his lips as your guru." (iv. 219.) The Sikhs were famous in the 17th century for their sense of brotherhood and love for each other.* This was quite natural, as the Sikhs felt themselves to be a chosen people, the Lord's elect. We again quote the language of Bhai Gurudas : "Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans ; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs. . . . Where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints ; where there are five Sikhs, there is God !" (iv. 272 and 243.) The unity due to sameness of religion was further cemented by the abolition of caste distinctions under orders of Govind. All restrictions about food and drink, so prevalent in Hindu society, had already been discarded, and to be a Sikh was to be "as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Musalman." (iv. 219.)

Everything was, therefore, ready for converting the sect into a military body obedient to its chief to the death, and what is even more difficult, ever ready to surrender the individual conscience to that of the guru. If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine.

Govind steadily drilled his followers, gave them a distinctive dress and a new oath of baptism, and began a policy of open hostility to Islam. He harangued the Hindus to rise against Muslim persecution, and imposed a fine of Rs 125 on his followers for saluting any Muhammadan saint's tomb. His aims were frankly material. "Mother dear, I have been considering how I may confer empire on the Khalsa." And, again, "I shall make men of all four castes lions and destroy the Mughals." (Mac. v. 109 and 99.)

* As Har Rai once said, "The vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world, had almost foundered." (Mac, V. 151.)

† *Dabistan*, 192. It shows that the Sikhs of the middle 17th century held the same views about women as the Anabaptists of Munster did. Macauliffe considers this author's testimony about the guru as "of the highest importance" (iv. 217.)

* Sujan Rai of Batala wrote in 1695, "The reliance which this sect has on its leader is seldom seen in other sects. If a wayfarer arrives at midnight and takes the name of Baba Nanak, he is treated as a brother." (*India of Aur.*, 91.) Mac. V. 90-92.

Clearly Nanak's ideal of the kingdom of heaven to be won by holy living and holy dying, by humility and prayer, self-restraint and meditation,—had been entirely abandoned. Guru Govind lived in princely state, kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His bodyguards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs 16 each; and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal imperial band, while his troops insulted and robbed the subjects of his host, the Bilaspur hill-Rajah, like the liveried retainers of the barons of mediæval England. (v. 59,111,5,137.)

In the hills of north Panjab, Govind passed most of his life, constantly fighting with the hill-Rajahs from Jammu to Srinagar in Garhwal, who were disgusted with his follower's violence and scared by his own ambition,—or with the Mughal officers and independent local Muslim chiefs who raided the hills in quest of tribute and plunder. Large imperial forces were sent from Sarhind to co-operate with the quotas of the hill-Rajahs and suppress the guru; but they were usually worsted. He was once defeated and expelled from Anandpur, but recovered the town on the retreat of the imperialists. His army went on increasing, as recruits from the Panjab *doabs* flocked to him and received baptism. Even Muslims were enlisted. Anandpur was five times invested. In the last attack, after undergoing great hardship and loss, with his followers and family threatening to desert if he prolonged the resistance, the guru evacuated the fort, and then went to Kiratpur, Nirmoh and Rupar, closely pursued by the Mughals. At Chamkaur with only 40 Sikhs he stood a siege in a Jat cultivator's house; but two of his sons were slain and he fled. Next he passed through many adventures and hair breadth escapes, changing his place of shelter repeatedly like a hunted animal. His two remaining sons were arrested by the governor of Sarhind and put to death (1705). The Mughal officers plundered parties of Sikhs going to make offerings to their Guru. (Mac. V. 121-222.) Then Govind with his small but faithful guards undertook a journey to Southern India by way of Bikanir and Baghaur; but returned to Northern India on hearing of Aurangzib's death (1707). He is said to have assisted Bahadur Shah I. in securing the throne,

and that Emperor made much of him at Agra and induced him to accompany him on the march to Rajputana and the Deccan. The guru reached Nander on the Godavari, 150 miles N. W. of Haidarabad in August 1707 at the head of some infantry and 2 to 3 hundred cavalry, and there after a stay of more than a year he was stabbed to death by an Afghan (1708.) With him the line of gurus ended. (v. 226-246).

The guru was gone, but not the Sikh people. In the hour of his final defeat at Chamkaur, Govind's parting instructions had been to make the Sikhs independent of a supreme guide and to turn them into a military democracy. "He seated near him the five Sikhs who alone remained of the army, and proceeded to entrust the guru-ship to them. He said, 'I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Wherever there are five Sikhs of mine assembled, they shall be priests of all priests.' "

Even in the darkest days of Guru Govind's life, bands of his followers, each acting under an independent leader, used to harass the Mughal officers and raid parts of the Panjab. Of one such band the fate is thus described in a letter of Aurangzib (written about 1701-1705): "I learn from the news-letter of Shah Alam's camp sent by Khwajah Mubarak that nearly 20,000 Hindus, who call themselves the Khalsa of Govind the follower of Nanak, had assembled and gone to the country of the Barakzai under the escort of the Yusufzai Afghans, and that the men of the escort and other Afghans of the neighbourhood of the Nilab river had fallen on them, so that the party had been killed or drowned. The Emperor orders that the Prince should imprison these misbelievers, and expel them from that district." *

Thus we see that the Mughal government under Aurangzib did succeed in breaking up the guru's power. It robbed the Sikhs of a common leader and a rallying centre. Thereafter the Sikhs continued to disturb public peace, but only in isolated bands. They were no longer an army fighting under one chief, with a definite political aim, but merely moving bodies of brigands,—extremely brave, enthusiastic, and hardy, but essentially plunderers uninspired by any ambition to build up an

* Inayatullah's, *Ahkām 2a*. Readers of Kipling will remember the story of "The Lost Legion" in this connection.

organised government in the land. If Aurangzib had been followed by worthy successors, these Sikh bands would have been hunted down as surely as the Mirzas and Champat Bundela had been in the past, and Dhundhia Waug and Tantia Topi were to be under British rule.

If Ranjit Singh had not risen, there would have been no large and united State under Sikh dominion, but a number of

petty principalities in the Panjab with a ruling aristocracy of Sikh soldiers; and these would have been silently absorbed in the expanding British empire. The Persian and not the Sikh gave the death-blow to the Mughal empire, and it was not from the heirs of Aurangzib but from the Afghan inheritors of Nadir Shah that the Sikhs conquered the Panjab.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

BY C. F. ANDREWS AND W. W. PEARSON.

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THE facts which have hitherto been stated, for the most part in general terms, may be illustrated and made more clear to the reader in India by the following specific cases. They are a few out of a very large number of instances which have come under our special notice.

1. A respectable woman, who told us that she had been on a pilgrimage to Benares and had become confused in the strange crowd and separated from her relations. A man had seen her crying and had promised to bring her to her own people. He had taken her instead to the Depot. When she had found out her true plight, she had been too frightened to resist. Asked why she had answered the Magistrate's questions, she said that she was too frightened to do anything else. Asked whether she was told that she was to go on board ship and settle across the sea, she said 'No'.

Very many circumstantial narratives of this kind were told us. It was noticeable to us how very large a proportion of the women, whom we questioned, were recruited at the pilgrim centres.

2. A well educated, delicate lad from a village near Delhi, who spoke English fluently. He had been promised clerk's work by the recruiting agent. He was told nothing about being obliged to live in the coolie 'lines'. When we met him he was very unhappy. He had saved a little

money and wished to buy himself out, but was not allowed at the time to do so. His employer had been kind to him and put him on light work, but nothing could remove the depression he felt at being forced to live as a coolie in the coolie 'lines'.

3. A Kayastha, who was met at Allahabad by a man wearing a sacred thread. The man pretended to be a Brahman, and promised the Kayastha work as a Teacher in a school at Puri. He was taken instead to the Calcutta Depot. This man was now out of indenture, and he was doing all he could in Fiji to help those who were still in the coolie 'lines'. He gave us a great deal of help, and we found his information accurate on the whole. Though educated in his own vernacular and quite above the 'coolie' class in average intelligence, he was very deaf and at times appeared almost stupid. He was thus one who could have been easily deceived in the first instance. He told us, that he had actually found out his mistake, when in the Depot, but he had been too fearful to run away. From all we saw of him, we were convinced that his own narrative was substantially true.

4. A low caste Hindu, who was brought out under indenture for 'agricultural work' and was set to cut up meat in a butchery. When asked by us how he, a Hindu, could engage in such work, he replied that he could not help it, as he was ordered to do

it. He seemed much ashamed of himself, and hung down his head while he answered our questions. His companions in the butchery were Musalmans.

5. A Kabir-Panthi, now out of indenture, who had been originally obliged to do the same kind of work. He told us that he had continually refused and had been imprisoned. We looked up his record on the estate and found he had been given 692 days' imprisonment while under indenture. When he came to see us, he had clearly lost his moral character, and his record in the Colony, since he had become a free Indian, was a bad one. He had even been charged with biting a man's nose in a sordid quarrel and had been found guilty. But, in spite of this, we found a simple and true side to his character. It was not altogether undermined. It is not unlikely that he became a moral wreck through being compelled to do a work which was against his instincts and his conscience.

[We found some Madrasis of low caste who actually preferred to do this kind of butcher's work. But it is quite clear that the Government of India never contemplated such an occupation as butchery under the head of 'agriculture' in the agreement. We therefore gave our own personal opinion to the Fiji authorities, that Hindus, however low in caste, should not be set to do the work of slaughtering animals.]

6. A Brahman boy, aged about 15, who came out in 1915. He had been deceived by the recruiting agent as to the nature of the work which he would be required to do. He was told when in India that he would have garden work given him in Fiji. His hands were quite unhardened, and he was very miserable, and seemed to be quite a child still in every way. He begged very pitiably to be allowed to go home to India.

[We found many cases of mere boys being indentured in India and brought out to Fiji. In one case a child came to us, who was under indenture. He declared that he was only twelve when he was recruited. He had been out nearly a year, and from his appearance we should regard it as doubtful, if he could have been more than fourteen when we saw him. It is surely open to question, whether a boy of such tender age can legally enter into a complicated agreement which binds him for five years and in most cases settles his whole future. When we looked at

random into the books of the Immigration Department, we found the following recent cases,

51500. Akkaru—Ganges I—1913.—aged 15.

51954. Thalary Nagadu—Ganges I—1913.—aged 16.

56149. Kuda Baksh—Mutlah I—1915.—aged 17.

56296. Baclia—Mutlah I—1915.—aged 17.

It should be noted that some of these ages are probably given on the higher side. We found, for instance, a boy who could hardly be more than 15 entered in Fiji as aged 17. When we had the Calcutta register examined, we found that he was entered there as 20 years of age. The Fiji official told us that he had seen how impossible the age of 20 was for a mere boy, and had put down the age of 17 in the Fiji register as nearer the mark.

7. An intelligent coolie, labouring in the Mill, told us that he was obliged to work on twelve hour shifts, and on alternate weeks had to go on night work from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. without extra pay. There is no mention of night work in the agreement. We found out, still further, that a large amount of highly skilled labour was being performed by the indentured coolies at an absurdly low rate of pay. Among the coolies who had been thus engaged in looking after the machinery of the Mills were some who had been discarded because of some accident. In one Mill, three men came up to us who had each lost a limb and were crippled for life. Yet no compensation had been made to them for this life-long injury. We only heard of one case in the whole Colony, where such compensation had been given by an employer for serious injury to a coolie; and in that case the compensation was extracted by Government pressure. Thus the mill-owners so used their labour under the cover of the indenture system, that they obtained skilled work from the more intelligent of the coolies at a rate of a quarter the market value, and, when these coolies met with an accident in the performance of their duty, refused to pay any compensation whatever except under pressure.

8. A Madrasi; came out in 1913 on Sutlej IV aged 18. Laughed as he narrated to us how he had been deceived by the recruiting agent. Described to us his

appearance before the Magistrate in India and how he hurried through the performance of question and answer. His parents did not know anything about where he had gone, till he wrote from Fiji; because he thought he was only going to get employment a short way from home and then to return.

[A very large number of coolies told us that their relations knew nothing of their whereabouts. Some told us they had never sent any letter home out of shame. Others told us that there was great difficulty in getting letters written and posted. Many again informed us that they had never heard from home though they had written again and again. This was not unlikely; because when we went into a central post office in the interior of the main island and mentioned a coolie's name (whose widow-mother had written to us on our arrival in Fiji asking for news of her son), we found that a letter from the mother, properly addressed, had been waiting for three months undelivered. The postal arrangements are very bad in the Colony outside Suva, the Capital. There must be an incalculable amount of misery amongst the relatives left behind in India, owing to the bad postal arrangements in Fiji and to the evils of fraudulent recruiting in India itself.]

9. A respectable married man who came out with his wife and two children finding the struggle for existence very hard in India and hoping to get on better in Fiji. But he found by experience that living was so expensive in the Colony, that it was even more difficult than in India to keep his family and himself supplied with proper food and clothing. When his wife was nursing her child (she was the only woman with children in the coolie 'lines') they were nearly starving. The average cost of food alone for one person in Fiji is not less than 3 rupees per week, and at that time he was earning 4 rupees 2 annas per week. This man was very anxious to return home to Fyzabad in the United Provinces, where he had been earning six annas a day. He told us that he could manage to keep his wife and children better there than in Fiji.

[Even in this war time, with higher prices for every commodity in Fiji, there has been no substantive advance made in coolies' wages. Some employers have done a little to help out the earnings of the

indentured coolies by issuing tickets which can purchase rice and sharps at pre-war rates. We were told by one employer that purchase by means of such "tickets" saved the coolie six annas in every three rupees. But the "ticket" process is very cumbrous; and very few coolies took advantage of it. When we asked the general manager of the C. S. R. Co., why the company did not give the coolie an advance in actual wages, he replied that when wages once rise, they have a tendency to keep up and not come down again. The company, therefore, had devised the "ticket" system. It was obvious to us, from this, that as far as wages are concerned the indenture system places the coolie completely at the mercy of his employers.]

10. Two young Telugus were interviewed by us in the coolie 'lines'. They came out in 1915. What attracted them was the promise of twelve annas a day. They were earning four annas a day in India. They told us that they were no better off in their cost of living in Fiji. In hours of work, their condition was far worse than in India. In Madras their days' work was always over by noon; in Fiji they had to go on up to five or six o'clock in order to complete their task. In Fiji they were very unhappy because no one in the coolie 'lines' could speak their own language, and they often could not understand the manager's or the sardar's orders. They were very anxious to get back to India.

The hours of labour mentioned were borne out by what we saw elsewhere. Late one evening a boy came over to the house where we were staying, about 3 miles away from some coolie 'lines,' which we had visited about 5.30 p. m. that same afternoon. When we asked him next morning why we did not see him in the 'lines' he said that he had been out in the field when we came, because he had not completed his task. We were away when he came to see us that evening but the Missionary with whom we were staying told us that he arrived in a very exhausted condition. It was one of those cases of boy labour which troubled us so much in Fiji. The Planter was in every way a good man, but this case had escaped his notice. We asked for the boy to be put on three quarter task with full pay and this was done.

11. A Madrasi of very low caste and low features came to us for protection against a sardar who had locked him up

(so he told us) and beaten and starved him. The Inspector, to whom we brought the case, was inclined to disbelieve the coolie, because he had already obtained convictions against two sardars quite recently in the same coolie 'lines' for doing the same thing. We suggested that a bad tradition having been once established in the coolie 'lines' it would be difficult to get rid of it. At our express wish, therefore, the Inspector took up the case; and it resulted in the man's story being found true. One sardar was convicted in the Magistrate's court, another Sardar was acquitted on a technical point of law, but an appeal to the Supreme Court has been lodged by the Inspector. The English overseer through whose neglect the cruelties were allowed to go on has been dismissed, owing to the firm action of the Agent General of Immigration. The case was a striking testimony to us of the genuine desire on the part of the Government authorities to obtain justice for the 'coolie'. At the same time it also revealed to us the extraordinary difficulty under which coolies labour whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani. It was, literally, a matter of hours before we could get from this coolie the plain facts of his story; and the feeling that he was not understood made him nervous and excited, and this gave us a false impression. The Inspector was in the same difficulty as ourselves.

[The recent immigration of Madrasi coolies, who speak Telugu Tamil Malayalam and Canarese, has led to the greatest possible confusion. In a trial for murder before the Chief Justice, held while we were in Suva, the accused prisoner only knew Malayalam. The Court Interpreter only knew Tamil and English. A third party, therefore, had to be called in who knew Malayalam. The Chief Justice was, in this way, twice removed by language barriers from the prisoner at the bar. Yet, in these faulty circumstances, he was obliged to try the Madrasi for his life, and actually to condemn him to death.]

12. A Hindustani girl of good caste and respectable Hindu parentage had been decoyed from her father's home by a neighbouring woman in her village. The pretext was that a telegram had been received from her husband, who was ill and wanted her to go to him at once. Her father, not being on good terms with her husband's father, had separated her from her husband.

She went, therefore, with this woman without letting her father know. Too late she found out how she had been deceived. On board ship her honour was assailed and only with the greatest possible difficulty had she been able to retain it. Now her only hope is that her father and mother will think that she is dead, because she feels that she has brought disgrace to her family. Though she has been nearly two years in Fiji she has not yet recovered from her first despair. She is afraid even to let her parents know where she is, because of the sense of degradation at her present lot in life.

13. A Rajput who came out on the distinct understanding that he would be able to join a regiment if he went to Fiji. He spoke under great excitement when we saw him, as he was in prison and condemned to death. His words were not easy to follow at one point, but we gathered that when signing, a Sahib had assured him that this would be his lot. He said with great emphasis that a Sahib could not tell a lie. He and his brother had been soldiers in India in Rajputana. They were a military family. Then his brother inherited some land and left his regiment and became a Zamindar. He joined his brother for a time, but was hankering to get back to his old military life when the recruiting agent came and deceived him. When he arrived in Fiji, he was told that he would have to enter the coolie 'lines' and serve with the sweepers—as he expressed it. In such compulsory degradation, as he thought it, his life went utterly to pieces. He told us that the insults he received in the coolie 'lines' had been unbearable. "They pulled my moustache" he said, and suited the action to the word. His offence had been an act of murder in a quarrel with a Muhammadan over an abandoned woman. The woman had slapped the Rajput's face and he had stabbed her. In spite of his crime, there was a great nobility in his bearing when we saw him. He only broke down, when one of us asked him if he would like his parents to be visited and told about him; or if he would wish to send them any message. We were both more deeply affected by his whole story, and by the fortitude with which he spoke to us, than it is possible to express in words. He was condemned to be hanged, but owing to the clemency of the Governor the sentence was commuted

to penal servitude. We were very anxious about this Rajput's fate, when we left the Islands. The Governor had not yet consulted his Executive Council. But he was good enough to cable to us, on his own initiative, when our ship reached New Zealand, the news of the reprieve.

In connexion with this case an extract may be given from a petition very fully signed by Indians in Fiji and endorsed by many Europeans.

Respectfully sheweth

That under the existing system of Indian labour immigration there is a great disproportion between the number of males and females.

That this disproportion is mostly responsible for the abnormal number of murders and kindred crimes among Indians.

That the majority of those found guilty of such crimes are otherwise quiet and law-abiding; and the murders, for which they are condemned to death, are not due to any murderous instinct in them, but really to sexual jealousy.

That the proportion of crimes relative to the same class of people in India is, by far, much lower than in this Colony.

That in the Colony of Mauritius, for over five years past, there has not been a single trial of murder by Indians, who, as a mass, belong to the same class as those in Fiji.

That the death sentence does not, as a matter of fact, seem to deter Indians from crime in this Colony, since the whole cause of the trouble here is sexual jealousy.....

This petition was very favourably reported in the Fiji newspapers, and leading Europeans in the Islands very warmly took up the matter of abolishing the death sentence in these murder cases. Many Planters informed us that it was invariably the finest and best Indian coolies who committed these murders, never the worst. This was, to us, very striking news: its significance will be seen, when the criminal statistics are examined later on in the Report.

14. A Muhammadan Munshi, a cultured man and very intelligent. He had been brought out under the promise that he would be given work in a *madrasa*. He had been appointed Sardar in the coolie 'lines' and shewed us his notes which he had kept. He told us that the custom was general of a commission being paid to the Sardar by each coolie. Otherwise the Sardar was able to bring petty tyranny to bear on the coolie who did not pay. A much worse information, which he gave, was that the Sardar arranged according to payment, the location of women with certain favoured men. We had further accounts of this at other centres,

and from what we saw with our own eyes, within the 'lines', concerning the relation of the Sardar to the coolies, it seemed to us not improbable. This Munshi had married by Muhammadan rites a wife, while still living in the coolie lines. But this wife would not, in the ordinary course of events, be set free, until two years after his own indenture had expired. We did our best to get her 'commuted,' as the situation appeared to us highly dangerous, and the Munshi was a very respectable man.

15. A Panjabi, who was a thorough gentleman in his general bearing. He had served for a considerable time in a Panjabi Regiment. He had been quartered at Delhi and gave us the names of his English officers and spoke of his Colonel with great warmth and affection. He had been brought out under the promise of regimental service abroad. The effect of military discipline in the past was noticeable. He had kept his respectability and neatness and good manners in the midst of the coolie 'lines.' He did not complain to us, but took it as his fate.

16. A young Madrasa who kept his good character. He spoke a little English and was fairly educated. This young lad was compelled by the Law of Indenture to live in the midst of grossly immoral surroundings for five years. There was a missionary near to these coolie 'lines' who wished to buy him out and employ him as a Catechist and Teacher. While we were there he was able to do so, and the boy is now free. He told us he had been recruited under entirely false information concerning the life to which he was coming out.

17. A young highly educated Indian, who could write and speak English well. He was soon recognised as unfit for agriculture, and was given important clerical work under Government. He was, however, kept strictly under indenture, and paid a lower salary than he would be entitled to, as a free Indian. Recently he applied for a rise in salary and asked also to be allowed to commute his indenture: for he had been able to save up enough money for that purpose. The increase of salary was refused. He was further warned that, unless he gave satisfaction to Government, not only would his request for commutation be disallowed, but he might be sent back to the plantations under the Law of Indenture.

The fact that a responsible and well-disposed Government, whose actions were on the whole kindly and considerate (as this Report will show) could offer such a threat to a highly educated man, struck us very much indeed. It seemed to bear out our contention, that a five years' indenture with penal clauses attached is a bondage.

These examples may be sufficient to illustrate the fact that recruiting, as at present carried on in India, is frequently unscrupulous and that the indenture itself is neither a free nor an intelligent contract. So strongly did the fact about fraudulent recruiting come home to us that we felt the necessity to cable direct without delay to India, urging that such harmful practices should be stopped. We thought that this could only be accomplished by strong Indian public opinion expressing itself in vigorous action.

We were often asked, in Fiji, to explain how it was possible for the Indian coolies to pass through the examination of the Magistrate and Doctor and Emigration Agent in India, without ever coming fully to understand, what the exact conditions of labour in Fiji were. We have already pointed out the misleading character of the Government agreement itself; how it does not represent the true facts of life in Fiji. It is not unlikely that the Doctor and Magistrate in India are more ignorant of the whole truth than those who drew up that agreement. But, beyond this, it is also probable, that, in many cases, their official work is perfunctorily undertaken. How, otherwise should we find a mere child (who could hardly have been more than 14 or 15) registered as 20 years of age? How could educated high-caste boys, whose very hands would show that they were unused to hard field labour, be sent out to work at the sugar cane? We cannot avoid this inference from the actual cases that have been brought to our notice in Fiji. A conclusion still more serious, was this, that, in addition to collusion with the Police, there was collusion with the subordinate officials of the larger central Depots, in order to keep the hesitating coolies in a state of fear right up to the end. The stories about these subordinate officials, and their treatment of the coolies in the Depot, were too circumstantial to leave much doubt in our own minds about the matter. Free Indians who had no reason for telling us anything but the

truth, were equally clear on this point with those who were still under indenture. Even if the evidence of this corrupt practice were not conclusive, yet it made us feel strongly the imperative need of opening the Depots much more freely than at present to the Indian public. We would also urge that, if recruiting still continues, a reference should be made to the village and family of each person, who is taken into the Depot, and that no one, under the age of twenty, should be recruited except as a member of a family.

There have been lamentable and tragic cases of Indians, both men and women, who have thrown themselves into the Hughli, in order to escape from the emigrant ships, and also of actual suicides, occurring in the high seas. It is difficult to give details of these, because 'deaths' are not separated from 'suicides' and 'desertions' on the ships' records. But we heard the account of one voyage in the year 1912 from an eye witness, who could be trusted. He stated to us that one Coolie had jumped overboard into the Hughli, and one woman had committed suicide at sea. We find in the Indian Immigration Report 1912, in a paragraph referring to the voyage of Ganges 1, the record that "Two male immigrants from Madras, missing at different dates, were supposed to have been lost overboard." This may possibly be the voyage referred to, though the statements do not exactly tally.

We found out, in Fiji, another side of the coolie's difficulties, when he is first brought to the Depot as a recruit. There is nearly always present among this class of Indian villagers (who rarely, if ever, in their lives come face to face with Englishmen) a very potent and peculiar fear of the Sahib. "Why did you not ask the Sahib to release you?" Was the question, which we very often used to put to individual coolies, who had told us about some pitiable fraud of the recruiting agent, practised upon them. The answer invariably came "On account of fear." In one case, a woman told us, how the recruiting agent had terrified her about the magistrate assuring her, that if she did not answer the magistrate's questions in a certain way, which he specified, the Sahib would put her into prison. We have discovered that a great fear comes over the coolies in the strange surroundings of the Depot, and they look

with dread on the functions and powers of the Sahib. Their one bewildered, dominant idea seems to be, that they should try to please the Sahib at all costs. Sadly enough they have little idea when they answer, in the way the recruiting agent has instructed them, the Sahib's questions, that they are throwing away their last chance of release.

One further important point needs to be mentioned in order to make the picture complete. Besides the growth, when in the Depot, of all this fear, suspicion and alarm, there is also a sense of hopelessness, like that of an animal who has been caught in a trap and has given up the useless struggle to escape. Again and again, the indentured coolies explained to us this feeling, and there was a ring of truth about their utterance. It was their 'fate'; so they spoke of it to us; and, in that one word 'fate' all the despair and misery of the situation seemed to be summed up. Those among them, who were respectable women, had the overwhelming dread upon them, that they would never again be taken back into their homes. Indeed, the recruiting agent appeared to know only too well, that when once he had kept such a woman absent from her husband, even for a single night, the rest of his work would be comparatively easy. The woman would feel instinctively that her fate was sealed, and give up any further efforts to get free.

We found one strangely inaccurate idea current among the Planters in Fiji, namely, that a large proportion of those who have already been out once under indenture, return a second time. This erroneous statement was presented to us again and again as the basis of an argument. It was said that it would be quite impossible for the coolies in the various depots to remain unaware of the conditions of indentured labour in Fiji, (even though these were not stated clearly in the agreement) because so many were continually returning under indenture; and such a class of men would not be likely to resist the temptation of telling all they knew to the others. Also, a second argument was used with us, that the indenture system could not be so black as we painted it, because, in that case so many coolies would not be likely to return under a new indenture.

I. will be well to examine these argu-

ments in the light of facts. The figures are available for the years, 1912, 1913 and 1914.

In 1912, there were 3402 Indian immigrants landed in Fiji, of whom 5 men, 5 women and 4 children had previously served or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3402.

In 1913, there were 3289 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 8 men, 2 women and 5 children had previously served, or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3289.

In 1914, there were 1572 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 19 men, 9 women and 4 children had previously served or resided, in Fiji, *i.e.*, 28 adults out of a total of 1572.

Taking the year 1912, as a test of the worth of the first argument (*viz.*, that all the coolies in the various depots would be told the exact labour conditions in Fiji by returning immigrants) it will be seen how very unlikely it would be that five men (some of whom might have decided to go back at the last moment before the ship sailed) could have communicated detailed information about indentured labour in Fiji to 3402 persons scattered over the depots of North India and Madras Presidency.

Considering the second argument, namely, that the conditions of indentured labour are so popular with those who have once experienced it, that large numbers go out a second time, the figures seem to prove the very opposite. For although the Indian coolies find by bitter experience, that they are outcaste and homeless on their return to India, they scarcely ever decide to go back again to Fiji. In the three years for which statistics are available only 32 men out of 8261 immigrants made up their minds to return under indenture.

We met one such, a Natal coolie, who had come out as an indentured immigrant to Fiji. He told us that he had first gone back from Natal to his home in Madras, but had been outcasted. He wished to marry, and to settle down in his village, but no one would receive him or marry him because he had broken caste. He spent what little money he had brought back from Natal in trying to get back into caste, but all in vain. When all his money was spent, he came across a recruiting agent

from Fiji, and in despair decided to go out again under indenture.

In the light of such an undoubtedly true narrative as this, it will be seen how little truth there is in the assumption, that all those, who come back to Fiji under indenture, do so because they are satisfied with the indenture system. This Natal coolie did not sign on again because he liked indentured labour, but because he had given up hope of being ever received back into his community in India. Among the almost infinitesimal proportion who do actually re-indenture in India, there must be some at least who have had that Natal coolie's experience.

As we have already stated, therefore, the facts, when examined, go against the very arguments which they are used to support. They tell the other way. And the assumptions are fallacious.

As, in a measure, a confirmation of this conclusion, that the indenture system is almost universally disliked by the coolies themselves, one of us, while talking with the overseer of a large estate in Fiji mentioned the word 'commutation', suggesting that this should be always permitted (i. e., that coolies should be allowed to commute their time of service by payment of a sum of money). The overseer said significantly "Why! The coolies in these lines would all commute tomorrow, if only they had the chance!"

There were many evidences in Fiji to show, that recruiting in North India had become more and more unscrupulous in recent years. The number of mere lads that were now being sent out was significant. Women, also, had apparently been more difficult than ever to obtain, and the number of women of abandoned character seemed to be on the increase. It was noticeable, also, that the proportion of Madrasis had grown in comparison with Hindustanis. The reason of this has been clearly the rise of wages in North India. While the minimum wage of the indentured coolie in Fiji has remained stationary for thirty-two years, the wages of unskilled labour in the north of India have gone up, sometimes as much as 200 per cent. It is becoming more and more unlikely that the Indian peasant will go, of his own accord, thousands of miles across the sea, to obtain a wage distinctly less, in actual value, than that which he can get near at hand in his own motherland.

Why, for instance, should an able-bodied villager, from Gurgaon or Rohtak, go out across the seas to Fiji, in order to get a mere four rupees per week in wages, when he could get more money by levelling the soil at New Delhi, with wheat selling there at less than half the Fiji price. Clearly the fraud and lying must be very deep indeed, which can induce people to go out to Fiji, at a time when labour is so needed and wages are so high. Yet we found coolies who had been taken from the Delhi district. Their story was that they had been deceived by false prospects. Almost the same figures and rates might be quoted for the price of hired labour in Behar. Yet we found men and women in Fiji who had been recently recruited from districts such as these. In each case which we enquired into, gross deception appeared to have been practised. The coolies complained, that they had not at all understood the kind of work which would be required of them, nor the price of food and clothing in Fiji, nor the penal clauses of indenture.

In South India there seems to be less evidence of fraudulent recruiting than in the North. Wages are much lower, and recruiters' work may be easier on that account. But it must be remembered also that we could only converse easily with those Madrasis who had picked up a little knowledge of Hindustani; and we had practically no opportunity of hearing from the lips of Madras women their own account of how they were recruited. It should be added, that the introduction of Madrasis into Fiji has been accompanied by a distinct rise in the rates of suicide and violent crime. This has led to the opinion, now widely held among the Planters in Fiji, that Madrasis are more prone to suicide and crimes of emotional violence than Hindustanis. We pointed out again and again, that this was not in accordance with the facts; because the suicide rate in the Madras Presidency was actually lower than that of the United Provinces and Behar. But the whole question of the suicide rate must be left over for the present. It will come up later in dealing with the proportion of the sexes.

Perhaps the most disconcerting effect of unscrupulous recruiting, in Fiji, is the distrust of Government which it has engendered among the indentured and free Indians alike. Government is regarded as

having countenanced the deception of the recruiter and, in consequence, State officials are both feared and suspected. It is painful to find that the authorities are not looked upon by the Indians as their friends. Even the Agent General of Immigration, whose duty it is to protect the interests of indentured Indians, is not exempt from this distrust. This is all the more discouraging, because the Agent himself, and his staff have every desire to do the Indians justice. Perhaps the most significant fact of all is, that the Indians who are on the staff, although full of sympathy towards their fellow countrymen, are regarded with something of the same distrust. They felt keenly the difficulty of this suspicious attitude, and spoke to us about it.

This distrust of Government has evidently started from the coolie 'lines.' But it has not by any means stopped there. It has continued to spread among the free Indians, even though there may be little occasion for it. The distrust is kept out of sight, or covered by outward complaisance, because the free Indian cannot get rid of his servile tradition quickly, and is suspicious and afraid. The servile feeling engendered in the coolie 'lines' remains deep down in the heart, and it is a menace to successful administration.

To illustrate this point,—we found invariably that whenever we went out with the Immigration officers, we could never get from the coolies any frank and open statements. It is impossible to describe in words their suspicious attitude—their sullen looks their muttered whisperings. And then, on the other hand, we could see their changed faces, when they were positively certain, at last, that we had nothing to do with Government at all.

One of us had occasion to visit a free settlement of free Indians, who were living on their own land. The visit was made in company with an immigration officer, who had shown his sympathy with these same Indians on more than one occasion. Yet the whole visit was a failure, simply because of his presence. The free Indians remained silent and uncommunicative. Very early next morning, however, they sent a deputation, privately, to ask for another visit—only the Government official should not be present. In that case they promised to talk freely.

Not only in the country areas, but also in Suva, the Capital, this suspicion lies

very deep. It has already done untold injury to the contentment of the colony, and it will do far more unless it is speedily arrested.

The more carefully the whole question of recruitment is considered, the more clear it becomes, that to send out people of the coolie class from India as individuals, instead of in families, is wrong in principle. For they have never been accustomed to live as individuals. They have been used to the communal life. Women in India are all married at a very early age, and they are bound up with their families and their homes. Men also, in India, are usually married early and their life is bound up with their community. To recruit a man here and a woman there, and to send them out to Fiji, away from all their communal and family ties, is certain to lead to misery in India and also to immorality in Fiji. We found pitiable cases of men, who had been living with one woman after another in Fiji, while their own truly married wives and their legitimate children were deserted in India. We found equally pitiable cases of Hindu and Muhammadan wives reduced to leading a life of shame, while their true husbands were still living in India. These cases were all the more pitiable because the poor, ignorant coolies had apparently ceased to feel the moral degradation of it all.

The conclusion we reached on the whole subject was that men and women from India should either be recruited by families or not at all.

We obtained in Fiji a considerable body of evidence with regard to conditions of life on board the large emigrant vessels, which carry the indentured coolies. After discounting a great deal, as probably due to exaggeration, the strong impression was still left in our minds, that little care is taken of the privacy of the women, and of the manner of cooking the emigrants' food. We ourselves saw something of these conditions on our way to and from South Africa, and we could understand what the coolies in Fiji told us. Many said that they had been obliged during the voyage out to give up their old Hindu habit of taking only vegetable food. Some who regarded it as a sin to take animal food, went through tortures of fear; for even if meat were not actually present in the food, they were afraid that animal fat might have been used while cooking it. The

strict Hindu suffered accordingly. We were told in Fiji that a very large percentage of Hindus began to abandon their vegetarian habits from the time of the voyage out. It was a strange sight for us to see a butcher's shop in Suva, where beef as well as mutton was being sold, crowded with Hindus waiting eagerly to obtain their purchases of meat.

Even more serious, on board ship, as far as we could gather on enquiry, was the little care taken of the modesty of Indian women. Abandoned women were mixed up in the same quarters with those who were respectable. Temptation to evil was ever present. We had facts given to us on this point which were the plain records of eyewitnesses themselves, and not likely to be untrue.

Lastly, the number of deaths on board, among those who had quite recently been twice passed by the Doctor as medically sound, tells its own story. We were informed by trustworthy people in Fiji, who had themselves made the voyage out as free Indians, that the vice and misery on board the emigrant vessels were deplorable. The following are the statistics for the years 1912 to 1914 with regard to the deaths on the voyage out and in the Depot on arrival.

Out of 3,428 emigrants embarked in 1912, 27 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage; 22 deaths (20 of which were children) occurred in the Depot at Suva, and 9 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 58, or one immigrant in 60.

Out of 3,307 immigrants embarked in 1913, 21 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Eleven deaths (six of which were children) occurred in the Depot at Suva, and 15 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 47, or one in 70.

Out of 1,572 immigrants embarked in 1914, six "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Three deaths (all children) occurred in the Depot, and two unallotted immigrants, died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 11, or one in 143.

One of the persistent features, which has marked the indentured system from the beginning, has been the low proportion of adult women to adult men. There have been financial reasons to account for this. For although the cost of the voyage out is the same for woman as for a man, the

amount of work which a woman can do is much less than that of a man. Where therefore, cheap labour is the first concern, it is inevitable that the employer should aim at getting the largest possible number of men.

Thus the low proportion of indentured women is not something accidental, which can be abandoned without modifying the system. Rather, it is an integral factor in the system itself, which, apart from this paucity of women, could not be run at the high profits required by the employers. The moment that we suggested to the planters in Fiji such reforms as would help to make a decent family life possible among the coolies, we were met on all sides with the word 'impossible.' The expense, they declared, would be prohibitive.

The Indian Government has been blamed for allowing such a low proportion, as that of forty adult women to every hundred men to continue for so long unaltered. But it should be remembered to Government's credit, that it, and it alone, has prevented the proportion from falling much lower still. If the employers as a body, had their own way in the past there can be little doubt that they would have brought the rate down long ago to twenty-five per cent, or even less. Even today, the temptation is a pressing one, to pass out the emigrant ships with something slightly less than the regulation number of women.

This introduces another important consideration, which shows still more clearly how the whole Indian indenture system in its practical working hangs together. With the method invariably adopted hitherto of recruiting individuals, rather than whole families, it has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain in India even as many as forty women for each hundred men, without drawing largely on the prostitute class. Out on the plantations, we have been told, it is this very class which is actually needed in order to make the indenture system work. It is utterly repugnant to us to be obliged to enter into details on such a subject, and we shall do so as sparingly as possible. But it will easily be seen, that when the stronger men on an estate have taken to their own possession an equal number of women, the remainder of the adult women find themselves still more unequally

matched in number. The disproportion rises as high as one woman to four, or even to five, men. In these circumstances, the remark of one employer can be understood without comment.—When one of us spoke to him about recruiting no more abandoned women, he demurred and answered "Why! The system couldn't go on without them." We heard of one estate where the Overseer made the regular practice, in order to keep peace in the 'lines,' of allotting so many men to each single woman. This amounted to regulated prostitution.

We had both of us already witnessed in Natal the moral evils, in the coolie quarters, connected with this disproportion of men, to women. We had received, also, invaluable help from Mr. Gandhi, who was the first to make clear to us the far reaching effects of these evils upon the free Indians. But what we have now seen with our own eyes in Fiji, is far worse than anything we had ever seen before. The moral evil in Fiji appears to have gone much deeper.

We cannot forget our first sight of the coolie 'lines' in Fiji. The looks on the faces of the men and the women alike told one unmistakable tale of vice. The sight of young children in such surroundings was unbearable to us. And, again and again, as we went from one plantation to another, we saw the same unmistakable look. It told us of a moral disease which was eating into the heart and life of the people.

What else could be expected? Indian villagers, who have lived the communal life of their own Indian homes, are first taken away, one from here, and one from there, by the recruiting agents. They are completely separated from all their old ties and associations. Then they are crowded together on board the great emigrant ships, where decency can hardly be preserved, and every temptation is rife. Lastly in Fiji itself, they are crowded again into the coolie 'lines,' which are more like stables than human dwellings; and there they are forced by law to remain, away from every restraint of custom or

religion, during a period of five years. What else could be expected? But, that little children should be born and brought up in this,—

Though we were no novices to conditions such as these, yet what we met with in Fiji was far worse than we had ever anticipated. There seemed to be some new and undefinable factor added,—some strange unaccountable epidemic of vice. We felt that vice was spreading, like a blight, over the Indian population of Fiji. We began to fear that it would spread still further to the indigenous Fijian population; and we found that our fears were already shared by others.

The demand was made quite insistently by the Planters that we should explain to them the reason for the suicidal tendency among the indentured coolies in Fiji. The long, never-ending roll of these suicides had shocked the Government; and the Planters had felt it deeply also.

We were able to assure the Government on one point. As far as we could see, there was much less actual ill-treatment of indentured coolies than we had come across in Natal. The only reports that reached us, which approached the Natal plantations in this respect, were those that came from Navua.

Furthermore, we were both of us quite clear in our own minds, that the inspection of the plantations was much more carefully carried out by the Immigration Department in Fiji than in Natal.

Thirdly, much less racial feeling existed in Fiji than we had met in South Africa. There was more humanity towards the Indians. The race question did not come up with any great acuteness.

All these important things would have led us to expect, that the lot of Indians in Fiji would be happier, and therefore the temptation to commit suicide would be less marked. But as we have said, our actual experience led us to believe that the moral evil had gained a far stronger hold in the 'coolie' lines of Fiji than it had done in Natal. And, unfortunately, Government statistics only confirmed this impression.

(To be continued)

THE BADAGAS . A TRIBE OF THE NILGIRIS

BY. M. TURNER.

THOUGH they are not so well-known as the famous Toda tribe, the Badagas of the Nilgiris are an interesting hill tribe, whose customs and social habits are of no little interest, and well repay the lover of ethnology for the time spent in gathering information regarding them. During the hot season hundreds of visitors to Ootacamund and Coonoor wander over the surrounding hills, but a comparatively small number interest themselves in the villages and the people of this tribe which constitutes a great proportion of the hill population. The occasions of their festivals, marriage and death ceremonies are times when the most elaborate and suggestive ceremonies are conducted, accompanied by considerable pomp and enthusiasm. These people are easily recognisable and are commonly to be seen in the streets of the hill stations as well as at work in the fields.

"Both sexes of the Badagas may be recognised at a glance. They are cheery people, of small stature and slightly built, fair-skinned and dressed always in white cloths with coloured borders of narrow stripes. The men generally use the usual waist-cloth, upper cloth and turban, but coats are becoming more popular than upper cloths, and bright yellow or red woollen knitted night caps are almost as often worn as turbans. The women's waistcloths are narrow, and leave a good deal of the calves exposed, and their upper cloths (which are quite separate) are worn in characteristic fashion, being passed straight across the breasts and under the arms, and not over one shoulder as is usual with the Tamils. Some of them wear a scarf round the head. Every woman of marriageable age is tattooed on the forehead and the upper arms in some simple design of dots and lines, the elaborate patterns in the plains being unknown."

The name Badaga (corrupted to Burgher by the early European visitors to the hills) signifies a Northerner, and points to the fact that these people originally came from the Mysore country on the North, from which place they migrated centuries ago. The knowledge available does not permit of any definite date for the immigration being fixed, but it is probable the event took place somewhere in the twelfth century. It has been suggested that a critical study of the language,

which resembles Kanarese, might aid in tracing their arrival on the Nilgiris. Concerning the origin of the Badagas the following legend is current...Seven brothers and th

Note the drawings on the walls.

Hills. But on account of the improper conduct of a Muhammadan ruler toward one of the girls they were obliged to flee. They settled down in the present village of Betheladha. The brothers soon after separated and settled down in different parts of the Nilgiris where they steadily increased in numbers. The second brother, Hethappa, hearing of the ill-treatment of



Note the drawings.

several stones with an erect stone set thereon. There is further, a platform made of bricks and mud whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village."

As to their ability as agriculturists, there is difference of opinion, some declaring it to be only casual, little effort being made to improve the yield of the soil. The work is chiefly done by women who spend long hours in the fields. A writer in the Pioneer in describing the pursuits of these people, says,

"Nobody can beat the Badagas at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be the Chinese gardener. Today we see a portion of the hill side, covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it in a few weeks to neat order. The unwieldy boulders having been rolled aside serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out the cattle. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface."

In connection with this means of livelihood it is not surprising that several ceremonies require to be performed to ensure success. The sowing and the har-

of which have a religious significance.

"The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwelling under one continuous roof, and divided by party walls. Sometimes there are two or three or more lines forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an inner and outer apartment. If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house, in which the milk is stored and into which no woman may enter. To some houses a loft made of bamboo posts, is added to serve a storehouse. In every Badaga village there is a raised platform composed of a single boulder or



A Badaga with 6 fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot.

bawls out, "Dho, Dho" thrice. He then rises, and scatters the grain on the soil thrice. The pujari and the Kurumba then return to the village, and the former deposits what remains of the grain in the storeroom. A new pot of water is placed in the milk house and the pujari dips his right hand therein, saying "Nerathubitta" (it is full). After this the sowing commences.

Their temples are most interesting structures, not because of elaborately architectural features, but by reason of

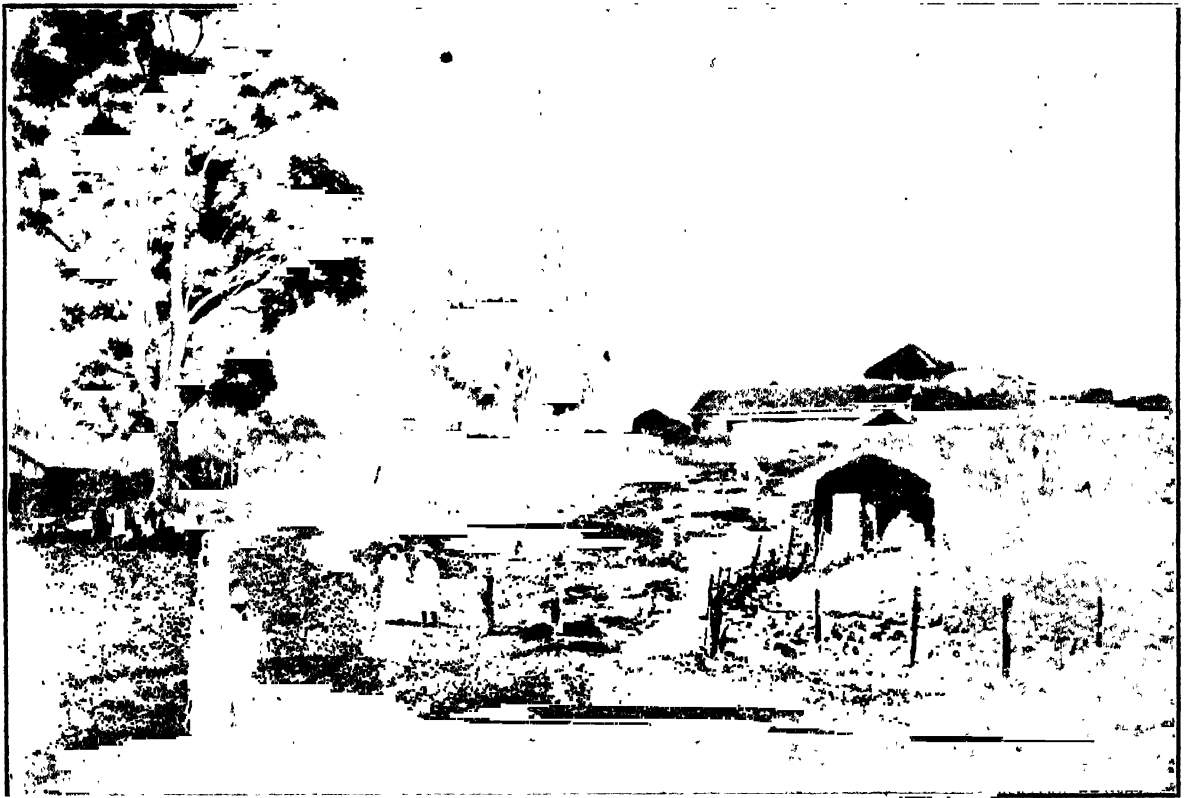


A Badaga Burning Ground.

vest time are both inaugurated by interesting ceremonies. The following is an account given by Thurston in his Ethnological series in a description of these people.

"On an auspicious day, a Tuesday before a crescent moon a pujari of the Devi Temple sets out several hours before dawn with five or seven kinds of grain in a basket, and sickle, accompanied by a Kurumba, and leading a pair of bullocks with a plough. On reaching the field selected, the pujari pours the grain into the cloth of the Kurumba, and yoking the animals to the plough, makes three furrows in the soil. The Kurumba, stopping the plough, kneels on the ground between the furrows, looking west. Removing his turban, he places it on the ground, and closing his ears with his palms,

the interesting drawings of animals, birds, etc., to be found on the walls. The two accompanying illustrations are good examples of the style of art to be found in these buildings, and some of them are very creditable representations. They are usually painted in glowing colours. On the occasion of the feasts the people assemble here, and after the performance of the required duties, engage in various games. The marriage customs are simple; they take place in the bridegroom's house, and consist chiefly of the bride going to fetch water, a sign that she has accepted the authority of her husband, and making



Entrance to Badaga Village.

salamms to the members of the bridegroom's family. These ceremonies are followed by the usual music, dancing, and feasts.

But of all their ceremonies the most complicated are those relating to funerals, a succinct account of which is given in the Nilgiri Gazetteer.

"When any one is sick unto death, and recovery is hopeless, he or she is given a small, gold coin—a Viraya farnam with four annas—to swallow. As soon as death ensues, a man of the Toreya subdivision is sent round to the neighbouring villages to announce the fact. On reaching any of them he removes his turban, and then tells his tidings.

"On the day of the funeral the corpse is carried on a cot to an open space, a buffalo is led thrice round it, and the hand of the dead is raised and placed on

the head of the animal. A funeral car is constructed, and on this is placed the body, dressed in its garments, covered with a new cloth, and with a couple of silver coins stuck on its forehead. The relations wail and lament round the body, salute it, and then dance round the car to the accompaniment of Kota music. The men wear special turbans and gaudy petticoats. The car is next taken to the burning ghat, stripped of its hangings, and hacked to pieces. The widow takes her last leave of her husband, depositing some of her jewels on the cot, and then an elder of the tribe stands at the head of the corpse and chants thrice a long litany, reciting all the sins the deceased might have committed, and declaring that all of them is transferred to a scape-calf which he names."

The tribe has not been considerably influenced by British ways, but they are losing some of the primitiveness generally associated with the Hill tribes

THE HINDU PUROHIT ACT

A Novel Piece of Religious Legislation in Baroda.

BY CHANDULAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, B.A., LL.B., VAKIL, HIGH COURT, BARODA.

A NOVEL piece of religious legislation called the HINDU PUROHIT ACT was published on the 30th of December last in the Baroda State Gazette relating

to the performance of religious rites and ceremonies by Hindu Purohit or Priests in the Baroda State. It may be asked what justification is there to take up the

valuable pages of this Review in a matter which directly concerns only the Baroda State and its citizens? I hasten to explain that this is a matter which will interest the whole Hindu community of India, as it is a piece of legislation, the kind of which is yet almost unknown in this country. Besides, the Act may find its echo in some other Native State, as some of the former Acts of this State have actually found acceptance and been followed by some of them.

The Brahmin population of the State protested against the proposed Act and disputed the authority of the State to pass legislation in matters religious. It was replied that the King was called Dharmapala or "Protector of Religion," and he exercised sway in religious matters from the earliest times. He has, therefore, the authority of the Shastras. If we look to the West we find him in England the head of the Church. Another main objection against the Bill was that no non-Brahmin could be allowed to become a Purohit as the Bill permitted. But of this we shall speak later on.

The Hindu Purohit Bill was first discussed in our Legislative Council and was passed by a majority with certain amendments. The members of the Council while admitting the usefulness of such a law seemed somewhat afraid to injure the feelings of the Brahmin population of the State and tried, therefore, to shirk the responsibility of incurring their displeasure. They, therefore, struck upon a plan. A curious amendment was proposed by them and carried to effect that the Act should be in force at places where two-thirds of the population demanded its operation. This really amounts to a denial of their own representative character. For, if they grant the usefulness of the law they have also the authority derived from the people to accept the law. Our people are not so advanced as to demand any law. In fact it is absurd to expect farmers, labourers and potters and others of the type who form the greater part of the population to understand the aims and objects and the working of any law. I am sure if it were left to the people to have or not the Penal Code, they would never demand it.

To come to the subject proper. It is stated in the preamble that the law is enacted in order to grant certain rights

and letters of competence, or, shortly, licenses, to Purohits in order to equip them for the proper performance of the religious rites of the Hindus in this State according to proper ritual, legally and in a manner which may be felt satisfactory and conducive to their welfare by the people, and to enable them to understand and explain the inner import of such rites.

I shall now give the substance of the main provisions of the Act.

1. The Act shall apply to such localities or communities as may be determined by a notification hereafter.
2. (a) Purohit means any Gor (*i.e.*, priest) who in consideration of his customary due or charitable Dakshina officiates at any of the sixteen Sanskaras and other religious ceremonies or rites.
- (b) Vajamana-kritya means any ceremony at which a Purohit officiates.
3. (1) A period of six years is granted in order to become properly qualified under this Act for the performance of religious rites.
- (2) On the expiry of the aforesaid period no person not holding a letter of authority shall officiate at the performance of any religious rite.
- (3) No suit shall be allowed in a Civil Court brought by an unauthorised Purohit
- (a) for recovery of damages in respect of the violation of his right owing to a licensed Purohit officiating at a Vajamana-Kritya,
- (b) nor shall any suit or pleading by him be allowed in respect of any Vajamana-Hakka.
4. Any Purohit contravening sub-section (2) shall be liable to a fine upto Rs. 25.
5. Exceptions :—

Nothing in Sub-section (4) shall apply

- (a) To any person who has attained the age of 12 years at the date this Act comes into force, or
- (b) To a Purohit coming from outside the Baroda State and residing in this State for a short period not exceeding one month and officiating for a Vajamana also coming from outside the State, or
- (c) To a Purohit officiating at any Vajamana-Kritya, (though) not licensed, whether in the locality, or within a radius of three miles, or within any other radius that may be fixed from time to time according to the needs of the people, no licensed Purohit eligible by custom to
 - (1) perform the religious rites of any person is available, or
 - (2) the Vajamana-Kritya of more persons than one is to be performed at one and the same time, and, the number of licensed Purohits is insufficient, or
- (d) (1) To any person who performs the Antyeshthi (funeral obsequies) of any person, or
- (2) any other religious rites that may be determined by the Maharaja from time to time, or
- (e) To any person exempted from the provisions of this Act by Huzur Order.

- (4) Whoever is certified to have passed
 (a) an examination held pursuant to this Act,
 or
 (1) in Yajnic subjects, or
 (b) (2) in any standard of Dharmashastra of
 the Shrivana Mas Dakshina examina-
 tion, or
 (c) any other person deemed fit by the Maha-
 raja shall be granted a letter of authority.

These are the main provisions of the Act. Then follow other provisions among which are those relating to eligibility to appear in the examination and the power to frame rules regarding it. It is also enacted that a license of a Purohit is liable to be cancelled for misconduct. The last Section of the Act provides that :—

"No ceremony if otherwise valid shall be deemed invalid under this Act merely by reason of its having been performed by a Purohit who is not licensed."

It will be seen from the above provisions that H. H. the Gaekwar aims at regenerating the fallen Brahmin class. They were the leaders of the society and the pioneers of Dharma and knowledge in general in times past, and they can even now do much to elevate the society if they were only to equip themselves for the task. They have got their hereditary intelligence. What can they not do only if that intelligence is developed? Besides, the Brahmins occupy the highest position in the Hindu society, and, as such, they can do things with greater facility than others. And yet the Brahmins protested against the measure meant to elevate them. One is reminded of the story of that prisoner who when he was liberated from his prison-cell after having lived there for forty years humbly solicited the king that the only boon he sought from him was to be allowed to go back to his prison as he could not bear the light of day.

If one knows to what a miserable state the Brahmins in Gujarat have reduced themselves one can understand the protest. In a word they are darkly ignorant. Most of them know nothing of Sanskrit, not even the texts they have to recite. They mutter anything at the performance of ceremonies. They do not understand the meaning of what they recite: much less can they explain. Owing to these reasons they have fallen in the estimation of the people and do menial duties—such as cooking, drawing water, serving as *Hamals* and *sepoys*, etc. Our priests are frequently employed as messengers, attendants of brides, and hearers of invitations. If, therefore, they were to receive some

education they would rise in the estimation of the people and their status would be much raised. At the same time believers in ceremonies will have better satisfaction. And, as regards others, they will feel satisfied that they do not feed idle Brahmins. These are the laudable aims intended to be achieved.

Besides, the moral effect of law cannot be ignored. Society and law act and react upon each other. Law is usually the outcome of society, or sometimes, it may be the outcome of the greater intellects from among the people who make laws suitable to the order and progress of society. If, therefore, legislation is passed which is in advance of the people it may have one of two results. If it be of a kind entirely disregarding the existing condition of society it would greatly disturb the society and may, perhaps, come to be honoured only in the breach. If, however, it takes into account existing conditions and is yet in advance, like the present piece of legislation, then it is sure to have a salutary moral effect upon the people by throwing into discredit the existing defects and evils in society and impressing upon them the advantages to be gained by reform, particularly, where the legislation is opposed neither to the moral nor the religious sense of the people. Thus once the practice of Satee has been abolished by legislation it is now considered by every one, with rare exceptions, to be an inhuman practice, and to take part in it is deemed a heinous crime. The same may be said of Infanticide. So also there is in Baroda the Infant Marriage Prevention Act which, while condemning the practice of early marriages, inculcates the advantages of marriages at proper age, so that once the people are accustomed to marry their children at a later age they will continue to do so and a time may come when an infant marriage may be a curiosity and may meet with general disapproval. So also by the present legislation the standard of priesthood will rise, and, after some time, an ignorant Brahmin, following the profession may fall into discredit and be considered a disgrace.

Coming to the Act itself. There is nothing in it against which there can be any sensible protest. It has fully taken into account the existing circumstances and the difficulties to be coped with. It is mild and indulgent even to a fault. In

the anxious desire to guard the interests of the present Purohits greater latitude than legitimate has been allowed to them. Looking to the wording of Section 2 a Purohit if he succeeds in proving that he did not receive any consideration—and it would not be very difficult to prove so—he will be able to evade the law. Again, the Act allows a period of six years for preparation and does not apply to persons who are already twelve years of age. Provision is also made for cases where no licensed Purohit is easily procurable. Latitude is also given in the case of funeral ceremonies like Antyeshti, etc.

One feature of the Act deserves special

mention. It allows even non-Brahmins to qualify themselves as Purohits. This seems to me to be simple justice. For, if Brahmins, whose duties are confined by the Shastras to the preaching and practising of Dharma only, can take to any professions they like, there does not seem any earthly reason why others should be prevented from exercising the same right. The provision is simply permissive and no non-Brahmin Purohit is forced upon any one.

This piece of legislation is the first of its kind in India and its results deserve to be watched. It will be no wonder if other States follow the example with advantage.

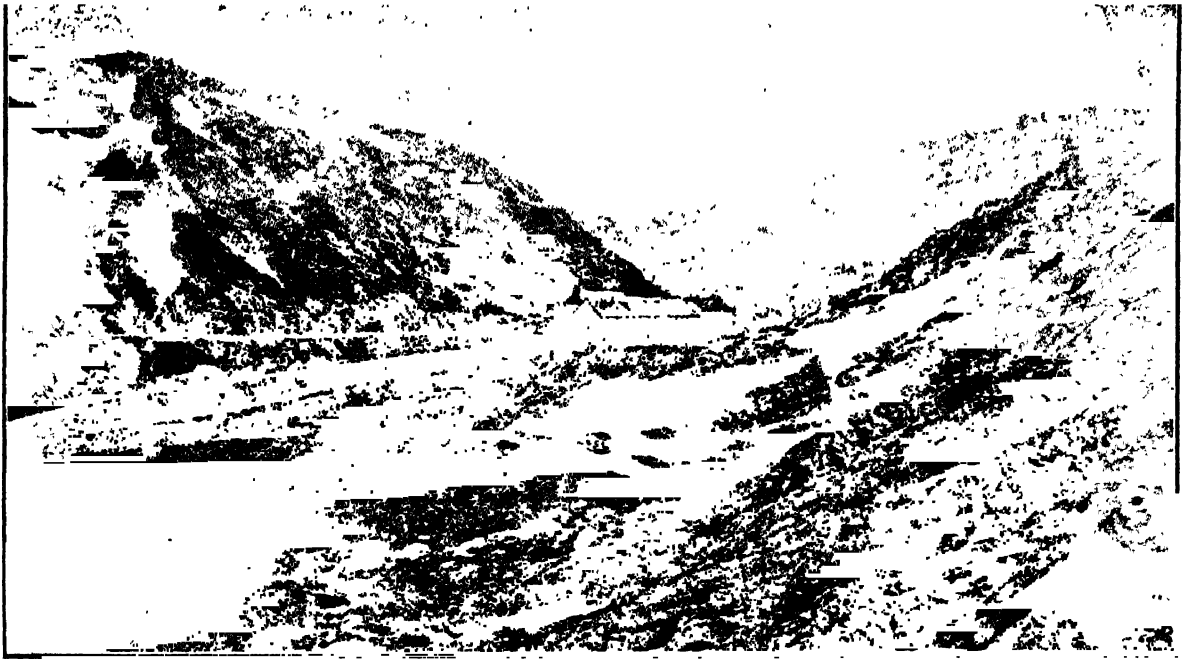
A VISIT TO THE HOSPICE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD

SINCE my boyhood, when I read about it in my English reader, to me the name of "St. Bernard" always conjured up a misty vision of wild mountain regions, lonely travellers toiling upwards, huge avalanches falling, living burials in snow, exhumations by dogs, and nursing of half dead persons by monks. It was a mysterious place, akin to things belonging to the Fairy land, to be enjoyed through its stories in books rather than a sanctuary to be visited. This impression was so strong that although fond of visiting out of the way places I never thought of making enquiries about the possibility of visiting this place during my previous travels through Switzerland and Italy.

On the present occasion, while staying at the Hotel Byron at Villeneuve (a suburb of Montreaux) on Lake Geneva I accidentally discovered that I was not very far from the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and that it might be possible for me to go there if the road were clear of snow. It was the end of June, and I was surprised to learn that still the road may be blocked with snow. However I at once made up my mind to make an attempt to visit the place, and asked the Concierge of the hotel to make enquiries. He telephoned to a Hotel at Orsieres, the last railway station from which people have to proceed by road, and after an hour informed me to my great joy that everything was favou-

rable to my plans. The road was clear of snow, a carriage was available for the journey beyond the Railway and the hire of the carriage was only 20 Francs. I decided to start next morning and the intervening night was full of dreams of the Hospice of St. Bernard.

Very early next morning I drove to the Montreaux railway station and caught the fast train for Martigny. For sometime she ran along the bank of the Lake Geneva, and then I took a last view of it. After leaving the lake behind we entered the Rhone valley. Hills and dales, fields and forests, waterfalls and torrents passed in quick succession. And most of the time the train was following up the course of the river Rhone. She stopped at important stations only and that too for a very short time. We arrived at Martigny where we had to change, at about 3-30 o'clock. I looked out and called for a porter but could see none, and found it difficult to get out with my baggages, as ours was a corridor train with doors only at the end of the carriages and I had more baggages than is convenient to have with oneself while travelling in Europe. I had a suit case, a Gladstone bag, a hand bag, an overcoat, a stick and an umbrella. Just when the train was about to start a porter arrived and my difficulties came to an end. After getting out of the train, to avoid future

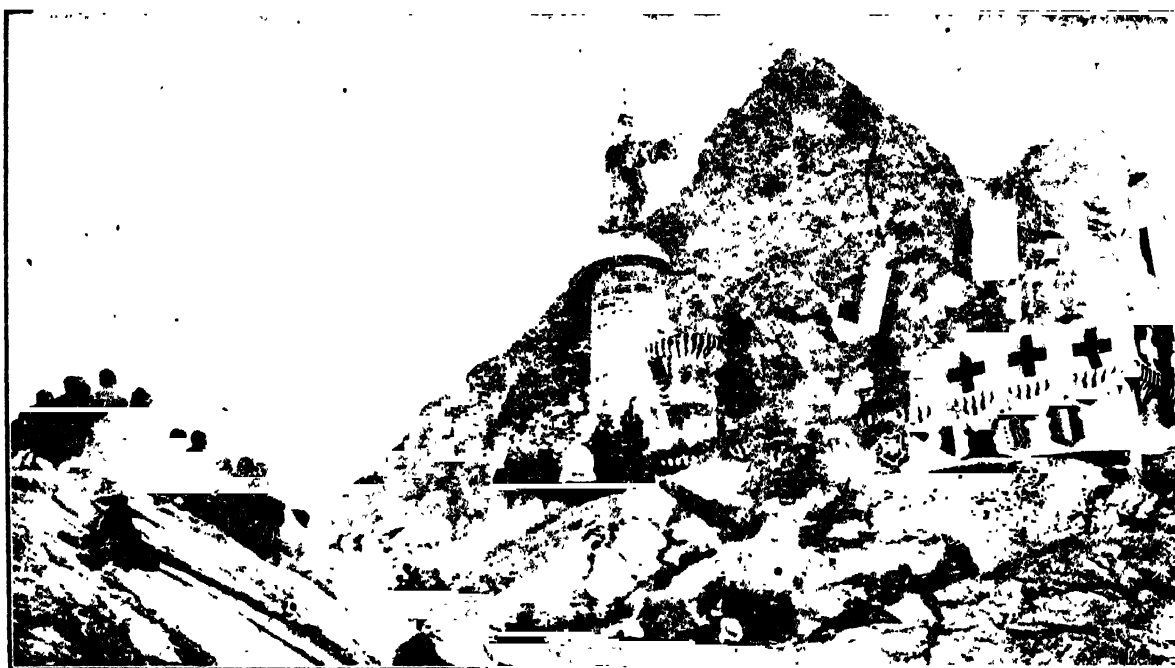


The Hospice of the Great St. Bernard and the V

trouble on the way, I put all that I needed for the journey in the gladstone bag, and deposited the suit case and the hand bag in the Left-luggage Office, and obtained a receipt for them. Thus lightly equipped I got into the electric train for Orsieres which was waiting. The electric railway from Martigny to Orsieres has been recently constructed and has made the Hospice more easily accessible. The train started at about 9-30 and passed through a most charming mountain country, clad in green vegetation and decked with a profusion of red and white blossoms, the scenery being varied by mountain streams and torrents roaring and forcing their way through the overhanging rocks. After Martigny there were no more towns; the train stopping at small villages, consisting of comparatively primitive and quaint houses not to be seen in the ordinary tourist's track. They were irregularly built houses of stone but much resembled the brick and clay houses of the poorer class living in towns in this country, except that they had roofs of slate and glazed windows, indispensable in cold countries. The number of passengers in the train was small and the Railway did not appear to have been working at a profit.

The train arrived at the terminal station Orsieres, which is situated in a charming

valley called "Val de Ferret," at about 10-15 o'clock. The porter of the hotel to which we had telephoned from Ville-neuve was waiting at the station. He took my bag and started for the hotel which was at a distance of a furlong only. At this time a well clad person came up and took the bag from the porter and sent him back to the railway station on some errand, and himself carried it. I afterwards discovered that he was the proprietor of the hotel. Arriving at the hotel I asked for someone who could speak English, as I could not trust my smattering of French and a few words of German for serious business. Fortunately there was a waitress who could speak a little English which was good enough for my purpose. I asked her whether arrangements were ready for my journey. She sent for the man who was to provide the carriage and after consulting him told me that the carriage was ready, but the road was not clear of snow, and if I insisted on going, I should be prepared to do a portion of the journey towards the end by walking, which might take an hour or so. I was taken quite aback. I was not in good health, and could not think of climbing an uphill road for an hour wading through snow at the end of a day's journey. On my asking why they had telephoned the evening before that the road was clear,



Benediction of the Statue of the St. Bernard of Monthorn 13 July 1905.

and expressing my great annoyance, the only answer I got was that some one had telephoned without making proper enquiries. There was no help but I was not to be thwarted easily, and it struck me that the information about the road that they were giving might be as unreliable as the information they first gave was admitted by themselves to be. So I made up my mind to try my luck. It was the 24th of June and from the 1st July they have a regular Diligence service to carry the post between Orsieres and St. Bernard and from that date the roads are regularly cleared when necessary. Sometimes they clear the road earlier as a preparatory measure. So the chances were that after all I might find the road clear.

I took my breakfast and started at about 11-15 o'clock for the Hospice which was 16 miles from here. The carriage was a small and light but roughly built two seated vehicle resembling a Victoria painted in bright red, yellow and black colours, the wheels having ornamented designs on them. It was quite in keeping with the simple and unrefined life around. The horse's harness had no less than seventeen bells which jingled merrily as we went along. A boy coachman was my only companion. We first passed through the narrow and crooked lanes of Orsieres village. The houses

were irregularly built of stone, the barns and cattle sheds being of wood. Cowdung mixed up with straw were heaped at places to be used as manure. There was a public hydrant in the middle of the village where women were washing clothes. The roads were muddy and the surroundings were not particularly clean. Other villages that I passed through after this were of the same type. After passing the village we began climbing our road. This was a good metalled modern road, which had superseded the old Roman road, which we often met and passed along or crossed in our journey. Napoleon and his great army while going to Italy to fight the battle of Marengo had crossed the Alps by this very Roman road. Our journey was almost all uphill, and we proceeded slowly, the coachman sometimes urging the horse with "hi-hi" "lu-lu" "ale-ale" and other such persuasive words which his horse alone could understand, and sometimes himself dozing off to sleep on the coach box. We proceeded through a grand mountainous country, our road winding slowly between deep valleys and towering cliffs. At places the slopes of the broad valleys were covered with meadows and corn fields, and the farmers were lying in their fields enjoying their midday siesta. We passed a few hamlets and then a big

village called Liddes. Just outside the village there was a big hay field so full of blossoms that it looked like a beautiful carpet. In the middle of the village there was a huge wooden cross fixed to a small platform and decorated with an artificial wreath. One house had a Latin inscription on the entrance door and two sun-dials on an outer wall. Here as well as in other villages I often saw men women and children sitting on the floor for want of chairs. Here and there we passed fir tree forests, but the trees were much smaller than the giant fir trees of the Himalayas. At about 2 o'clock we reached the village of Bourge St. Pierre which was one of the places where Napoleon halted on his way to Italy. It was now time for lunch, and I went to an inn which had the proud distinction of having provided breakfast to Napoleon on that occasion. Its name was Hotel du Dejeuner de Napoleon Premier (i. e. hotel of the breakfast of Napoleon I). It was a quaint old two storied house. After I had finished my breakfast the landlady showed me with pride the room occupied by Napoleon and the table on which he wrote his despatches. In the same room I was shown portraits of the grandfather-in-law and the grandmother-in-law of the landlady who were the keepers of this inn when Napoleon visited it, painted in oil. They were very poor daubs. From the window of the room a pillar of the Roman times could be seen. The whole place was indeed full of interest and memories of bygone times. We were now at a considerable height (5348 feet) and I had to put on thicker and warmer garments before proceeding onwards. At some distance from the village we passed the Swiss Customs House which guards this road. From here to the Hospice which is just within the Italian frontier there was no habitation visible except one or two unoccupied huts. We had not proceeded far when clouds began to gather and before long it started raining, and we passed on through the enveloping rain and the weird surroundings in silence. At some distance from the Customs House we found ourselves in the region of snows and to my great relief I found that the road had been cleared. Masses of snow were heaped up on both sides of the road, and at places the depth of the snow removed showed that avalanches huge enough to bury us and our carriage, had

recently fallen. Soon it began snowing, and as it were, a veil was cast on the whole landscape. It became dangerous to drive and the coachman had to get down and lead on the horse by the hand. We next passed the Grand Combe, otherwise called the Valley of the Dead, from the many fatal accidents which have occurred within its dreary precincts.

At last about 6-30 o'clock we reached the Hospice. It was situated at the top of the pass, known as the pass of Great St. Bernard, at a height of 8110 feet above sea level. It consisted of a group of buildings, the main building of the old Hospice being on the left side of the road. It was connected by an overbridge with a new annexe on the right side of the road. The entrance door in the main building was at a considerable height from the ground to prevent snow from closing it up, and is reached by a flight of steps. On the landing place there were a large number of boys and I wondered who they could have been. Later I discovered that they were students from a school on the bank of the lake Neuchatel and had come with their head master for a holiday excursion. They had walked all the way from Orsieres. I walked up to them and said that I wanted shelter for the night. One of them called a monk from inside, who took me to the entrance hall and rang a big bell which was hanging there. We had to wait a little and ring again before the monk whose duty it was to look after the visitors who came. I told him that I wanted shelter for the night. He at once welcomed me and took me to a room, which was to be my bed room, without asking me who I was and what was my creed. He ordered my bag to be put into my room and showed me the dining room and told me that the dinner would be ready shortly.

My room had wooden walls and a wooden floor. And the furniture—two beds a couch, a few chairs, a wash table, were all mediaeval, and the room looked like one of those that are fitted up in some of the European museums to illustrate the life of the people in the middle ages. There were however electric lamps and steam radiators which looked like anachronisms. The Hospice had its own electric installation, such as abounds in Switzerland on account of the free power that they can get almost everywhere from the waterfalls. The passages in the building some of which



An Avalanche of the Grand St. Bernard in Winter.

were not even of uniform width, were paved with rough and irregular slabs of stones. This building was constructed in the middle of the sixteenth century.

After a little rest I went into the dining hall and found it nearly full. There were about forty persons, mostly boys, some of whom I had met at the entrance door. Opposite to me were sitting an English tourist and his wife and I fell into conversation with them. The food served was rather coarse, but it was a wonder that they could still supply food to all. Every year during summer large numbers of adventurous tourists have been coming here for years past, and the monks according to their old custom have been extending their hospitality to this new class of visitors gratuitously, without any distinction of social position or creed. There is a box in the church of the Hospice in which people are expected to leave something for the upkeep of the institution, but few visitors take notice of it. The burden of the visitors on the institution is now so heavy that it is feared that it may not survive very long. After dinner the headmaster, some of his boys, the English tourist, his wife and myself sallied forth to have a look round. It had ceased snowing, and there was still twilight and so we could see the country round. Al-

though it was the end of June a lake close by was frozen. We saw from a distance the statue of St. Bernard, the founder of the Hospice, standing at the boundary line between Switzerland and Italy. We could not approach it as heavy snow blocked our way. Close to the Hospice is the mortuary where the bodies of the mountain's victims are laid. Near the annexe there were a number of St. Bernard dogs. They were big animals and with their heavy coat of wool looked grand. They were very quiet and hardly took any notice of us when we patted them on the back. After coming back to the Hospice I went into the church and left a small sum in the box kept there for the purpose. From there I went into the Hall where all the visitors and a few of the monks had assembled. I took an autograph signature of the father who was looking after us, and purchased some souvenirs of the Hospice that are sold here. I also wrote a few picture post cards and posted them—the hospice had its own Post Office. In the morning we expressed our desire to see the library, which was shown to us. It contained a large collection of religious books mostly in Latin. It had also a valuable collection of ancient coins and other finds of the Roman times that were

discovered amongst the old ruins over which the Hospice was built. I asked the father who was showing these things whether any other Hindu (In the Continent of Europe all natives of India are called "Hindus," as they should be called, and not "Indians") had visited the place before. He told me that once before a Hindu of the priestly class had visited the place. It was two years before my visit. I could not quite understand whether he meant a Brahman or a monk like himself. The Hindu visitor may have been one of the Sanyasins who are carrying on the work of the Ramkrishna Mission in America. They have occasionally been visiting Europe.

This Hospice was founded in 962 A.D. by St. Bernard de Manthon. The duty of the resident monks is to render assistance to travellers in danger during the snowy season which here lasts for over nine months. In

this work of benevolence they are aided by the dogs, whose keen sense of smell enables them to track and discover travellers buried in snow. During the long winter the cold here is intense and the dangers from storms

frequent and imminent. During that period the Monks have to suffer great privations. After some years' stay their health breaks down and they have to go down to Martigny where too they have a monastery.

I started on my journey after tea. The head master had requested me to take one of his boys who was unwell in my carriage and so I had a companion. The weather was very bad and it was bitterly cold, but as the journey now was all downhill, we finished it in less than four hours without stoppage.

We arrived at Orsieres at about 10-30 o'clock, and had my breakfast at the hotel, and then went to the railway station. My companion helped me in carrying my bag, which was rather too heavy for me to carry alone, as the hotel porter was absent. He himself remained there to wait for a party, who were expected to arrive that evening. At 12-30 my train started and I took a last view of Val de Ferret and said a final good-bye to this romantic region.

C. C. DAS.

TEACHERS AS RESEARCHERS

BY MANIK LAL DEY, M.A.

ALTHOUGH much has been said about teaching and research work in an article in the November (1915) issue of this journal, some more evidences may yet be adduced to support what has been set forth in it. In these days of progress it is in a backward country like India alone, that such absurd questions may be raised and debated upon. Born with the hands tied down with iron chains of religious laws, brought up amidst the rigid surroundings of social customs, we are like cage birds very loath to move when the barrier is broken. To men of such temperament a very high ideal of education is necessary in order to achieve any material progress. To commit to memory what others have discovered should not be the motto of a progressive nation. To claim the citizenship of the world, the brotherhood of any other advanced nations, to prove that we

are *men* capable of standing shoulder to shoulder with the members of the cultured nations, we should not keep ourselves satisfied with learning parrot-like what others have discovered, but should try our utmost to keep pace with the march of progress, and to prop up our head now and then with some new contribution to the knowledge and wellare of mankind.

If that be our ideal, the stereotyped teacher will be a poor guide indeed. In spite of his vast erudition, his long experience in teaching and in the management of classes, his dexterity in correcting notebooks and his zealously cherished method of cramming, he is but a living gramophone, reproducing the thoughts and expressions of others. Like a steam engine he can carry his train of students along the previously laid iron rails, puffing the steam and blowing the whistle, en-

shrouding his students with the smoke of his vast erudition,—his quotations and references,—at a rate characteristic of each individual. His students get but a cursory view of the fleeting panorama on both sides of the way, but the fields beyond, though they may be full of treasures and rich pasture lie unseen and unexplored. If such a teacher ever tries to swerve an inch from the iron pathway, his progress is at once brought to a standstill. What good will it be to mankind to follow the same beaten track over and over again? It will not enhance the progress, rather will it tend to check it.

If on the other hand our teachers be men who are capable of advancement both on the beaten track as well as on paths yet untrodden, will not their students get a better opportunity of study, a wider scope of education, and above all a stimulus to think independently and to do original work, which may be handed down to posterity?

The progress of a nation is judged by the number of original thinkers, and the amount of work they turn out. If we ever care to look into the condition of the foremost nations of the world we find that each of them can boast of at least a score of original thinkers in the different branches of arts and science. Not satisfied with the existing condition of men and things these researchers boldly march into untrodden tracks of learning, and often their efforts are crowned with success, and something new is added to the knowledge of mankind. In order to perpetuate this spirit of research, this fruitful labour calculated to uplift the human race, this unselfish struggle for the welfare of mankind, these mighty brains must have capable followers, who after being trained in the system of original investigation of their masters, may themselves form centres of research, rather than leave the discovering spirit to die out with its originator. It has been justly said by an eminent authority :—

"The discovering spirit is individual. It means a particular alertness, fineness, freshness, eagerness, born, not made. It is sacred and inestimable and it is a matter of lasting regret when it ends with its possessor and is not incorporated into the natural inheritance of the race."

The truth of this fact has been brought out into the lime light by all the cultured nations of the world. For a typical

instance we may mention Germany. "In his appreciation of the scientific spirit in Germany in the nineteenth century, Merz lays emphasis on the following features: the number and efficiency of the universities and the way in which these have devoted themselves to *teaching research*." For a particular instance we find: Ludwig (1816-1895) worked and taught in Marburg, Zurich, Vienna, and Leipzig. Professor Stirling writes of him, "From each and all of these centres his numerous pupils published under his direction and guidance an amount of work the extent and originality of which is probably unsurpassed. His own papers are epoch-making and he founded the largest school of physiologists of modern times."

One of the greatest authorities at present, in Physiological Chemistry is Dr. Abderhalden. As a professor he delivers lectures to his pupils daily, and in the evening he converses with them on the difficult portions of his subject. No one will deny his eminent success as a professor, the fact being fully established by the long list of his pupils. When we look into the amount of original work he has done we are appalled by the prodigious array of papers he has published, each and every one of which is the fruit of hard labour and deep thought. For instance, during the decade 1903-1912 he has published no less than 306 papers based on original research, with a train of pupils the number of which exceeds 150. If we think for a moment what this great professor and researcher, himself brought up in an atmosphere of original investigation under the great patriarchal chemist Emil Fischer, has achieved within so short a space of time, both in his professorial career and as an eminent researcher, training up a large number of pupils every one of whom is imbued with his spirit of original investigation carried down like the mantle of Elijah from professor to pupil,—shall we ever dare to question the appropriateness of teaching with research work?

Nor are these solitary instances. In England, we have men like Sir J. J. Thomson, the eminent physicist, who in the midst of his important research work does not forget to take his classes every day. So did Lord Kelvin before him. Few men in England could boast of so much original research work as these two

great scientists, yet they are none the less famous for their success as professors. In France, in Russia, in America, in fact in all enlightened parts of the world we have abundant instances of such men. Their success alone leaves no doubt about the compatibility of teaching with research. Even in India, at the very dawn of her modern progress, we find a few such men scattered here and there, who have already formed centres of crystallisation of original thought. In science, for instance, we may mention Dr. P. C. Ray who having struggled through enormous difficulties and baffled in various attempts, has, by dint of talent and perseverance, at last succeeded in founding a school of chemistry which has been aptly said to be "the nursery from which the future chemists of India pass into the world." With a score of pupils he has, in the course of the last few years, given out to the world the treasures of his original investigations in no less than 140 papers. In spite of his strenuous work in the laboratory he has

taken upon himself the task of teaching his pupils from the elementary to the highest standard. The progeny of successful students for the last twenty years bears testimony to the brilliant success he has achieved in his capacity as a professor. Also in history and literature we find men like Professors Jadunath Sarkar, Mahamahopadhyaya Satishchandra Bidyabhusana and Haraprasad Shastri who are as well known in their professorial career as in their original investigations.

Facts alone prove the truth and not theories, however simple or plausible. The truth which shines out through the mass of facts observed by different races of men in different countries cannot be gainsaid when it is found not to suit a favourite theory or a preconceived notion, since teaching and research go hand in hand in all the progressive countries of the world, with some advantage instead of hindrance to the professor, it is folly to raise the absurd question of their antagonism.

INDIAN STUDENTS AND WESTERN TEACHERS.

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Translated from the Bengali)

I HAVE some hesitation in discussing the recent disturbance between the Presidency College students and some of their European professors. One reason is, that it may appear unseemly to do so. Another reason is, that where there is a tender spot in the relation between students and Europeans great care is needed about touching it. But yet, it is impossible to cover it up altogether. Indeed, it has already been uncovered, and the discussion is going on from mouth to mouth openly and in whispers. When a festering wound has accumulated poison, it cannot keep on containing it for ever. The wound breaks open at last. To blame this process of eruption is to blame the whole scheme of things. And Providence can very well take care of itself in such matters.

Now that the evil has come to light, clearly judgment has to be given and punishment to be apportioned. This is the critical time. The affair, as it stands, is hardly respectable. Therefore, for propriety's sake, if there must be punishment for somebody or other, it is just possible that it will take the line of least resistance, choosing the weak for its visitation. When the mistress of the house feels afraid of chastising her daughter-in-law, she generally finds it convenient, in fulfilling her duty, to beat her own daughter. And while the judges are active in their work the Principal of a Mission College has already sent to the authorities a scheme of discipline for our students.

All this sounds reasonable, because when students can combine to insult their

and such a living process can never be gone through, except with freedom and self-respect. Because such is the case, lads at this particular age become almost hypersensitive about their dignity. As, when a young child attains the age of mastication, its teeth come through with an inflammatory disturbance, so, when the time has arrived for a lad to cut his wisdom teeth, his sense of self-respect becomes almost painfully aggressive.

This, again, is the age when students are apt to break out into unexpected explosions. Whenever the relation between the teacher and the student is natural, these are allowed to pass by in the main current of events, just as drift and refuse are swiftly carried away in a flood tide, but become objectionable if deliberately dragged up to the surface in a net.

There is a law of Providence, which brings even Bengali students to years of discretion, when their inner faculties blossom out in self-expression. They aspire to attain the dignity of manhood, and their soul is eager to worship greatness wherever found. They are both self-assertive and receptive of outward influences at the same moment. They need sympathy and inspiration and a large atmosphere of life. But to invent disciplinary grinding machines for manufacturing lifeless pulp out of these human souls is a sacrilege against God.

When the prisoner breaks some prison rule, it hurts nobody to punish him severely, because he is simply looked upon as a criminal. No one takes the pains to consider, whether such treatment hurts his heart, because nobody views him from the standpoint of a man. A governor, therefore, exaggerates the least infringement of the prison regulations and visits this upon the prisoner.

Again, the drill sergeant, who undertakes the responsibility of drilling men into shape by military methods, naturally looks upon his recruits from a narrow and restricted point of view. And, in consequence, he makes his discipline felt upon them, in a way which hardly takes into account that they are human beings.

But we cannot look upon students either as prisoners, or as scrooges of an army corps. We have to make them into full grown men, clearly recognising the fact that man's nature is made up of delicate and living

Professors, it is not only an offence against propriety, but also against nature. For it is in human nature to feel respect towards those from whom we receive knowledge; and when we see any perversion of this natural instinct, we feel bound to correct it by artificial means. But before we resort to any of these methods, we should find out clearly, why there should be any perversion of nature at all.

There have been, in the papers, some pressing grave disapprobation concerning this last regrettable incident, especially because of the tradition of one immortal. But this very fact should make us all the more careful to find out the true reason for the outbreak.

I cannot hold it to be true, that the general attitude of the Bengali student is kind of special creation, unique in the opinion of psychology. Students, at the College stage, are always in a state of transition. For the first time in their lives, they have come out of school discipline into freedom. And even now freedom is not merely outward. Their whims, also, have left the cage of avants, and spread their wings into the open air of ideas. They have gained their right to question, and their right to judge for themselves.

This transition period of life is full of sensitiveness. The least insult pierces to the quick. (On the other hand, the simplest suggestion of love makes the heart glad. This is the time, therefore, when the influence of human contact is most powerful, because this is the time when man is moulded by man. The truth of this has been acknowledged everywhere. Therefore we have in our scriptures the verse:

"When the son has attained his sixteenth year, his father must treat him as a friend." A text like this implies, that at the adolescent stage it is necessary for the growth of life, that the son should know his father as a man, and not as an engine of discipline. This is the reason why, in all countries, university students are raised to a level, where they come nearer to their teachers and have living contact with them. This is the age when students, having completed the rudiments of education, begin to assimilate humanity itself;

fibres. When a man suffers from headache, it does no earthly good to strike his head with a hammer. To cure him, you have to be very careful not to injure any brain tissue.

There are men, even in these modern times, who have entirely simplified the science of pathology and have accounted for all diseases by the theory of devil possession. They, like this Principal of a missionary college, want to drive away the disease by beating and branding and making unearthly yells. It is an admirable method of driving away the disease,—and the best part of a patient's life with it.

But this, of course, is mere quackery. Those who are skilled doctors do not look upon disease as an isolated thing in one part of the body. They recognise the intricacy and delicacy of the whole human system, and, while attempting to cure the special ailment, they do not cut at the root of vitality itself.

So my suggestion, in the present trouble, is this. Those teachers, whom nature has marked out for gaolers, drill-sergeants, and exorcists, should never be given the special care of students. Only those are fit for such work, who have a natural feeling of respect even for the young in age and in wisdom, who understand the Sanskrit verse,—“Forgiveness is the adornment of the powerful”, and who have no hesitation in accepting their students as their friends.

Jesus Christ has said,—“Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.” Christ had respect for children in his heart, because the suggestiveness of perfection is in the child. When the adult becomes hard in habits and opinions and in self-conceit, he loses all that suggestiveness. Then it becomes difficult for him to come near to the Teacher.

The minds of students are always expanding. The spirit of growth is ever doing its work in the core of their life-buds. The process of development has not stopped in them. They still carry about with them this suggestiveness of perfection. For that reason, the true teacher respects them, and suffers them to come near to him in love. He forgives them all their short-comings and patiently helps to open out their minds towards freedom and light. But those who, in their pride of greater knowledge or of social or racial position, are ready to insult the

student at every step, will never receive homage from them; and so in despair they will attempt in vain to extort obedience and reverence by the help of stringent regulations and official myrmidons.

Those who want to bind students hand and foot in the meshes of their disciplinary rules should understand that they are doing the greatest harm to the teachers themselves. For there are very few men in this world, who can keep straight in the path of duty simply by the help of their own inner ideal. Most people are preserved from going astray by pressure from the outside. They cannot betray themselves into doing wrong, because of their responsibility to the people with whom they have to deal. Therefore, wherever there is slavery, it is degrading to the masters. Where Sudras are Sudras indeed, there the Brahmans deteriorate.

But it may be asked, whether teachers should put up with every form of students' wildnesses. My answer would be that students will not go wild. They will act with respect, if they themselves get their due respect from the teachers. But, if the students' own race or religion is insulted by the teacher, if the students know that for themselves there is no chance of justice, and for professors of their own nationality no fair treatment, then they are bound to break out into impatience; and, indeed, it would be a thousand pities if they did not.

But the professors have a reasonable argument on their side.

India, for Europeans, is a land of exile. The climate is depressing. The food and drink which they take, in the hot weather, are often too exciting. Our complexion, religion, language, and habits, are most annoyingly different from theirs. Over and above that, every European teacher carries about with him on his person the emblems of sovereign power, and so the throne takes the place of the *guru's* seat. For that same reason, the European professor does not look upon his vocation simply as that of a teacher. He feels himself also to be a king of the country. He is a European and a Professor of an Imperial Service to boot,—a fragment of royalty. Often, also, he suffers from the conviction that he has come out to ‘do us good.’ In such circumstances, he may not always feel the necessity of controlling his tongue, or his temper. Therefore it may be the case, that we should not ask

how he ought to behave towards the students, but rather how the students, by the agency of a strict scheme of discipline, should train themselves to put up with his want of good taste.

Let us, then, frankly acknowledge the natural difficulties of a European professor in dealing with Bengali students. We sometimes quote the instance of the relations of Oxford and Cambridge Dons with their undergraduates. But the cases are not parallel. There, the relationship is natural. Here, it is not. So it appears as if this vacuum in nature has to be filled up with brickbats of 'discipline.'

It is this fact that has made our own problem so difficult for us. This is the reason why the prudent men of our community advise their sons to be content with passing examinations, and never to bother their heads about their privileges as men.

It is sound advice. Only unfortunately, it does not answer. Human nature is not built upon the hard foundation of prudence. It has to grow, and therefore is always immature. It tolerates all artificial restrictions up to a certain point. Then suddenly all barriers burst, and the irrepressible life manifests itself when we least expect it.

If we recognise nature only on our own side, and defy it in the student, then, for some length of time this one-sided arrangement may pass muster. But at last, all of a sudden, we discover that it has become obsolete. At that, our indignation knows no bounds. The very sign of life becomes a crime, because it has been so silent all the while. And so the punishment far transcends its normal measure. Then the whole affair becomes so complicated that even the *panchayat* Commission may become unable to find its way through the jungle, and feel compelled to use axes and hammers, and fires and steam-rollers, in order to blaze a path.

We have long ago grown accustomed to being reminded that the kingdom of heaven, specially reserved for our Bengali students, is the opium-eaters' heaven, the passage to which is cheap, and the path safe and peaceful. We have been informed that our students have friends, who are willing to take any amount of trouble to ferry them over to this inertness of illimitable subservience, relieving them, at the outset, of such inconvenient baggage as the living

soul. If their scheme could work for good, I should have nothing to say against it.

But it is doomed to failure. And it has failed in our case, because our education was not merely at the hands of College Principals, or those who are overburdened with the benevolent task of doing us good. We have been taking our lessons from England itself, and the time has been more than a century long. Those lessons have not been altogether lost upon us. They have quickened our life, and life has its claims which cannot be ignored.

I well remember, when I was a boy, how I had to learn the English synonyms of English words. I was made to get by heart the meaning of the pronoun I. It was given thus,—“*Myself*—I by myself I,—the first personal pronoun.” It took me some time to learn this definition, and it has taken India a considerable time also. Now, when we have almost succeeded in learning it by heart, our present schoolmaster comes and threatens to cross out that word ‘myself’ with black ink and rub it out altogether with rubber,—yes, with India rubber.

Our school-master is now teaching us in this way :—

“The meaning of the English pronoun ‘I’ has to be different in your country from that of ours.”

But if we took nearly two centuries to get our first lesson by heart, surely it will take at least double that time to forget it. Because that magic charm of the English ‘I’ is very potent. If our *guru* had not whispered it into our ears from the beginning, no great harm might have been done. But now, it has passed through the portals of our ears into life itself, and you can only tear it out by pulling up the very roots of life. And life is very tough after all.

So long as England keeps its touch with India, she will never be able to forswear her own nature. The best that she has, she must impart to us, willingly or unwillingly. This is God’s will,—whether it accords with the will of the Mission College authorities, or not.

Therefore, our students will never be satisfied with merely scraps of lecture notes and logic and grammar. They will stand out for their own life of self-respect. They will never take themselves to be mere puppets, or allow themselves to be unjustly coerced into submission. This

attitude of mind has become a fact to-day. It is possible to treat it as a delusion: it is possible to abuse it; but it is impossible to ignore it. By striking a blow at it, you only give it an opportunity of proving itself all the more true.

If the discussion about the Presidency College were merely some local affair, and nothing more, I should not take the trouble to write about it. But there is a large question intimately connected with it, and I should be wanting in my duty to my country and to the government if I remained silent.

Man's history unfolds itself differently in different countries. India has a history of its own, and we can trace out, how from the very beginning that history has been confined to no particular race or civilisation. Dravidian culture is as truly a part of us as Aryan. Our country belongs to the Hindu as much as to the Musalman, and to the Musalman as well as the Hindu. This is why history in India, with its collision of different forces, like gaseous bodies, has been hitherto so nebulous. There is agitation of different elements: there are explosions and upheavals: but there has been no fixed and definite shape. No single voice of one clear outstanding identity has come out of this pervasive vagueness as yet.

When the crystal is in a liquid state, it is amorphous. And our history has been like that for ages. At last, from the western shores of the world, came a shock which ran through this liquid mass from one end to the other. Now we feel an all-penetrating impetus running through its atoms. It is the movement which precedes the crystallising act.

All this proves my contention, that Indian history is the history of the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Muhammadans,—and of the Englishmen as well. We have to see that all its component parts are welded together into one organic whole. To desire to get rid of any one of these parts, is beyond our power. We have not been able to leave out the Musalmans, and we shall not be able to leave out the English. This is not simply owing to our want of physical power, but because it is in the constitution of things. Our history belongs to no one race. It represents a fusion of forces.

The historical purpose, which is being formed by the combination of various races and ages and civilisations, we must accept.

We must make our own conscious purpose in harmony with it. We must keep ever in mind, that our country is not England nor Italy, nor America, but India. The history of other countries would never fit ours. The difference lies at the very root. Those other countries had some sort of unity to build their history upon. We had to deal with diversity from the very beginning. History, in other countries, is naturally concerned with rejecting whatever is alien. The history of India is naturally concerned with assimilating all that has come from the outside.

So long, then, as the English element remains entirely alien and external, India will suffer. So long as Government is something extraneous and mechanical and un-natural, the Pax Britannica will give us an absence of war, but not a fullness of life. That is to say, the English will not be in union with the creative genius that is moulding India to its own purpose. The English will be, rather, like a mere labourer carrying materials of all kinds and heaping them up in heaps. This latter is what an English poet has described as 'the white man's burden.'

But is it going to remain a burden for ever? Should there be no joy of creation? It is the Creator Himself who has called the West to India. If the English cannot partake in His creative work, then the hot desert path of the 'land of regrets' will be strewn with their graves, and yet they will have to bear the burden to the end, unrelieved. If they do not contribute their life to Indian history; if, instead, their work in India becomes a mere matter of duty and routine; then they will make the divine spirit of our Motherland suffer, and they will suffer themselves.

Therefore, the problem of history in India is not to throw off England, but to make England's relation to ourselves living and natural.

Up till now, Hindus, Muhammadans and other races in India have been unconsciously shaping the destiny of our country. But since the arrival of the English we have become conscious of the part we are to play, and our own will is now about to take its share in the moulding process. The two wills may clash. There is the danger of conflict between them. But those of us, who know the great purpose of our own history, can remain undisturbed. In

all these conflicts of wills we must have faith, and try our best to bring harmony out of the very throes of division.

We want Englishmen: otherwise Indian History will remain incomplete,—its purpose unfulfilled. And because we want Englishmen, we must have entrance into their hearts, not merely to their office rooms.

But if we allow Englishmen to go on despising us and treating us with contempt, then we shall never win their hearts. We must claim respect from them. And, at such a time as this, we shall not turn the other cheek when struck by the Principal of a Mission College.

Where, then, can the relation between the English and the Indians be absolutely simple and natural? Not in the trade markets; not in the political arena.

The best place is in the Universities, where knowledge is imparted. For ideas unfold hearts. And when hearts are open, then comes the best opportunity for reaching them.

This great opportunity of closer intimacy existed in our own University. Here the Englishman could find a seat waiting for him that was greater than a throne. It is when we see such opportunities wasted, that we feel a pang of regret.

That this loss has been brought about by the students only, I, for one, cannot believe. I know our students intimately. They differ from Western undergraduates in this, that they are eager to worship their teacher and their hearts are extremely easy to win.

This was the reason why I always wanted to have some English teachers for my own school at Bolpur. Years ago, I had one, an Englishman, who had grown sour in the atmosphere of India, and accumulated a superfluity of spleen. He used to revile the boys about their nationality. He could not but hold them responsible for having been born of Bengali parents. And though the boys were quite young, they struck, and would not go to his class. Even the headmaster's orders proved ineffective to bring them back. Then I was compelled to step in and relieve 'the white man's burden.'

But I never gave up hope, and my expectation has been fulfilled. My *Ashram* has become sacred by the communion of English teachers and Indian boys. This sacred union, for which God has been

waiting in India for so long, has put forth one little flower in one corner of India's vast expanse. The two English teachers who have come to me, not for preaching their own religion, nor for raising the fallen, have no presumptuous thought that they had their birth in this world to 'civilise the barbarian.' But they, like their Master, have spread their arms to the children, saying, 'Suffer the children to come,'—though they are Bengali children. And the children did not hesitate for a moment to draw near, though they were Englishmen.

This I can say truly, the pure relation of love, which has been established between these boys and their English teachers, shall abide. And these boys will not enter upon life with their hearts filled with the poison of hatred against the English.

That first English teacher, who had come to me, was a very efficient and experienced teacher. If he had continued in my school, the boys might have acquired perfect English pronunciation and grammar. That might have tempted me to compel the boys by punishments to come to his class, and I might perhaps have persuaded myself to believe, that, however unjust and rude he might be, it was the duty of the children to submit in silence. Possibly, for some days, they would have felt miserable, and then, what is worse, after a time they would have grown callous and indifferent,—while their English accent would have been growing more and more perfect. But these little children,—have they not God on their side? Are we called upon to take the part of Providence in their lives, just because our hair has grown gray? Could I hope to meet God's judgment,—on the strength of a perfect English accent?

The real reason why the relation between European Professors and Indian students has become so difficult was revealed to me one day in England, when I was travelling in a railway carriage. My fellow-traveller, an Englishman, was at first favourably attracted by my appearance, so much so that he thought,—and took the thought with equanimity,—that I had come to England to preach some better religion. Suddenly he felt curiosity to ask me, from what part of India I had come. And when he was informed by me, that I came from Bengal, it seemed to give him a great shock. Then his vocabulary showed an amazing richness in its terms of vilification of the whole Bengali people.

When, for some reason or other, we happen to get a dislike for some race of people other than our own, then every person belonging to that race becomes to us a mere abstraction. To my fellow-passenger I lost my personality directly he heard that I was a Bengali. After that information I became merely an objectionable quality. And with a mere emblem of an abstract quality there is no need to preserve even ordinary politeness.

There was a time when Englishmen did not like the Russians. Then the Russian became a mere adjective to the Englishman, the symbol of something objectionable. But, now, in the English newspapers we hear nothing but praise of the Russians. The fact is that, directly you remove a man from the category of the adjective to the category of the noun, then at once all his human qualities become evident and obstacles to natural treatment are removed.

Because the Bengalis have become a mere adjective to the Englishman, signifying dislike, it has become difficult for the latter to feel our reality. I had hoped that Bengali youths might have been taken as volunteers to serve in this present war. If we could sacrifice our lives,—so I thought,—in the same cause with the English soldiers, we should at once become real to them, and claim fairness at their hands ever after.

But that opportunity has been refused, and we still remain behind the screen of vagueness. And man suspects vagueness. In Bengal, I do not know a single individual Bengali, who is not labouring under this suspicion in some form or another at the hands of the higher authorities. In this twilight of suspicion the shadows seem to take the semblance of substance and the substance that of shadows, and misunderstandings multiply fast and frequent.

But can this darkness be removed by raising dust with more and more punishment? Is not *light* needed more than anything else,—the light of love, the light of sympathy, to see each other's faces and understand? Is not this the proper time, when it behoves all Principals of Christian Colleges to remember

the life and teaching of their Master? And is not 'charity' described to us as the 'greatest thing in the world'? The shadows of misunderstanding, which distort truth, can only be removed by those who are above us in position. Only the sun can dispel the mist. Those who advise the higher powers to hurl thunder from the skies when rain is needed, are not only showing a lack of generosity, but also giving evidence of cowardice. Because most of the tyrannies of this world are the outcome of fear.

In conclusion, I entreat those in authority to bear this in mind, that we could have hoped that the Young Bengal of to-day might have carried reverence and love for Englishmen into the world from those universities where they had come in touch with their English professors. This would have surely happened if, as *gurus*, these teachers had been able to win their hearts when their hearts were fully susceptible to love. But, on the contrary, if this relation between teacher and student be founded on fear and hate and punishment, then the poison of the disease will be driven from the blood into the very vitals. Distrust of all Englishmen will be transformed into an instinct from one generation to another.

That this will hinder the work of good government is trifling, compared with the evil that will arise by the interruption of free intercourse between the two peoples. For this will deprive us of the best gifts we might have received from the West. When the act of giving is accompanied with respect, the act of receiving with respect becomes possible also. But when the prisoner sits down to eat with his handcuffs on, it is difficult to persuade him that he is an honoured guest at a festival. And this festival of knowledge is a feast of joy. But those who are for ordering iron hand-cuffs for their guests will to-morrow flatter themselves on their own righteous conduct, and complain that after all their efforts, they have not been able to win the gratitude of these youths, while deep down in their heart of hearts, they are more and more, each day, uttering the prayer,—'Father, do not forgive them.'

THE IRISH RENAISSANCE

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

A FEW years ago an Irish girl in a French school found herself registered as living at "Dublin, England." The inferred absorption of her native island, Ireland, by England, not merely politically but geographically, was more than the girl could stand. Her sense of scientific accuracy, added to a sudden emergence of racial pride, prompted an energetic protest that she was not English, but Irish.

The learned authority, overlooking the mere fact that the piece of land called Ireland entirely surrounded by water, of which the City of Dublin is the Capital, cannot by any stretch of imagination—or rather of want of imagination—be coincident with the other piece of land, called England, which lies to the east of it, countered the girl's protest by exclaiming, "But you speak the English language!"

The reply, striking the mind of a spirited and gifted girl in a moment of sensitive exaltation, went deep into her consciousness. She immediately took up the study of the ancient language of her country; took her degree later as Master of Arts, and a three hundred pound prize, with the Irish language as one of her main subjects; and ended her life at the age of twenty-five in an attempt to save a fisher-girl from drowning off the coast of a lonely island, to which she had gone in order to perfect her colloquial knowledge of the dialect of the Southern province.

I recount this biography-in-brief, (in the last stage of which I was myself tragically concerned) because it embraces several of the circumstances which have made Ireland one of the world's enigmas—a perpetual puzzle to the outsider by reason of the periodical reappearance of evidences of youth and virility in an entity which, in the intervals between reappearances, has been apparently dead, or at least in senile decay; a no less perpetual puzzle to the insider because of the lack of a psychology that will demonstrate the essential unity of the forces that threaten at times to rend the country asunder.

During the last quarter of a century Ireland has made her latest, and perhaps most significant, reappearance. Within her borders there has emerged an amazing intellectual activity which, at one end, has dug deep into the earth in the application of social and aesthetic ideals to the problems of agriculture; and at the other end has developed, in the Irish language, but principally in English, an expression in literature which takes tribute in technique from all the world, yet keeps itself securely rooted in racial intimacy with life on the land, and in racial search for the life that lies deeper than life or land.

To the people of Ireland, or at least to the conscious minority that stands for, but not instead of the inarticulate majority, the importance of the intellectual upsurge of the last twenty years has never been underestimated: the importance, that is to say, of the achievement of a mode of expression that would be intelligible in the ears of the world, not as the cry of a political sect, which might or might not be worthy of attention, but as the voice of a people finding freedom in the Arts. Isolated as her soul has been behind an alien language and outlook, she has been in times past compelled to sing to herself about herself in order to keep up her spirits and to preserve her sense of identity. But preoccupation with the *genius loci* does not make for commerce with the genius of the world, since it must necessarily deal largely with places and events of untranslatable quality and value even in the island that lies nearest to her.

Now, however, through the transmuting power of the imagination, and the universal currency of the language of the Arts, Ireland has caught the ear of the world; and what is more important to her, has caught the ear of herself. She has lifted up her voice in Beauty; it has been heard from the Petrograd to San Francisco; but its greatest achievement has been its echoing and re-echoing within her own borders, across the river (the Boyne) that

geographically, historically and temperamentally has divided North from South, Protestant from Catholic, Nationalist from Unionist. The new order of creative spirits which have incarnated in the country within the last half of the nineteenth century, have overleaped the arbitrary boundaries of religious and political creeds, have undermined social obstructions, and have laid the foundation in thought and word, for the future rebuilding in laws and institutions of the communal life that is natural life of the Celtic race. Other races may proclaim the "*vox populi vox Dei*;" it is the privilege of the Irish race to maintain that the voice of the artist is the voice of the people; for the people themselves are of the race of Hermes, actors and poets from the cradle. And that is why "Dublin, England," smites a protest from a vibrant daughter of Ireland, proud with the pride of race and the pride of the Artist.

Side by side with this modern development in Ireland itself, there has been evident in the world at large a growing understanding of what Ireland signifies. Ireland herself has no doubt on the subject. It is a simple fact of Irish life that, no matter what abysses of illusory difference open up between a disputatious Irishman from Ulster, and an equally disputatious Irishman from Munster, they are both well aware that Ulster and Munster are mere adjectives, and simply introduce a pleasing excuse for antagonism between units that are fundamentally in Union, and, as Irishmen, entirely distinctive from the rest of humanity. To their view, therefore, the growing understanding of Ireland in the world-consciousness has figured itself as a hazy background which has gradually condensed and shaped itself, at first inchoately, but latterly with some remote recollection of the real Ireland.

To the majority of outsiders, Ireland has been known chiefly as something in English politics—a kind of disease that curiously broke out in a symptom called Home Rule when parties in the British Parliament were pretty evenly balanced. If there was really a place called Ireland outside London, it was probably very barren, miserable, illiterate, behind the times, and obviously in need of being governed by some one else. Not many years ago, a kindly old lady in London asked the writer in all seriousness if there were tramcars in Ireland. That was before the

era of universal electric cars; and it was from Dublin to Kingstown that the first electric tramway in the British Isles was laid. It was also a Dublin Company that sent the first steampacket across the Atlantic to New York, and characteristically enough, its starting point was not Ireland, but the English port of Liverpool.

Such ignorance was not however, confined to outsiders. The writer's own idea of Ireland and the Irish people—an idea which he had imbibed in his native city of Belfast in the early eighties—was such that when he went for a sea trip to the south of the island, he armed himself with a revolver and fifty cartridges as protection against the natives! Instead of which he spent several hours on the quayside of Waterford in a pleasant chat with a quay labourer, whose quick wit, picturesque speech, and kindly spirit disarmed the writer. Through him he discovered Ireland, and celebrated the event by firing the whole of his cartridges into a delicate gate on the side of Mount Misery the day after.

That was over a quarter of a century ago. The foundation of the Irish Renaissance had been well and truly laid, but the superstructure had yet to appear. In due time it reared itself stage by stage; and whereas in those days no line of the inimitable poetry of Yeats had yet been made public, now he has the seal of European approval in a Tauchnitz selection. Lovers of literature on the continent of Europe were not long in recognising the coming of a new spirit into letters; and when poet after poet made his and her appearance and ultimately blossomed into book form, whispers of the Irish "School" began to be heard across the Atlantic.

A few years ago, when passing through the ancient Norman City of Bayeux, in the north of France, a chance word from the writer after dinner in the hotel drew towards him another passing stranger, who had sat silent and apart during the meal. He at once ferreted out the writer's connection with the Irish Literary Movement, became alive and enthusiastic over a mutual interest, and disclosed the fact that he was a Professor in an American University in the eastern States, and that the work of the modern Irish writers formed a large portion of their literary studies. This is but one example out of many instances bearing testimony to the keen

interest which is everywhere being shown in the new reappearance of Ireland.

That reappearance is not of course confined solely to literature. Like all true emanations from the spiritual hinterland of race, it affects all phases of the complex national life. The literary revival has for true brothers the Language revival, the Industrial revival, the Agricultural revival, and a complex political agitation. To each of these, due value must be assigned; but, singly or totally, they do not stand for more than a fragment of the new Ireland. Ireland is not a linguistic country in the continental sense. She is passionately interested in preserving the Irish language, not because it is a language, but because it is Irish. She is not an industrial country in the manufacturing sense; but her industry, as a quality in human activity, is enormous. She is not an agricultural country in the Canadian sense: she holds tenaciously to the land—and in some places to land that is only so-called by courtesy, being in truth naked rock—not because she can make it a source of wealth, but because it is Ireland, and her own by history, sacrifice and love. She is not a political country, notwithstanding a century's preoccupation with politics. The history of Ireland, in which politics form so conspicuous a part, is not—as presented by historians up till recently—the history of the Irish nation at home, but the history of English politics on Irish soil; and the political activity of Irishmen and women in England has not been the spontaneous exercise of a genius for politics, but an evidence of special versatility adapting its single purpose of freedom of Ireland to the constantly changing exigencies of English politics.

In whichever of these activities Irishmen and Irish women take part, they do so with distinctiveness. They will enter with the bravery of children on enterprises demanding experience and skill. If they succeed and they mostly do—their success will be abnormally rapid. If they fail, their failure will probably become of national value through its intermixture of idealism and sentiment. They will, by dint of racial enthusiasm and fineness of response, quickly and thoroughly master the intricacies of activities which from other races would demand some renunciation of the soul, but which come no nearer the soul of

Ireland than she is willing to permit. They will enter into controversy with such abandon of impersonality that they will indulge in personalities of the most violent nature without danger to the person, character, or soul of either side in the dispute. The path of Irish politics is strewn alternately with broken friendships and buried hatchets: the protagonists march on, at one time hand to hand, at another time arm in arm.

In these characteristics, there is the indication of the working of Ireland's particular gift to the world, the spirit of democracy. What shape it might have taken had the Norman invasion not diverted her attention, and pursued the policy of "divide and conquer," it is perhaps futile to enquire. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the spirit of national unity which survived through seven centuries of alien rule, to win ultimately her recognition in even a partial measure of self-government, is capable yet of taking the circumstances of to-day in both hands, and moulding them to her vision of a free Community, united in the hidden law of the spirit; and from her spiritual centre developing in all directions towards the fullest expression of an amazing diversity. She has broken the power of an irresponsible landlordism: she may, or she may not, influence the coming adjustment of the rival forces in the economic life of Europe and the world: but whatever may be her specific business, behind it and through it will radiate the essential spirit of a true national democracy. Given free scope for the exercise of her genius, she will bring all things to the test of the race consciousness, and not to the test of another's. Her artists will go—are going—to her own life for their inspiration. Her life will be adjusted—is even now adjusting itself—to the dreams of her poets and seers. Thus her life will be organic, unified; free in circumference, yet held by an invisible centre in the spirit; and thus, building a fair habitation for her own genius, she will hold out friendly hands to other nations that are moving towards freedom, encouraging them with her dream, on a cosmic scale of her own national ideal, men and women grouped by blood, but chiefly by spiritual bonds, in such wise that each may realise the best within themselves after their own law, and thereafter seek for the ultimate

unity of all mankind, not in the imposition of alien customs and ideas, but in free voluntary exchange, which is the one and only sure basis of lasting union.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE MAKING OF BRITISH INDIA, 1756-1858, described in a series of Despatches, Treaties, Statutes, &c., by Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester (Longmans, 6s. net).

This is a compilation judiciously made from documents written in English and by Englishmen relating to the rise of the British Supremacy in India. The author has not considered it worth his while to consult contemporary documents written by non-Englishmen. The works of French, Dutch and Muhammadan historians deserve consideration. But the author has ignored their importance. His work is more indicatory than exhaustive. However, the book is a useful one and deserves to be read by those who are interested in the "Good old days of the East India Company's rule in India."

R.

I. CLARINDA. By A. S. and K. K. Raghav. Pp. 12. Price 1s. 6d.

Clarinda was a historical character. She was the widow of a Marhatta Brahman who had been one of the king's servants at Tanjore. After her husband's death she became the concubine of an English officer of the name of Lyttelton who, strangely enough, instructed her in Biblical histories and Christian doctrines. She requested Schwartz, a famous missionary of those days, to baptize her, but was refused because of her "sinful connection." She was not prepared to give up Lyttelton then, but when he died she repeated her request to the missionary and was accepted. She was baptized at Palamcottah where she later on built the first Christian Church in that part of the country.

This is all that can now be gathered about the life-story of Clarinda from contemporary records. Mr. Madhaviah has endeavoured to fill up the gaps in her story from his own imagination and the result is a novel full of human interest and eminently readable.

II. MUTHUMEENAKSHI. By A. Madhaviah. Translated from Tamil by one of his daughters. Pp. 121. Price 1s. 6d. K. Raghav, Chennai, Chingleput Dist.

Muthumeenakshi was a Brahman girl whose sad and sorrowful life was typical of the lives of thousands of girls in our country. Mr. Madhaviah describes the cruelty of the step-mother, the tyranny of the mother-in-law and the misfortunes of the wretched widow, to borrow Sir Sankaran Nair's phrase, "with the precision of direct knowledge." We hope this book would be widely read.

III. THE FATAL GARLAND. By Mrs. Ghosal. Pp. 321. Published by Messrs. J. Wilson & Sons, Ltd. 17, Chancery Lane, London.

Mrs. Ghosal, as our readers must be aware, is a sister of Sir Rabindranath Tagore and bids fair to achieve literary fame among the English-reading public. "An Unfinished Song," Mrs. Ghosal's first book in English which was published, we believe, a

little over a year ago, was very well received by both the Indian and the British Press. The book now under review more than maintains the standard of her first venture. The scene is laid in Bengal at the time when Sekandar Shah occupied the Imperial throne and Raja Suryadeb held the chieftainship of Dinajpur. Shakti the heroine of the Fatal Garland, was selected as Rani by Ganesh Dev, the Prince of Dinajpur and garlanded by him in childish play. The prince, however, when grown up, married her rival playmate, Nirupama, while Shakti was away on a pilgrimage. Shakti's grief was unbounded when on her return she heard of the Prince's marriage, because ever since the prince had garlanded her with the "Fatal Garland" she looked upon herself as his bride. The Prince's refusal to marry her drove Shakti from grief to anger and from anger to revenge. She went and married Ganesh Dev's Muhammadan rival, Ghias-ud-Din, who afterwards, became the Sultan of Bengal. Ganesh Dev was imprisoned by Shakti's husband and ordered to be beheaded. Shakti, however, unable to forget her love for him, managed to save his life and give her own instead.

This is the bare outline of Mrs. Ghosal's tale but she has worked into it a whole world of passion and interest. The book contains a number of charming illustrations.

IV. CHARACTER SKETCHES OF FAMILIAR LIFE. By A. Ramanujswami, B.A., B.L. Pp. 253. Price 1s. 12. Published by the author at Bocharapur (Ganjam).

These character sketches of Hindu social life, the author tells us, have been inspired by a study of the famous "Sketches by Boz." In our judgment, however, there is an important distinction between Boz and Mr. Ramanuja Swami inasmuch as Boz was an artist first and a social reformer afterwards, while the reverse of it seems to be the case with our present author. Mr. Ramanuja Swami's book is a collection of two short stories, unfortunately mixed up in printing as if they were one, which have been written to advocate the cause of social reform in Hindu society. It contains several passages of genuine humour and would pleasantly while away a few leisure hours.

V.—VII. LOVE, THE CONQUEROR OF DEATH. Pp. 126.

FAITH, BELIEF AND CREDULITY. Pp. 8. 3s.

THE PURPOSE OF LIFE. Pp. 8. 3s. Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India.

A series of reprints from the *Epiphany*.

VIII. THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. By G. G. Fandiay, P.D. Pp. 16. 6s. Madras: The C.L.S. for India.

IX. THE SUPER MAN AND THE SUPER-NATION. By Cambridge. Pp. 16. Price 1s. Anna. C.L. Society, Madras.

A scathing denunciation of the philosophy of Germany's teachers Nietzsche and Treitschke—from the British Christian viewpoint.

X. HOW DO WE STAND TODAY? *Pp. 35. Price 1s. 6d. Fisher Union, Ltd., London.*

This is a reprint of the famous speech delivered by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 2nd Nov. 1915, in which he reviewed the operations of the Allied Forces in all the different theatres of war and which would be always remembered for its defence of the British action in the Dardanelles.

XI. SIR EDWARD GREY'S REPLY TO DR VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG. *Pp. 20. Price 1d. Fisher Union.*

A letter addressed to the British Press on the 25th Aug. 1915 by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in reply to the German Chancellor's allegations that Belgium had, before the outbreak of the war, trafficked her neutrality with the English and was in effect in a plot with the Allies against Germany. The statement issued by the Foreign Office respecting the Anglo-German negotiations of 1912 is printed as an Appendix.

XII. SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIGNOR ANTONIO SALANDRA. *Translated by Thomas O'By. Pp. 32. 6d. Fisher Union.*

This is a translation of the speech delivered by the Italian Prime Minister on June 2, 1915, in the Capitol of Rome at the outbreak of hostilities between Italy and her former allies—Germany and Austria. The speech is an effective but dignified reply to the charges of "treachery and surprise" addressed to Italy by the German Chancellor. It is of course easy enough, as Signor Salandra remarks, "to ask if a man has any right to speak of alliances and of respect for treaties who, representing with far less genius but with equal indifference to moral considerations, the traditions of Frederick the Great and Prince Bismarck, has dared to proclaim that necessity knows no law and has consented to his country's trampling under foot, burning and burying in the depths of the ocean every document and every civilized practice of public internal law." Signor Salandra, however, proves with the help of incontestable facts and unanswerable reasons that Germany and not Italy was really responsible for the break up of the Triple Alliance.

XIII. SIXTY AMERICAN OPINIONS. WAR. *Pp. 105. Price on sailing. Fisher Union.*

The title indicates the nature of the contents. The opinion of Dr. Morton Prince, the famous psychologist, may be quoted as typical:—"From the American viewpoint we are forced, however unwillingly, to the conclusion that Germany must be regarded in war as the enemy of civilization and in peace as the enemy of democracy."

XIV. THE AMERICAN VS. THE GERMAN VIEW OF THE WAR. *By Dr. Morton Prince. Pp. 48. One shilling. Fisher Union.*

In this interesting pamphlet Dr. Prince gives his reasons for refusing his sympathy to Germany in the present war. "We care nothing," he says in the course of an eloquent and impressive passage, "for the 'necessities of war' . . . we care nothing for fine spun specious arguments as to why Germany was not to blame for the invasion of Belgium. We see only a peaceful unoffending nation defending her inalienable rights to her own soil. And we see the inhabitants for this offence shot down and their houses one by one put to the torch. We see tens of thousand of homes desolate . . . and all this, mind you, not as unavoidable accident from the

shelling of the enemy in battle but deliberately and systematically and unnecessarily after the capture and occupation of the city, for the sole purpose of revenge, as officially proclaimed and officially justified."

The history of Alsace-Lorraine provides us with a concrete example of the German policy of "rightfulness" in time of peace. The German rule in these provinces has throughout been characterised by systematic cruelty towards unoffending citizens. Maitre Helmer, the author of this pamphlet, is a most desirable guide in studying the history of the German rule in Alsace. Besides being an Alsatian by birth he is himself a victim of the German policy. A prominent worker in the cause of Alsatian Reunion with France, he has always been a thorn in the eyes of German officials. At the moment when the war broke out, the authorities were collecting evidence against him with a view to prosecuting him for high treason. He succeeded, however, in getting away into France two days before his mobilisation.

XV. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WAR. *By Arturo J. Patricola. One shilling. Pp. 17. Fisher Union.*

The author, who is a Spaniard, discusses the origin and aspects of the European conflict and exhorts his countrymen "to take to heart these recent lessons of experience." "We have," he says, "very little in common with Germany and we are of small importance to her. Let us, however, be careful that at some distant day we do not stand in her path or our treatment may be the drastic one meted out to Belgium!"

G. S. MONGIA.

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RAMKRISHNA MISSION SEVASRAM, Kankhal, Hardwar, for the year 1914-15. *Edited by Swami Sachchidananda, Secretary to the Ramkrishna Mission, Belur Math.*

The report summarises the activities of the Mission in its Service Home at Kankhal I. P. The total number of persons who were treated in the Sevasram outdoor hospital were 9141 and included men and women of all denominations. The Ashram also maintains an indoor hospital in which 211 persons were admitted during the year under review. A cholera ward was built last year, but the home needs a new outdoor dispensary and a general ward for non-Sannyasi patients. We all know what splendid work the mission has been doing in connection with the flood and famine relief in various parts of the country and we heartily commend this appeal for funds to the public. The report amply repays perusal and shows how accounts of public money should be rendered.

THE MESSAGE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA a lecture delivered at the 53rd birthday celebration of the Swami at the Ramkrishna Home, Mylapore, Madras, by K. S. Rama Sastri B. A., B.L. (Pravina Thiru). Published by the Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras.

This booklet of 52 pages gives a short summary of the teachings of Swami Vivekananda together with the author's reflections thereon. The teachings of the Swami have worked a great change in the educated mind of India and are destined to exert a greater influence in the future. The Swami's ideas on such current questions as the elevation of the depressed classes, widow remarriage, the National University should be constantly kept before our mind.

Publications of the nature of the booklet under review deserve every encouragement.

The printing is good and I could detect no typographical errors.

ALFRED THE GREAT, *presented by the Christian Literature Society for India*, pp. 12, price 6 annas.

GLADSTONE : *presented by the Christian Literature Society for India*, pp. 12, price 6 annas.

The object of these and similar volumes of the Anna Library is to popularise the lives of the world's great men to Indian readers. It is not clear, however, as to what class of readers they are meant for. If for boys, the language should have been simpler and the arrangement of facts should have been such as to make the whole read like a connected story. As it is, in many places the presentation of the story is bald and presupposes previous knowledge in the reader. There is however a great need for such cheap publications in India and the Christian Literature Society is doing a real service by publishing these volumes. Every school boy should have them in his library. The books are illustrated and the typography is excellent.

SIR SANKAR NAIK, *M.A., C. I. E., a sketch of his life and career*, Published by the Mahabharatana Education Co. pp. 4, price 4 annas.

This is a short sketch of the life of the Education Member. The brochure has no striking feature but the story of the life of Sir Sankaran is plainly recounted. There is an appendix containing extracts from his contributions to English periodicals. The printing is the average of Indian printing but it is not free from typographical errors.

B

HOW TO CHECK DIABETES MELLITUS, *By Hamed Ali Khan, B.A., B.L., T. and E. Hon. Secy. for distribution*.

The fact that Mr. Hamed Ali Khan's book has reached a third edition, is a sufficient tribute to its value. The book is a most interesting and valuable work on the disease. It seems to be valuable for those who are subject to the disease. The author, though a layman, has dealt with the subject scientifically. The part of the book which deals with the uses of indigenous drugs is very interesting.

PREVENTION OF SMALLPOX, *By Chandra Bose M. B. B. Sc. S. Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bengal for free distribution*.

Last year when smallpox was raging in the city, causing a sort of panic in the minds of the people, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bose read a paper on the prevention of smallpox at the V. M. C. A. Hall under the presidency of Major R. P. Willson F. R. C. S., I.M.S., Superintendent, Campbell Medical School. The present work is a reprint of that lecture for free distribution.

In this brochure Dr. Bose after describing the nature and symptoms of the disease as briefly as possible deals more elaborately with the prevention of the disease. Any one who cares to read this pamphlet is bound to be assured in his mind that the first and foremost preventive measure is vaccination and vaccination only. We wish this pamphlet a wide circulation.

THE PLAGUE, *By Gaganendranath Tagore, M. B. B. Sc. I. M. L. R. C. S. C. I. Surgeon, Secy., Proctor annas*.

This is a small pamphlet on Plague. The object of the writer is to remove misconception regarding this

fatal scourge from the public mind. The author does not claim any originality; he has simply put down the facts as discussed by others, leaving aside all controversial matter and laying stress on things which are useful and practical. We have no doubt in our mind, if the sound advice given by Dr. Hingarani be carefully followed, there is every chance of plague being stamped out in the near future.

MOSQUITOES AND MALARIA, *By N. C. Shah, I. M. & Sc. Lecturer Surgeon*.

This booklet is a reprint of a paper read by Dr. Shah before the Kuthiawar Medical Society, Rajkot.

In these few pages Dr. Shah has made an attempt to describe the characters and habits of the mosquitoes, the mode of infection of Malaria, its symptoms, and its treatment and prevention. The language of the book is simple—not difficult for a layman to understand. One who likes to have some knowledge of Malaria, may read this pamphlet with profit.

THE NEW HEALTH BOOK *Or How to Live to 100 years*, By Sarat Chandra Ghosh, M. B. B. C. E. Price Rs. 1/6.

Throughout these pages, the author has attempted to present before the public the principles of health and the practices pertaining to it. We are glad to say that the author has not failed in his attempt. The book is an instructive one. The parts treating of physical culture, the importance of pure air, sunlight and ventilation of houses and of fasting are very nicely written.

FIRST AID IN ACCIDENTS, *By U. Kanta Rai, Price Rs. 1/6*.

The fact that Surgeon General W. B. Bannerman M.D., C.S.I., D.Sc., K.H.P., has written a foreword to this small book is a sufficient guarantee of its usefulness. After an introductory chapter on the importance of the subject, the structure of the body, bandages, fractures, dislocations, sprains, haemorrhages, wounds, burns, etc., are discussed. There is also an important chapter on ambulance transport and stretcher-drill. The pictures are very numerous—a very commendable feature in such a work. The book will be useful both to Ambulance students and the public.

JNANENDRA NARAYAN Bagchi.

SHRI SHANKARACHARYA AND HIS KAMAKOTI PEETHA, *by N. K. Venkatesan, M. A., Asst. Lecturer in English, Govt. College, Kumbhakonam, Pp. 35*.

The booklet contains a brief legendary life of Shankaracharya compiled chiefly from the Puranas and other similar works and gives a short history of his Kamakoti Peetha at Conjeevaram, which according to the author was designed by him to be the Central Seat for India. Besides, it presents the sketches of the lives of his distinguished disciples who succeeded after him to the Peetha. It is generally believed that the date of Shankaracharya can in no way be placed before the 8th century A. D., but Mr. Venkatesan holds that the traditional date as found in the Puranas, i.e., the year 2593 of Kaliyuga or 509 B. C. is quite right and is also supported by the lineage of teachers and disciples preserved in different Muttis. His arguments deserve to be examined.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF SOME INTOXICATING DRUGS
by Rai Bahadur Dr. Chandra Bha. I.S.O., M.B., B.S.,
Off. : Chemical Examiner, Bengal.

It is a small pamphlet of 21 pages. It contains in an abridged form in clear and simple language all about the evil effects of alcohol, opium, cocaine, Indian hemp and tobacco—the intoxicating drugs most commonly used by the people of this country.

In his preface the author says :—

"At the outset, I should tell you as a medical man, that none of these drugs is necessary for the human body in conditions of health, but they perhaps with the exception of tobacco, are valuable medicinal agents and are indispensable to the physician in the treatment of certain diseases. I am, myself a teetotaler and have the greatest aversion against the use of any of these drugs except as medicine. It must not, however, be supposed that this aversion is the result of any ill founded prejudice against these intoxicants. It is a conviction based on my long experience as a medical man, as a chemical examiner and also, as a member of community. There are many who hold that moderate doses of any of these intoxicants specially alcohol and opium, do not produce any ill effect on the system. But even those that hold this view are constrained to admit that it is very difficult to keep to a moderate dose for any length of time, because one of the physiological properties of these drugs is to induce a craving for increased doses. Many a sad case are known in which the habit of drinking or opium taking began with small doses only, often under medical advice, but which continually went on increasing till the sorrowful end came in with the termination of a valuable life or the incarceration of the victim in a lunatic asylum."

He has dealt with each drug separately and has given the action of these intoxicants on the human mind and different organs of the body and has shown very clearly that the habit of taking these drugs saps the moral fibre of their devotees so that they become moral wrecks and scourges to society.

It is a very deplorable fact that in India the use of cocaine is increasing very rapidly inspite of the vigilance of the Excise Department. The figures collated from the annual reports of the Chemical Examiners to the Government of Bengal for the last seven years given in this book show that in the year 1908, 125 samples of cocaine were seized and sent for examination whereas in 1913 the number went up as high as 4875. This shows how rapidly the contagion has spread in Bengal—I think in other parts of India too. The learned author rightly observes : "Considered sociologically, it is perhaps safe to say that a considerable portion of the crimes committed in this city (Calcutta) may be traced to the utter moral depravity which follows the habitual use of cocaine."

Every well-wisher of society should possess a copy of this pamphlet and try to check the mischief by explaining to the public the grave consequences that follow the use of these drugs. This book ought to be translated into all the vernaculars of India and the local governments should distribute them broadcast.

S. B.

OUTLINES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY by Bala Bhoykumar Maumtu, M. A. Senior Professor of Philosophy, Krishnath College, Barhampur. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author writes, "this text in ethics is intended specially for meeting the wants of the students preparing for the B. A. Examination in ethics for the Calcutta University" and he also tells us why he has written this book—"As a teacher of Philosophy for over eighteen years, I have always found the students of my classes in helpless condition. For a long time, therefore, I have been feeling the need of such suitable books as will give them considerable relief and at the same time, much assistance." And "writing from the standpoint of *Ideal-realism* as expounded by Vedantism and Hegelianism I have accepted the view that the real standpoint of morality should be that which takes into account and explains all the sides of human nature and is, therefore, the perfection of nature; I have, consequently, tried to show that all other forms of the moral standpoint are based on the one-sided conception of the self." There is no place for the serious review of a textbook like this. But the author will, naturally, be glad if the students feel that they have got after all a suitable book which gives them relief and much assistance and if the University authorities appoint it as a textbook.

S.

SANSKRIT.

SVADISHABDA SAMUCHCHAYA by Karmaja Anand Chandra Surj, with the comment called *Syadvadishabda-dipika* edited by Pandita Jagadish Chandra Kotha, Benares City. Pp. 645. Price Anna-10.

The author is an ancient writer belonging to the Shvetambara Sect of the Jaina community and his present work is a **विज्ञानशासन** or a treatise on Gender especially intended for the students of Hemachandra's Sanskrit grammar Siddha Hemachandra.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI

SONERISHABDO by Chandrabhawan Ishwatal Khan Sahib, Printed at the Surad Jain Printing Press, Price Rs. 0-1-0 (1916).

These are copy book maxims, printed in large type, in the form of a small copy book. It contains 66 "golden words" of advice.

CHHUPO DUL, Part I. by Abdul Kader Hasan Ali, Editor of the *Akhbar-e-Saifi*, Printed at the Badri Printing Press, Rajkot, Clothbound, pp. 100. Price Rs. 0-4-0. (1916)

These are stories of an Indian detective. They deserve mention only as they are written by a Bora Mahammadan gentleman.

RAMAYAN NO RASAMIAK SAE by Hargovind Kanti Bhatt, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover, pp. 10 Rs. 0-1-0. (1916).

As its name implies, this book gives the substance of the Ramayana in verse. As the writer of the introduction, Mr. C. N. Pandya says, the book is of the ordinary type, and possesses both faults and good points.

HIRANGADY translated by Mahadev Harichandra Das, B. A., LL. B., and Narhari Desarkhadi Parikh, B. A., LL. B. Printed at the Prayagandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad, pp.
Price Rs. 0.50. (1910).

This is a very readable translation of the Bengali play written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. The translators have taken special care to make it resemble the original as much as possible and have been able to preserve its spirit. The preface is, however, written in a very "high" style, and would not be understood by many.

PRAKASH SOWNDARYA, by Vanshidhar Keshavnath Dikshit, printed at the Lakshminarayana Printing Press, Baroda, Clothbound, pp. 32. With Pictures. Price 0.30. (1915).

A short essay on the beauties of Nature, animate and inanimate, prepetual song-tones as by Mr. Dikshit, of the Baroda Educational Department, is now reprinted in Devnagri characters. It certainly testifies to the love of Nature entertained by the writer, as well to his happy style in describing her beauties.

SMARANA SAMITHA, in Varsinhrao Bhogirath Doshi, B. A., C. S., printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, Clothbound with artists cover and pictures. Pp. 70. Price Rs. 1.10. (1910).

This grand and the best elegy in Gujarati owes its origin to the sad bereavement that the poet suffered some time ago by the death of his young son. As the best exponent of lyrical poetry, Mr. Narsinhrao till now holds a high place, but this "lyric of mourning" exceeds in its beauty and pathos, all his former poems. The inspiration came from a very living source, and it has made him utter words, which surely appeal to his readers as nothing else appealed before. Human nature being what it is, a wave of sincere sympathy at once reaches out from the heart of the reader to that of the poet, who in spite of the reserve of his spiritual strength on which he falls back for support as on a rock, cannot still shake off the state of a sorrow-stricken parent. The event of a death in one's family is an ordinary incident, but it requires a poet's pen to exalt it to the pitch of the sublime and the beautiful. The ascending notes of a funeral song, and the dying, whispering wail of an autumn wind, the soothing sentiments of one who extracts comfort from a comfortless event, and the silent resignation of one who believes in the eternal goodness of things, all these one finds here. The forward by Prof. Anand Shanker Dhruva, M. A., LL. B. is in every way worthy of the poem and the writer. The history of this kind of poem is very accurately traced, while all the beauties of this particular poem are well brought out. The notes at the end are scholarly and calculated to advance the value of the work. The only drawback are the pictures, which somehow or other are not what they should have been. A few lines from one of the best gems of the poem,—a pathetic appeal by the departed Innocent Soul to his Father in Heaven, to open the doors of his temple and get him in, now that he has finished (alas! too soon) his wanderings in the Desert of Life,—are here extracted: They are so simple that any Indian can understand them.

मंगल मन्दिर खोलो, दयामय ! मंगल मन्दिर खोलो !

जीवन वन अति वेग बटाव्य, द्वार जभी शिशु भोलो ;

तिमिर गद्युं न जगति प्रकाशयो, शिशुने डरमां लो लो

दयामय ! मंगल मन्दिर खोलो !

SHRI VALMIKI KAMAYAN, *Balkand*, by Manhariram Harichorram Mehta, B. A., printed at the Jan Mander Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pages 223. Price Rs. 1-0-0. (1910).

This is a translation into Gujarati verse of Valmiki's celebrated epic. Mr. Manhariram found the metre of the original, viz. अनुष्टुभ, unsuited to the genius of the Gujarati language, to convey the grand and heroic ideas of Valmiki; he has therefore struck out a new line, and freed himself from the restraint of any prosodial metre whatsoever, and tried the experiment of translating it into blank verse. To those who have been used for generations to the shackles as well as the sweetness of rhyme and metre, the departure appears to be rather startling and irreconcilable, but if once you come to discard those preconceived notions or inclinations, the verse, read with proper punctuation and emphasis does not sound jarring, not only that, but in several places it rises to the grandeur of the situation depicted. There are passages where one would like to halt and read them over again. We are afraid, that in spite of all these things in its favor, the book will have to make a heroic effort to be popular. The translator calls his new arrangement of words in blank verse, Ramachhand.

K. M. J.

HINDI.

KSHAYA ROGA 0 Tuberculosis. By Balkrishna Sarma. The Indian Press, Allahabad. Price 3 annas.

The present work is a Hindi translation of a Prize Essay by S. Adolphus Knop, M. D. (New York). The translation is nicely done. One who can read Hindi will gain much knowledge of the disease by reading this translation of Mr. Balkrishna Sarma. The number of cases of tuberculosis is increasing daily. It is high time for every one of us to know the nature of the disease and the means of combating it. We praise Mr. Balkrishna Sarma for this beautiful translation.

JANENDRA NARAYAN BAGCHI.

KAISA ANDHAIR by Shree Pandit Anvithan Bandyopadhyay and published by Kumar Desendra Prasad Jain at the Central Jain Publishing House, Anand, Daryabmo, pp. 77. Price as. 4.

In this novel the last part of Scott's "Ivanhoe" has been almost wholly reproduced. The writer has been very dexterous in applying the horrid descriptions at the end of Scott's novel to Indian conditions. He has chosen the cells of some of the Indian priests at places of pilgrimage, as the scenes for his descriptions, and though in some cases these may have been far-fetched and exaggerated, the author has done well to call attention to a state of things, which though practically non-existent now-a-days, was a source of terrible misery and sin formerly. The story in the book is interesting and the book will repay perusal. The language is somewhat defective and it is strange that instead of Bengali-ism, we find Angli-

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

cism in some places in which Hindi has been used unidiomatically.

SHIKSHA KA ADARSHA AUR LAIKHAN-KALA by *Swami Satyadeva*, Printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad and published by the Satyagranthamala Office, Johnstongunj, Allahabad, Crown 8vo, pp. 109, Price as. 5.

We hail Swami Satyadeva after a pretty long time again. As usual, the writer has been forcible and original in his remarks. He has rightly called attention to that set of writers in Hindi who have recourse to the worst forms of plagiarism. They would advertise for MSS. books for publication and having refused them as unsuitable, would publish them again after a few months in their own names, after due curtailments and additions. The author has given very useful views on the art of writing and his criticisms have been not at all inordinate. The second part of the book consists of his views on the right form of education; and as to this he thinks that the ideal of education varies with the specific ideals of different societies. The author's views are certainly very instructive and he has enlivened the publication, as is usual with him, through the help of many of portune anecdotes, some of which are from his own personal experience.

BHARATIYA SHASHAN by *Mr. Bera*, *Mañ*
300, *Shikmahal, Meerut, Crown 8vo.*
Printed at the Sudarshan Press, Allahabad, Price

This is a nice handbook on the constitution of the Indian Government and the writer has given all that is required on the subject. His language is simple and correct and he has dealt with the subject with some care. The statistics which he has quoted in certain places would prove very useful. At the end of the book there are certain additional appendices, which give in a succinct form many very pertinent figures. The book with all this is interesting and the get-up is very nice.

MAHARAJA SCINDHIA KAI VYAKHYAN, compiled by *Mr. Kamadas Vaidya* (Hon. Secretary, Gwalior Chamber of Commerce) Gwalior and published by him, Crown 8vo, pp. 271 and 36 and 1, Price Rs. 3-8.

These are the speeches of the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior. There is an unmistakable ring of sincerity in these speeches, as Rao Bahadur Raoji Janardan Bhude, who has written an introductory review, rightly puts it. We can see from the speeches that the Maharaja is no less enlightened than his brother Maharatta Prince of Baroda, though he does not come so much to the fore as the latter. Even the style of the speeches is instructive and administrators and statesmen can learn much from them. The compiler has to be congratulated on this publication. His own introduction throws much side-light on the history of the Scindia family and the way in which the present scion of that family is governing his State. Several decent blocks of the Maharaja in different dresses and at different ages, increase the artistic value of the publication and there are a few other blocks as well. The get up of the book is excellent.

SHIVAMASHYAM UPANYAS by *Pandit Shankarprasad Misra*, Printed and published by the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow, Crown 8vo, pp. 76—as. 5.

This is a very instructive novel and its plot is not bad. The evil effects of want of female education have been graphically shown in it. Certain chapters are devoted to the foolish eagerness of females for or-

naments due to ill education. The author has sometimes gone to details and considering the other aspects of the novel, this seems to have marred a little the symmetry of the novel. The novel has ended very happily and feelingly and there is a great deal that can be learnt from the whole of it. We must welcome the increase in number of such really useful publications.

MAIWAR GATHA by *Panditya Lochan Prasad*, Published by *Mr. Haridas Vaidya* at the Narsingh Press, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta, Crown 8vo, pp. 78—as. 4.

The author has given in this publication in a very touching manner some stories in poetical form from the history of Maiwar. No doubt these redound to the grandeur of mediæval India. The language and style of the author are excellent, and have added to the worth of the publication. We are very glad that the author is rising in the estimation of the Hindi world through his publications which are getting better day by day. The get-up of the book, as of other books published by the enterprising publisher Shree Haridas Vaidya, is highly satisfactory, and we must commend his zeal as well, for imitation on the part of other publishers.

ANAND KI TOKNI by *and published by*
and published by, Crown 8vo, 26—as.

This book has in the main been written on the same lines as "Chowbey ka Chittha" which we reviewed some time ago, though some of its articles, of which there are fifty two, are translations from "Folk Tales of Bengal." A few are highly interesting and artistic, and there is none which will not repay perusal both for its style and interesting elements. The Hindi Literature can very well see a few more additions to books of this nature, which is certainly novel in the language. We need hardly say that the get up of the book is excellent.

BHARAT-SHASANPADDHATI by *Pandit Radhakrishna Jha, M. A., B. L., Lecturer, Patna College*, Published by the Khadga-vilas Press, Bankipur, Demy 8vo, pp. 316. Price bound edition—Rs. 2, ordinary edition—Rs. 1-12-0.

This may be said to be a history of the constitution of the Indian administration if at all it has got any continuous and consistent history. The title of the book may accordingly be misleading as to its contents. In what the author has written he must be said to have sufficiently been painstaking and researchful; and at any rate a systematic attempt at writing about the constitution of our administration cannot but be said to have removed a long felt want. The few other small books on the subject, though more exhaustive containing in some instances even more detailed information, cannot be said to be historical. The printing and get up of the book are nice and the language satisfactory.

PRIVAPRAYAS by *Pandit Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay*, Published by the Khadga-vilas Press, Bankipur, Demy 8vo, pp. 53 and 255—Rs. 1-8-0.

The subject of the book is "Shree Krishna" on whom the poets in the Braj language are never tired of writing. The poem under review is certainly a grand production and may be said to mark an epoch in the history of Hindi poetry. The introduction of the author is also masterly. But though he has followed the example of certain other Hindi writers, it must be said that he has deviated considerably from the theme which he should have pursued. The author is an well-known writer in Hindi, and though he is not a voluminous writer, what he has written has been

very valuable. We commend his style, which though not simple is suited best to his subject. The book is nicely bound-up and the get up is very satisfactory.

M. S.

MATHEMATICS.

ALGEBRAICAL EXERCISES WITH SOLUTIONS. By Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., Emeritus Professor of Mathematics, Canning College, Lucknow, Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged, 1916, Price Re. 1-4.

After a distinguished career Babu Sarat Chandra Mukerjee has retired from the professor's chair in Canning College, Lucknow, which he so worthily filled. In our school-days, and those of our elders, his "Algebraical Solutions" was known in school-boy parlance as "Sarat Chandra's Solutions." It was a very popular manual, and enabled many a boy who had no special aptitude for mathematics to learn algebra. It is meant for matriculation candidates, and in the present edition has been brought thoroughly up to date, meeting the requirements of the present-day syllabus of the Indian Universities. The author says: "After having gone through two editions, which were well received by both teachers and students, the book lay out of print for nearly two decades owing to the author having lost interest in it under stress of several sad circumstances." We hope

the present edition will be as well received by both teachers and students as the two previous ones.

C.

A REVIEW REVIEWED.

A criticism of my *Prosody and Rhetoric* by Mr. Dharendra Nath Choudhury in your March number has been brought to my notice. The writer has spared no pains in picking out some definitions and illustrations from my book to show that I have borrowed from Mr. K. Bose's *Rhetoric and Prosody*. He seems to forget that books on the same subject are bound to contain similar definitions and sometimes the same stock illustrations. He is apparently unaware that many of Mr. Bose's definitions and illustrations are also to be found in the treatises of Bain, Hiley, Nesfield and others. I am sorry that he is blind to the general arrangement and logical order of my book which are entirely different from those of Mr. Bose's. The latest ideas set forth by me have evidently escaped his notice. Copies of my *Prosody and Rhetoric* are kept in all college libraries in Bengal, and I openly invite professors and students to compare my book with Mr. Bose's and judge for themselves whether or not my method of treatment is original.

ROBY DATTA

APPLIED HISTORY

THIS is just a line to say how I enjoyed reading Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Confessions of a History Teacher" in the December Modern Review. Being a student of Political Science I can not presume to say much on the subject of history; but these two branches of learning are, after all, very closely related to each other. Indeed, the English historian James Freeman has declared that "history is past politics and politics is present history."

Mr. Sarkar is nothing if he is not interesting and refreshing. He is so, because he seems to pour his very life into everything he takes up. I wish I could persuade every Indian college professor to read his "Confessions."

There is, however, one point that I would be glad if Mr. Sarkar had stressed a little more fully. It is, of course, important that the students in India should learn the scientific methods of investigation; but is it not equally important that their teachers also should keep up the habit of research? Is it not true that they too frequently neglect this habit or let it slip into the background? In my own Univer-

sity here in Iowa, we instructors know quite well that there is not much chance of "getting a raise" if we do not occasionally produce something which will give "evidence of original research."

At the beginning of the University year, my chief, Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, a name highly honored among the Political Scientists of America, called the instructors of his department in a conference and said: "In all of our efforts at this University we are striving to make our country a better place to live in. We are not here primarily to discuss political theories, but to turn our attention to the past and to exploit it in the interest of the living present. As members of the instructional staff, it is our duty to furnish trained experts whose services are so necessary in public administration." Can a teacher have a loftier ideal than this? The more I teach the more I feel that the young men and women who attend my classes ought to realize that knowledge should seek justification in its practical application. The facts of physical science, of literature, of history, of polity are not in themselves of highest value apart from their service

to humanity. We do not perhaps need to spend much time on the study, let us say, of history for its own sake. It seems to me that what we need most at this stage of our development in India is Applied History, which, as my chief would explain, regards the past as a social laboratory in which experiments in politics and human welfare are being tested daily. It is the mission of the history teacher to apply the results of these experiments to real present-day conditions, to real life. I may be accused in India of being an utilitarian; but as a result of my constant contact with healthy-minded, practical, common-sense people I am convinced that the chief end of studying the Social Sciences—and history is one of them—is to interrogate the past in the light of the actual

conditions of the present, to find the finger-posts to human betterment, and to outline a rational program of progress in legislation, administration, and social welfare.

Moreover, being a strong believer in organization, I would like to see the progressive teachers of India organize a national teacher's association to advance the interests of the teaching profession. Why would it not be a good plan for Indian college professors to get together once a year and exchange views on subjects of common interest? What does Professor Jadunath Sarkar say?

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.
Lecturer in Political Science
State University of Iowa:

Iowa City, U. S. A.
January, 1916.

THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT

THE Andhra Movement, to start rather abruptly, is the most mis-represented, the most mis-understood and the most mis-judged of all the movements that had their origin in India. It may not, perhaps, be irrelevant to quote a few words from the "admirable" address of Mr. George Yule delivered from the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress:—

"All movements of the kind in which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run their course. The first is one of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession, and by misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking "big jumps into the unknown." The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. These various phases overlap each other, but between the first and the last the distinction is complete."

The movement has made such good progress that it may be said to have survived the first two stages. Partial concessions seem to be within sight, not of course without a misapprehension of aim that a disruptive process is set in motion before the unifying process is complete, that things which demand more immediate attention suffer neglect, that national energies are unnecessarily frittered away, so on and so forth. We are quite confident

however that the underlying federal principle so admirably suited to the political needs of India will ere long receive due recognition at the hands of the Government and the people as well.

The movement has a good historical background. The causes that have been at work are varied and complex, and it is a sad mistake indeed to attach undue importance to any particular factor thereof. It is due from me however to confess that indiscreet and I might add immoderate advocacy have not a little contributed to the volume of misrepresentation and misinterpretation that so quickly encircled the clear and unmistakable principles underlying the movement. Stripping it of the popular notion, I propose to trace briefly its historical continuity and evolution and endeavour to point out that the movement is not a by-product of the imagination of the youthful and unemployed idealists but one which suggests the necessity for, and the ways and means of, readjusting the territories of India on known ethnic and scientific principles and thus helping the formation of the Indian nation on better and surer foundations.

The Andhra Movement, if I am excused for an assertion which precedes demonstration, is a national or if you please, a sub-

national movement, a movement which strengthens, if it does not for the first time suggest, the idea of a federated India—the only desirable, if not the only possible, solution of the Indian national problem. I must, in this connection, warmly protest against the assertion made in certain quarters that the movement is purely sectional and is at bottom concerned with striving after a few more loaves and fishes for the Telugu folk, and its comparison with the Muhammadan separatist movement is the most unkindest of all. I do not deal with the Andhra University and other local grievances here as they are automatically removed by the grant of a separate province; and I therefore confine myself with the question of the province and the political principles it involves.

A slight digression into regions of political science ought to be permitted as some ideas of Nationalism and Federalism are helpful for a fuller appreciation of the Andhra Movement. Nationalism was the dominant note that regulated the political life and conduct of the 19th century—a fact fully illustrated by the struggle of the European Nations in the last century to assert and maintain their national existence against the aggressive attacks of their stronger neighbours. The slightest ethnic variations were deemed sufficient for the formation of separate nationalities. Napoleon and Metternick were the sworn foes of nationalism, and considerations of national unity were responsible for the Napoleonic and the Italian wars. The ruthless partition of Poland evoked the righteous indignation of Burke, and Lord Acton writes with a glow of sincerity—"There was a nation demanding to be united into a state—a soul, as it were, wandering in search of a body, a disembodied spirit crying for vengeance." The case of Ireland is, as we all know, a matter of past history and present politics. The doctrine of "National" states which loomed so large in the political horizon of the last century was found to be rather defective; and it was discovered that smaller nations grouped together on a federal basis will make for the lasting peace and solidarity of the world. Harmony and unity can then be worked out of the local diversities and sturdy local independence is proved not incompatible with a larger patriotism which a federation implies. There was almost a superstitious belief sometime ago

that local patriotism is a bar to national progress; and stupid attempts were made to put them down by wholesale persecutions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Nor is it necessary for me to remind you of the exploded doctrine of political science which became crystallised a quarter of a century back into the reactionary opposition of Anglo-India against the Indian National Congress. I mean the doctrine which lays down common language, common religion, common interests and common history as indispensable pre-requisites of Nationality. A glance at the federal constitution of Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America and Australia is instructive as it shows how harmony is worked out of not merely diversity but even of conflict of interests. Just as nationalism was the feature of the 19th century, federalism may be said to be an idea which has very visibly affected the current of political thought of the twentieth century. Lord Tennyson was the true poet of federalism and his "Parliament of man and federation of the world" opens up a glorious vista of the political future of the world. Federalism is the message of the twentieth century awaiting fulfilment and demonstrates to the world that "22 independent states each having its distinctive manners, customs, institutions and laws" could peacefully settle themselves into the nation of Switzerland; that Austria-Hungary could be a political State in spite of 28 languages; that Germany could be evolved out of several independent kingdoms; and that the English, the French and the German elements can peacefully settle their local and national affairs in the Grand Assemblies of the United States of America. The component parts of the British Empire—Australia and Canada and the Union of South Africa—worked out their political salvation on federal lines; while England the motherland has been getting on in its own, crude and primitive way with a Parliament which can authorise a tramway for Nottingham, legislate for the liberation of slaves in the British Empire, grant Self-government to the Union of South Africa; and in the same sessions can amend the Indian High Courts Act or the Land Transfer Act. Thanks to the spirited and patriotic agitation of the Irish people for over a century, the English nation was awakened to the urgent necessity of solving the Irish question. Mr. Asquith with

his characteristic political sagacity discovered that the Irish Home Rule Scheme is but a part of a bigger "devolution all round" and that the federal re-adjustment of the local Governments of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland is the only true solution of the Irish question. The British Isles, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and ere long India, will be self-governing members of a huge federation with a truly imperial parliament concerned only with truly imperial affairs.

Before, however, India takes her place as an independent and respected member of the British Empire, she has to solve her own national problem. We shall presently see which of the three great possibilities of the Indian Nation is the most practicable, the most desirable and the most conducive to the efficiency of the local self-government without at once impairing the vitality of the Indian Nation. The three possibilities in the making of the Indian Nation are, firstly, a federation of the United States of India based on known ethnic and linguistic principles; secondly, the destruction at one stroke of differences in race, language, manners and customs, and the manufacture of the Indian Nation straightway; and thirdly, the preservation of the present order of things which means again the perpetuation of an arrangement of territories made by Lord Clive and Warren Hastings who had no higher consideration in jumbling together the Indian Provinces than those of political expediency, conquest and annexation. A portion of China, if conquered and annexed, would have been designated a portion of the Indian Empire as the annexed portion of Burma was so considered against our united protests. There cannot be any limit to official vagaries and official considerations when a G. O. could place Zanzibar of Africa and Aden of Arabia under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency. If Austin were to be living then, and revising his Jurisprudence, he would have borrowed this G. O. as a choice illustration of the omnipotence of the positive law which he expounded at length. The Ceded Districts, the Northern Circars, the 24 Parganas, the Central Provinces, are names still reminiscent of confusion and chaos out of which the present arrangement of territories came into existence. The second possibility is not seriously contended by

any, although it ought to logically follow from the rejection of the first. The choice, I may safely conclude, lies between the United States of India and the preservation of the status quo.

I shall endeavour to point out from the utterances of our Indian politicians and the English statesmen how our ideas about the Indian Nationalism have been surely, though imperceptibly, tending towards the federal idea. Our political ideas were just emerging out of a nebulous state in the early beginnings of the Congress. It was generally recognised by our leaders then that the nationalising forces have been at work, and the work of our leaders chiefly consisted in repulsing hostile attacks. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, as the President of the first sessions of the Indian National Congress, talks of "the eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices." Mr. Badruddin Tyabji talks of the unity of different communities. Wedderburn and Yule elaborate on the representative government and the revival of national life in necessarily vague terms. It is Mr. P. Anandachari that devotes greater attention in his presidential address to the question of Indian Nationality and meets the arguments of our friends the enemies by an admirable force of logic:—

"To detract from the worth and significance of the well knit, ever expanding phalanx known as the Indian National Congress, a desultory controversy was raised round the word *Nationality*—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differential, now a common language, now a proved or provable common extraction, and now the presence of the privileges of commensality and inter-communal kinship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have one and all fallen to the ground, and no wonder for the evident circumstance was lost sight of, that words might have diverse acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose and in a like degree inappropriate for other purposes. In my view, the word nationality should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanskrit *Prajah* which is a correlative of the term *Rajah*—the ruling power. Though like the term *prajah*, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious and unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal and woe, by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. Affirm this standard and you have an Indian nation. Deny it and you have a nation *nowhere* on the face of the earth."

Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji later on foreshadowed the colonial self-government

ideal developed and perfected by the Allahabad Convention of 1908. In 1904 Sir Henry Cotton, the President of the Bombay sessions of the Congress, made an important and weighty pronouncement characterised by a clearness of political vision and prophetic insight. I make no apology in quoting it at length:—

"Autonomy is the key note of England's true relations with her great colonies. It is the key-note also of India's destiny. It is more than this, it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of empire in the civilized world is in the direction of compact autonomous states which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power.....The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing colonies, each with its own local autonomy cemented together under the aegis of Great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual realisation of which it is the privilege of Government to regulate, and the aim and hope and aspiration of people to attain.

"This is our ideal of India's future. The process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may, and should, be gradual, but they must come, and we should prepare ourselves for their realisation. Statesmanship consists in fore seeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of fore thought. Familiarise yourselves, therefore, with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reforms which are awaiting solution."

The ideal of the United States of India, which, according to Sir Henry Cotton, ought to be the aim of every patriotic Indian, was invested with the dignity of official recognition in the historic despatch of the Government of India 1911:—

"It is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the supreme government should not be associated with any particular provincial government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is therefore a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great central government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada, and Australia."

Elsewhere in the same despatch, it is said—

"We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people, now included in the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never therefore had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for the Beharees has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by the Bengalees. The Beharees have long desired separation from Bengal. There has been, moreover, a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among the Beharees, that Behar will never develop until dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our initiative a thoroughly sound and much desired change."

May I express the fervent hope that the day is not far distant when the Viceroy of India will have to make a similar pronouncement on the formation of the Andhra Province? Every nation consists of communities in varying stages of progress and their indiscriminate jumble always retards the growth of less developed communities. An historical investigation shows it to be a mere truism.

We shall presently examine the more immediate causes which facilitated the rapid growth of this movement. After an era of general enlightenment and advance of municipal government, the people have become keenly alive to the fact that they had survived the existing distribution of provinces based on an old policy of annexation and conquest. The perpetuation of the status quo without regard to ethnic and federal considerations leads to types of inequalities which seriously set back the even progress of the Indian Empire. The cry of the Irish Nation was heard nearer home when Bengal was ruthlessly sundered by the most unsympathetic and arrogant of our Viceroys—Lord Curzon. The swan song of Ananda Mohun wafted gently over the troubled waters of our political life and the sympathies of the United India went with the bereaving Bengal. But I wonder how few realised the federal principle that lay behind it. When a Telugu gentleman explained the Andhra Movement to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor of the Modern Review, he seems to have explained that the agitation against the Bengal partition could be better appreciated in the light of this movement. The partition of the

Telugu country does not move our imagination so quickly as that of Bengal which took place before our very eyes. The liberal Government whose endeavours for the grant of Home Rule to Ireland are so laudable do not see their way to sympathise with the agitation against the partition; and Lord Morley grimly asserted that the partition of Bengal was a settled fact. The Bengalees who fought so bravely for the undoing of the partition are not chivalrous enough to extend their sympathy towards Behar which claims autonomy for itself.* My Tamil brethren, may I be allowed to add, were so solicitous for the unification of Bengal and now refuse to recognise any necessity for the readjustment of territories to allow the Andhras to acquire homogeneity. And even some of the Andhras do not appreciate the legitimate grievances of the Uriyas of Ganjam to go back to Orissa. We can appreciate the world problems in all their merits; but our vision gets bedimmed by vested interests and prejudices as similar problems confront us at our very doors. The Gujaratees have a similar grievance over there in the Bombay Presidency. South Canara has every argument in its favour to go hand in hand with North Canara; and the Malayalis have the strongest claim for a separate province. The Canarese should have a small territory for themselves as German arguments ought not to be used to "neck" Belgium out of Europe. There are ten principal languages, according to the Census Reports, representing ten principal communities more or less each with its own distinctive literature, architecture, manners and customs. I am emboldened to say that the movement in favour of federation on ethnic and linguistic lines is steadily gaining ground and on this basis alone can be reared surely and securely the foundations of the United States of India.

I shall try now to meet some of the arguments used against the movement. The movement is not infrequently said to be outside the range of practical politics. It is the fashion with some of our amiable friends to say that the ideal is good but

the movement should be "hung up" for some indefinite time. The question of cost, they continue, ought to deter its enthusiastic supporters. The Partition of Bengal, and its undoing, the removal of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the constant adjustment of territories and districts, which cost so enormously are all forsooth, questions of practical politics. But the region of practical politics is unhospitable to the just and urgent scheme of rectifying avoidable errors in local self-government by a gradual readjustment of local boundaries on federal, linguistic, and ethnic lines. We are again asked how we get over the problem of Native States. It is true that more than half of the Nizam's Dominions is Telugu, but to get over the political barrier is more or less an impossibility. The fact of Haiderabad being half-Telugu should not be a bar to all the Telugu territories under *one Government* to come together. Home Rule cannot be withheld for Ireland because many of the Irish are still left over in Canada and Australia. If the day comes when, under the aegis of the British rule, princes and peoples of India can exchange territories on linguistic principles, nobody will welcome it more heartily than the advocates of the Andhra Movement.

It is feared by many that the national forces which have been at work for the first time in Indian History, might be choked by provincial movements of this sort. Here again, I invoke the aid of History. Provincial movements of the kind have always been working side by side with larger national movements. Whether it is in South Africa, Canada or Ireland, these movements far from having the effects feared, nurtured the roots of Imperial and National patriotism and paved the way for peace and harmony, where conflict and chaos were threatened to be imminent. 50 years of the history of federal nations have not demonstrated that the provincial patriotism is inconsistent with the larger patriotism. When Mr. Lloyd George appealed in notes of passionate eloquence to the Welsh assembled in the Queen's Hall of London a year ago, exhorting them to uphold and maintain the traditions of the Welsh chivalry, nobody could, for a moment, suggest that Mr. Lloyd George was not inspired by the purest patriotism for the Empire. The Scotchmen linger with satisfaction on their

* We have never objected to Behar being made a separate province. But our opposition to some Bengali-speaking districts being torn away from Bengal and tacked on to Behar is unalterable. There is also no consistency and no justice in making Orissa subservient to the interests of Behar.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

national ideals and proudly recall the brave deeds of William Wallace which provides a different reading for an Englishman. The Irish and the English have two different sets of the English History. Yet, it is only just how that we are having the most vivid and moving exhibition of a higher and nobler patriotism by which each one of them is inspired. "Civis Britannicus Sum" is not the cry of the "little Englander" alone but the proud boast of every white member of the British Empire. I may be promptly reminded of the "furcoat" doctrine enunciated by Lord Morley. With due deference to Lord Morley and those who invoke it, I venture to submit that the political considerations which are responsible for Irish and similar provincial movements in Europe are more prominent and pronounced with regard to the Indian conditions.

The bureaucratic administration of the country accustomed us to a habit of thought which it is not quite easy to shake off. The notion is prevalent that provinces of a particular size must be under the administration of a Governor-in-Council, while smaller ones should be content with a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner. Lord Morley's reforms and Lord Hardinge's despatch make it quite clear that the last word is not said on the administrative machinery of the Government of India. There is no reason why all the provinces should not have the status and the privilege of a Governor-in-Council, the pay and status of each Governor being determined by the size and importance of the province over which he has to rule. If, owing to some reason or other, the Government are not prepared to depart from the old nomenclature, we need not very much dread the "Civilian" rule of a Lieutenant-Governor or even a Chief Commissioner, as the grant of Executive Councils and the expansion of

the Legislative Councils have considerably mitigated the evils flowing therefrom. The Lieutenant-Governor, it is further contended, is but an arch civilian, and not a statesman fresh from England. Our recent experiences at any rate are not very happy. Sir Arthur Lawley and Lord Curzon came fresh from England, while the much abused Civil Service gave us a Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, A. O. Hume, Odonnell Digby, to name only a few.

* Objection might be raised that there is no unanimity of expression with regard to the Andhra Movement. I can only say that the movement is of a very recent origin and has not arrived at the stage of definition or clear exposition. The movement, might be, and is, viewed from many different points of view. But it is to be regretted that owing to considerations of expediency and "political calculation" if I am permitted to use the term, the Andhra leaders have not seriously approached the problem and given us the benefit of a clear and outspoken pronouncement on the matter.

The movement is not a sectarian one. Its aim is not to foment dissensions or set class against class, or promote feelings of jealousy, mistrust, and suspicion. It is a movement not intended to undermine, but to place the foundations of the Indian National Congress on a more solid and enduring basis. It is a movement that has higher political purposes to fulfil and indicate better methods of political reconstruction of our Motherland. Its message is a message of federalism,— "peace on earth and goodwill towards men." Then will India—a federation within the federation of the British Empire—have fulfilled her Divine Mission of forging the golden links which unite the East and the West to the eternal glory of India and the lasting peace of the world.

K. S. RAMACHANDRA ROW.

A HINDU PROFESSOR OF AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

DR. Sudhindra Bose was born at Keotkhaly, Dacca district, Bengal. He received his preliminary education at Dacca Jubilee School, Hashara Kalikishore High English School, Munshiganj High

School, and the Comilla Victoria School, from which last he passed the Entrance Examination. He studied for a while at the Comilla Victoria College, whose Principal, Mr. Satyendranath Bose, is his bro-

ther. There he got "John Ings Medal" for proficiency in English. Even in those days he had a taste for journalism and contributed to the "Indian Mirror", "Bengalee", "Dacca Gazette", &c.

He went to America in 1904, and has been there ever since. He put in his first two years of study at Park College in Missouri, where he was taking a classical course. He then went to the University of Illinois, where he took his B.A. degree in 1907. The following year he was awarded a Graduate Scholarship at the University of Chicago. Here he was also chosen a member of the staff of the University daily paper called "The Daily Maroon," and secured many exclusive stories, known in America as scoops. Mr. Bose then transferred his activities back to the University of Illinois, and received the A. M. degree in English in 1909. He spent a year in study and travel through the Southern States of America. In 1910 he entered the State University of Iowa to do advanced research work. Here he was twice elected a Fellow in Political Science. Later the University called him to the newly established chair of "Oriental Politics and Civilization". Iowa conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1913.

Ever since his doctorate he has been engaged as a Lecturer on Political Science at the State University of Iowa. The subjects which he now teaches are, World Politics, Colonial Government, Oriental Politics and Civilization. One of the recent University bulletins gives the following extended description of his courses:

World Politics
MR. BOSE.

A consideration of the problems of world politics is as important as it is interesting. From the main currents of European politics, including the great European War, important subjects will be selected for study. The aim of the course will be to give the student an intelligent grasp of the vital political questions in which the whole world is now interested.
—First Semester, on Tuesday and Thursday, at 11

Colonial Government
MR. BOSE.

Current events are illustrative of the importance of colonization and colonial government. In this course the principles of the European colonial systems will be studied. The international relations and conflicts arising out of colonial ambitions are pointed out. As to the United States, the insular policy of recent years will be studied in connection with Hawaii, the Philippines, the Canal Zone, Porto Rico, and with special reference to the problems of government, education, and commerce—Second Semester on Tuesday and Thursday, at 11.



Dr. Sudhindra Bose, A.M., Ph.D.

Oriental Politics and Civilization
MR. BOSE.

The political problems of Europe. The rise of Japan, China, and India has brought to our doors a flood of political, commercial, and diplomatic problems. To give the student some idea of the character of oriental politics and civilization is the aim of this course—which will be presented by a native of the Orient—Throughout the year on Tuesday and Thursday, at 8.

In announcing Dr. Bose's course of lectures on "World Politics," a leading Iowa paper wrote:

"Dr. Sudhindra Bose who for the last two years has given with such marked success a course at the University on "Oriental Politics and Civilization," will have charge of this new course.

"In discussing the European war, Dr. Bose will try to bring out the political conditions back of the war, and will indicate its probable influence upon American Commerce and Industry, and upon American political relations with Europe and South America.

"After devoting several weeks to the present European situation, the class on World Politics will take up the study of current politics in Canada, South America, Australia and South Africa. Among other subjects the consideration of such problems as world federation, home rule in Ireland, the Monroe

Doctrine, international peace will receive the greatest attention."

Dr. Bose is interested in having Indian students enter the best American universities. He started the Hindusthan Association of America and acted as its first national president for two years. It helps to place the Indian students in the right American University with the minimum of difficulty on the part of the students, and is more than a mere exalted information bureau or an intelligence office. Although without the official trappings of the Cromwell Road establishment of England, the Hindusthan Association of America acts in many ways as a friend and adviser of the Indian students in the New World.

He was sent to Washington by the Khalsa Dewan Society of the Pacific Coast as a member of the Hindu delegation to oppose the Hindu Exclusion Bill in 1914. As a spokesman of the delegation, Dr. Bose addressed the Congressional Committee in charge of the bill. "The Washington Star" of that time gave the following account of his work:

Opposes Exclusion of Hindus from U. S.

DR. BOSE DECLARES SPECIAL LAW WOULD BE HUMILIATION IN WORLD'S EYES.

Arguments against immigration legislation to exclude Hindus from the United States were made before the House immigration committee today by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, a Hindu professor in the State University of Iowa. Dr. Bose urged that if the Hindu was to be excluded, a "gentlemen's agreement" be entered into between the United States and the British Indian government to restrict the immigration.

"There is no special legislation against Japanese immigration," said Dr. Bose. "Following the Chinese exclusion law, the Japanese government was allowed to save its face by making a gentlemen's agreement to restrict immigration. A special law excluding Hindus would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. It is not necessary."

Questioned by members of the committee, Dr.

Bose said that several British colonies were making efforts to exclude the Hindus and declared that this question was one of the most important confronting the British government. He said that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other colonies were endeavoring to exclude Hindus.

COMPLICATION POSSIBLE.

"We are a great class of British subjects," said Dr. Bose, "and are entitled to the rights of such a class. International complications may follow an attempt to exclude us."

"But the other colonies of Great Britain are already excluding the Hindus," said Chairman Burnett.

"Yes, they are trying to," said Dr. Bose, "but the central government in England has not indorsed such action. The people of India are awakening, and if they are to remain a part of the British empire something must be done, some solution of this problem arrived at which is more reasonable than any yet suggested."

Dr. Bose contended that the Hindus are an Aryan people, entitled to naturalization in this country.

The Senate committee resumed consideration of the Burnett immigration bill late today.—

Washington Star—13 Feb. 1914.

Dr. Bose has written many newspaper and magazine articles on education, politics, travel, history, economics. Many of these articles have been published in such Indian periodicals as the Modern Review, Indian Review, Hindusthan Review, Modern World. While a student at Iowa, he was one of the editors of "The Hawk-eye", the State University of Iowa Annual.

Dr. Bose is a self-made man. He started life in America with little or nothing and worked his way up by patience and industry.

Among the learned societies to which he has been elected a member the following are the most noteworthy: The American Political Science Association; World Conscience Society (Rome); International Lyceum Association; The State Historical Society of Iowa.

GLEANINGS

The Chin as the Critical Factor in Human Character.

Character reading through analysis of the features has been revived as a science in consequence of the controversies over the so-called Pilt-down and Heidelberg jaws. The critical factor in the discussion, as is pointed out in the *Paris Nature*, is the chin. The significance of the chin and jaws in man has

led to a discussion between Professor Elliott Smith and Doctor Louis Robinson from which it appears that the popular impression that obstinacy and pugnacity in man find expression in the shape of the chin has, after all, a basis in scientific fact. At every period of man's evolutionary history he has needed a more or less ape-like chin if he were to have his own way. It was into a world full of brutal tumult and hard



THE DUBIOUS TYPES

The first chin here is that of a fine and intellectual being who will look out for himself before he will do a thing for another—a good character but not a good friend. The second is yielding and a spender



DANGEROUS

Number one is very obstinate and will resort to "knock down and drag out" tactics. The second is literary and artistic but infirm of purpose. The third is a conciliator but obtuse and without subtlety



FAMILIAR KINDS

The first specimen here may be dismissed as womanish although fine. The second is mediocre, human, honest, on the whole reliable, but pugilistic. Number three has judgment, purpose and ideality

knocks that the nascent chin first made its appearance, says Professor Robinson. In the prize ring of to-day, he adds, it is a well-known fact that a blow on the chin is the most rapid method by which an antagonist can be "knocked out." Moreover the nearer the prize fighter is in the structure of his chin to the chimpanzee and gorilla the better chance he has of winning a championship in his class. If we look at the bony structure of the chin in some of the prehistoric jaws we find it of astonishing strength through being buttressed as if to stand violence and shaped in a heavy manner when contrasted with the face as a whole. The dictatorial and obstinate man, who will have his own way, intolerant of criticism, shows what he is in the shape of his chin. He is a reversion in this physiognomical detail to an ape-like ancestor, or rather to an ancestor who resembled in the contour of his chin the chimpanzee and the gorilla. Primitive man scored all along the evolutionary line because of that chin.

The result of the discussion has been to stimulate physiognomical analysis from the expert standpoint: but such analysis, especially in dealing with the chin, may lead to error, according to Professor Gerald Elton Fosbrooke. The human countenance should be read as a whole, he insists, instead of through the aspect of one feature, however important in itself. Nevertheless, he admits in his recent work on this subject* that the chin does show the natural physical tendencies of the individual:

"As the shape of the head reveals the inherent

mental qualities, so the formation of the chin shows the natural physical tendencies, and furthermore as the eye is the index of the mentality, so is the mouth the exponent of the physical nature.

"One third of the head should be back of the ear, showing strength of the physical nature. The face is divided in the same proportion, one-third from the base of the nose to the bottom of the chin, the upper two thirds of the face containing mental indications, the lower one third, lips, mouth, and chin revealing the physical and animal inclinations.

"Woman's face is nearly always light in the lower third. Her tendencies run more in mental directions. She lacks the intensely passionate nature, which is the result of bony structure, the physical vigor and the muscular strength that are attendant upon the manly man. The chin typical of woman, altho usually of correct length, will very slightly recede instead of projecting. Woman's whole face will be wider above than below, the jaws will be narrow and slight."

The typical man's chin, on the contrary, will in its correct formation be perpendicular, and will often project forward—broad at the base, full and round, with breadth at the angle of the jaw-bone, where the face should be as wide as the head above but not wider.

The ball of the chin is drawn upward by the contraction of the lower face muscles. As the muscles of the upper face draw downward with mental effort, so the muscles of the chin, which represent the physical side, draw upward in their desire to put actively into effect the mental command, each set of muscles being held in place by the tensivity of the other. Resistance develops strength, well-balanced mental

* Character Reading Through Analysis of the Features. By Gerald Elton Fosbrooke. New York: Putnam.

and physical forces, opposing each other, result in power, and controlled applied power means success. All this implies a man's need of a strong jaw and a strong chin to meet and support the upper face. Without physical strength mentality is wasted.

The more the chin of woman is prominent on projects, the more of man's nature will she have so far as physical action is concerned. This is by no means a defect of character—*Current Opinion*.

Literature's need of a "Shock"

Mr. Samuel Merwin, the author of "Anthony the Absolute" in the *New York Times Magazine* says:

"All the progress in life comes in shocks. If some

nations of the world since we first became a nation. Think how Germany has changed, for example! France, Russia, England—they all have changed. We are really the oldest of the major countries. Some of the Oriental countries are more conservative in literary and artistic matters than we are, but none of the European countries are.

"We are not quite as tradition-bound as that, but we approach that condition. We avoid what we know is profoundly true. We are not Anglo-Saxon, but we have that marvelous Anglo-Saxon instinct for respectability, and that marvelous Anglo-Saxon confusion of moral values with artistic truth.



CONTRASTS

The first chin is indicative of fickle nature prone to bluff. The second is good and true but pessimistic. The third is benevolent and optimistic but destitute of idealty and the vision of the dreamer.



MASCULINE ALL

The first indicates sensuality with a desire for peace at any price. The second is the decisive type but pessimistic, and the third is prone to dissemble.



TEMPERAMENTAL

The first chin is that of an honest but not particularly fine character, not self-willed but inclined to criticism of others. The second chin is womanish, kind and tender. The third is a flirt. The fourth is keen, judicial, egotistic.

thing that is called a new idea fails to shock you, be suspicious of it. Ten to one it's not a new idea at all.

"What American literature, especially American fiction, needs to-day is a shock. Some one—I think it was Viola Roseboro—defined American literature as 'Something as nearly as possible like something that was once done well.'.....

"The writers need a shock and our national life needs a shock. The United States is the most conservative country in the world, with the possible exception of China.

"Think of the changes that have come over the

"The trouble is that for a long time we have had no upheavals to change the currents of our lives. We are the most backward of nations.

"Upheavals have given us whatever real literature we possess. The establishment of this nation was an upheaval, and the result of that upheaval is evident in the writings of authors who came along after it—in Lowell and Emerson, even in Bret Harte and Mark Twain.

"We need national upheavals, and personal upheavals! A novelist does not get his work out of the every-day routine of his life. He gets it out of his violent reactions."

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on Dr. Spooner's Zoroastrian Theory.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal examines Dr. Spooner's theory of a "Zoroastrian Period" of Indian History.* He sums up Dr. Spooner's position as follows :

Dr. Spooner in his paper on the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" essays to prove that Chandragupta was a Parsi; that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians (page 413); that they came originally from Persepolis and were perhaps of Achemenian descent (page 410). This is the main thesis of his paper. But there are some subsidiary theses of no less importance, e.g., that the Buddha was also a Parsi by race and by religion (page 445), that the Nandas were Persians (page 118), and that the Mauryan Chancellor Chanakya was a Magian or a Parsi priest (pages 119-120).

Mr. Jayaswal discusses "the evidence as to the alleged Parsi origin of the Emperor Chandragupta and of the Nandas and Chanakya," and finds himself compelled to say that the "theory on the basis of the present evidence has to be rejected." He first examines the arguments which closely bear on the Mauryas.

There is, for instance, the argument—more than once emphasized—that Chandragupta "washed his royal hair according to the Persian calendar." A ceremonial of sacramental nature, absolutely alien, will, no doubt, suggest more than a mere borrowing. But on reference to the original authority I find nothing whatsoever about "the Persian calendar." The original passage is in Strabo, XV, 69 and runs as follows :—

"The following particulars also are stated by the historians. The Indians worship Zeus Ombrios (Indra), the river Gauges, and the indigenous deities of the country. When the king washes his hair they celebrate a great festival, and send him great presents, each person seeking to out rival his neighbour in displaying his wealth" (M'Crindle).

There is nothing here about Chandragupta particularly, nor is the statement attributed to Megasthenes, nor is there the slightest mention of the Persian or any other calendar. The ceremony refers to the well-known Vedic ritual of the royal *abhishechaniyam* and to the customary presents brought on the occasion by the subjects.

M'Crindle in translating the passages gives in a foot-note (*Ancient India*, page 75) a passage from Herodotus (IX, 110) which says that Xerxes on his birthday prepared a feast when "only the king washes his head with soap and makes presents to the Persians." It is to be noticed that the Persian King 'made presents' to his tribe while the Hindu

King 'receive presents' from his subjects; moreover, the Persian King alone was allowed soap and he washed his head on his birthday. No such predilections are to be had about the Indian King in the passage of Strabo. To mix Herodotus with Strabo is a mistake; one account relates to Persia and the other to India; to pick up a piece from the former and to mix it up with a portion of latter would be to give a piece of history that would not be faithful to fact. Then to attribute that history to Megasthenes is worse than unscientific. And on the basis of that history * to generalize about Chandragupta that "he organizes his court along purely Persian ceremonial down to the washing of his royal hair" (p. 417) and that "Megasthenes will bear us testimony that the Indian court was almost wholly Persian in his day," (p. 71) is rather reckless.

I pass over such assertions as "His very masons are imported Persians for whom the monarch has such marked regard that he ordains a special set of penalties for all who injure them." No serious attempt at proving them has been made. The discussion on "numismatic evidences" is likewise fruitless. "It is conceded, that the punch-marked coins are the oldest coinage in India. The Mauryas must have used them, as they cannot have been without coinage." Upon this hypothesis another is built and three pages further we are asked to accept that the variety bearing the representations "peacocks (mayura) standing on Mount Meru" are 'Mauryan coins,' "the more particularly since we know them to be contemporary with the dynasty;" a matter which needs proving, as without it we would be merely begging the question.

WAS PERSEPOLIS THE ANCESTRAL HOME OF CHANDRAGUPTA?

For the statement that Persepolis was the "ancestral home" of Chandragupta two arguments have been advanced. One is philological and the other is, "the statements of the Greek historians and the otherwise extraordinary fact that Chandragupta's palaces seem copies of the Persepolitan" (p. 409). No such statement is found in the Greek historians. I have searched in vain in every possible place for the statement describing Chandragupta's palaces "as copies of the Persepolitan." † The only passage bearing on the subject (Aelianos, XIII 81) says : "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity, of the Persians could prompt such a comparison) there are other wonders besides" (M'Crindle). There is no mention of Persepolis, and no mention of any copy whatsoever. If Helian's authority is Megasthenes (as it has been believed, M'Crindle, page 142; V, Smith, 119-20), the passage is a positive

* Vincent Smith *Early History of India*, 1905, page 122, approved and followed by Dr. Spooner.

† Dr. Spooner does not give any reference.

authority to hold that the theory of Persian inspiration for Chandragupta's palace cannot be entertained. Achan, certainly, and Megasthenes, probably, would have ridiculed a Persian had the latter suggested that they seemed to be copies of the Persepolitan or any other Persian places.

The philological argument is based on the equation *Mourya-Maurya*. Philologically there is no flaw in the equation. But there is not the slightest evidence that in the 4th century B. C. Persepolis was called *Mourya*. Darius in his inscription, calls it Persis, and so do the writers of the time of Alexander. It is wholly contrary to historical evidence to call Persepolis 'Mourya', and absolutely arbitrary to connect the Mauryas with Persepolis. *Mourya* of the Vendidad is identified with *Mery* and is taken by Meyer, the foremost authority of our day on Persian history, as a place-name and not an ethnic appellation. It seems that serious chronological objection arises to deriving *Maurya* from *Mourya* in that the latter form had gone out of use long before the time of Chandragupta. Darius in his Behistun inscription gives the form *Margu*. But no room for any speculation is left if we take into account the oldest vernacular form of Maurya known to Indian literature. The Hathigumpha inscription of Orissa which is contemporary with the last days of the Mauryas has *Raja Muriya*, * and *Muriya* is the form found in the Jain chronological *gatha*. This form can only be connected with *Mura* which, the Sanskrit authorities say, was the name of Chandragupta's mother; the form could not be derived from *Mourya*. *Muriya* dislodges *Mourya* altogether.

The connection of Chandragupta with the *Nandas* is well established (a point which Dr. Spooner recognises, page 117). You cannot call Chandragupta a Parsi and leave his reputed father (Nanda) a Hindu. The difficulty is solved by Dr. Spooner by declaring the Nandas also to have been Parsis. Nothing like proof, however, has been given to support the thesis. We have only this: "The latter (the later Nandas) were hated cordially, and as it is not recorded that they exterminated all the Kshatriyas." If they are Persian invaders, this is sensible enough." As the Nandas were rich, it is asserted that they came as merchant princes first, and won their empire as the English did. Suppositions piled upon suppositions prove no case. On the other hand there is positive and contemporary evidence that the Nanda who was ruling when Alexander came was the son of a barber (Curtius, ix, 2, Diodorus, xiii). The Puranas in effect say the same. There is no opportunity for the Parsi Merchant-prince of Dr. Spooner to claim and ascend the imperial throne upon which sat the Hindu barber.

CHANAKYA.

In dealing with Chanakya Dr. Spooner (page 119) casually suggests that the *Jyotisha Vedanga* is attributable to the Persian influence. But the *Jyotisha* is astronomically dated in the twelfth century B. C., which is long before the birth of Persepolis and the Persian empire.

Internal evidence in the *Artha Sastra* perfectly disposes of any theory alleging a non-Brahman origin of the Mauryan chancellor. Chanakya enumerates the triple Vedas beginning with the Saman. Now it is

* Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the inscription has not been accepted. Dr. Spooner is literally right when he says there is no *Mourya* in that epigraph, for it has *Muriya*.

a practice well-known to Vedic literature that a Brahmin mentions his own Veda first. Chanakya was thus a Sama Vedin, and not an "Atharvan" as Dr. Spooner calls him (page 420). In fact Chanakya does not count the Atharva-Veda in his *Trayi* or the Vedic triple (*Artha Sastra*, page 7).

Dr. Spooner argues that medicine was associated with the Magians and as Chanakya practised medicine which (he says) the Brahmins hated, Chanakya as a Brahmin is found in suspicious circumstances 'when the curtain lifts'. It is undoubtedly evident from his book that the great chancellor knew medicine which he must have studied at Taxila, his home and the famous place for that science in ancient days. But there is not a shred of evidence that he practised medicine. Such being the case it is not necessary to examine the general proposition whether Orthodox Brahmins in the fourth century B. C. did or did not practise medicine.

Chanakya's salutation to Sukra and Brihaspati in the beginning of his book is taken by Dr. Spooner to be 'encouraging' (I think, to his theory), as 'there is a distinctly astrological flavour about' it. Whether a distinct astrological flavour would help much the theory is a question which might be shelved, for the premise itself is wrong. • *Brihaspati* and *Sukra* of Chanakya were not stars but human beings. They were the greatest authorities on Hindu politics; they have been mentioned in the Grihya Sutras and the Dharma Sutras; and they have been copiously quoted by Chanakya himself in the very book on the first page of which homage is done to them. Then it is more than doubtful that the invocation, as it appears, is ancient. We have only one manuscript of the *Artha Sastra* up to this time.

Great emphasis has been laid on *Lokayata* appearing in the course prescribed for the education of princes in the *Artha Sastra* because *Lokayata*, Dr. Spooner points out, is said to mean atheism (page 419). "If this be right Chanakya's orthodoxy is impugned at once." But 'impugned orthodoxy' does not turn a Brahmin into a Parsi priest. *Lokayata*, however, did not mean atheism in ancient times. The matter has been discussed as early as 1899 by Professor Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, 166-172) who says: "The best working hypothesis to explain the above facts seems to be that about 500 B. C. the word *Lokayata* was used in a complimentary way as the name of a branch of Brahman learning."

There are two more points urged as evidence of the Magian identity of Chanakya. The opening lines of chapter XII of the *Artha Sastra* are quoted. According to them orphans to be maintained by the State were to be taught astrology, palmistry, reading of augury, etc. Dr. Spooner thinks that no Hindu would have instituted such a curriculum; 'but it would be,' he says, 'reasonable enough for a Magian minister of state.' If the heading of the chapter had been noticed, confusion would have been avoided. Chanakya treats astrology with contempt, not with Magian respect. He says that men for the secret service of police should be recruited from the ranks of orphans. They should be made astrologer-spies. The whole chapter is on the Institution of the Secret Service and such is the title of the chapter.

Dr. Spooner thinks that as Chanakya prescribes that the Royal Purohita must be a Brahmin versed in the Atharvan and that he must be followed by the king, Chanakya was a Parsi priest. But there is nothing Parsi in this. Orthodox authority even anterior to Chanakya is unanimous that the

Purohita must be a follower of the Atharva-Veda. Chanakya did not introduce this as a new rule. †

Dr. Spooner institutes comparison between the 'Yoga' mentioned in the Artha Sastra and the 'Magian mummeries'! But unfortunately Chanakya never defines his Yoga, and as Yoga had different meanings in different ages, it is useless to institute comparison between the unknown and the known.

THE ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE.

The result of the 'architectural evidence' is no more satisfactory. Being on the spot I have had the opportunity to follow the progress of the Kumhrar excavations. I do not think that the learned archaeologist has succeeded in proving that the site excavated represents Chandragupta's palaces. On a closer search the Persepolitan picture disappears from Kumhrar.

After a careful examination of the whole evidence and arguments contained in the lengthy paper of Dr. Spooner, I have no hesitation in saying that up to this time "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" appears to be a mere castle-in-the-air.

T. L. Vaswani writing about

Hindu Art-Consciousness

in the *Collegian and Progress of India* is of opinion that "a survey of Indian art involves a study of the Buddhist, the Mohamadan, and the Hindu types of art-consciousness: these three indeed may be regarded as formative factors of Indian Art."

The Buddhist art-consciousness seems to be dominated by a striving after passionlessness, the Buddhist Nirvana being the extinction of desires. So it is that the images and other representations of Buddha produce on the spectator an impression of *shanti*, of repose. The Islamic art-consciousness rendered a positive service to India: it *humanised Hindu art*: it disclosed the shut splendours of the human form divine: and those who have seen or read of the mosques and palaces constructed by the Mohamadan Rulers in India and in Stambul will marvel at the grandeur and stupendous magnitude which the Islamic art-consciousness endeavours to express. Beauty, as the Hindu artist interprets it, is *the shine of the Eternal Self*: it is a revelation of the Ideal, an expression of the Eternal, a call from the soul of the Universe to the Eternal seated in our hearts, an unveiling of the Face of the First and only Fair. Beauty is the Brightness of the Spirit and so belongs to the Spiritual Energy which is expressed, made manifest, on the earth-place through our senses, and intelligence.

Artifice is the death of Art: a peasant girl in her simple dress unconscious of the golden glory of her face is more beautiful than the fashionable fop with artificial dress and artificial curls. Beauty transcends the interest of the senses. Therefore do we distinguish the Beautiful from the pleasant and the

useful. Surely beauty is not sensual pleasantness; and the school of experimental aesthetics has blundered badly in identifying beauty with points of sensation, the tension of the nerves, and relaxation of fibres of the body. Not pleasure but joy, not *Indriyabhoga* but the *Anandamaya*, is the parent of Art.

Hindu Art is idealistic, subjective. It is *not* subjective in the sense that it regards beauty as an illusion; beauty is not an illusion, it is revelation of the Eternal Self: it is not right to say with Kant that beauty is a creation of the mind: yet it is true to say with the wise man who gave us the beautiful Indian proverb "Beauty is in the eye of him who sees it." Beauty is subjective only in the sense that it is not physical, it is subtle, and is to be seen by the Eye of the Soul.

Hindu art, again, is symbolic, religious, suggestive. It is not mere outburst of emotion: it is dominated by a spiritual striving of communion with the Highest.

Hindu art again like every true art, shows the union of love and labour. These great Temples were not built in a day; but the builders were not perfunctory in execution: they rejoiced in their work: they poured love and devotion on their labour, and still in the villages where something of the old art-consciousness is alive, you will find the craftsman sitting to his work and singing songs.

True art is a call to Noble Living: it is a call to simple life, to nature consciousness, to self-control and self-renunciation. Therefore did the Hindu avoid luxury knowing that luxury would be decadence of art; therefore did he look for beauty in common life, in the simple homely things which we unfortunately have neglected in the mechanical routine of modern life; therefore did he turn to Nature and the scripture of the Soul for art-inspiration; therefore did he meditate on the mystery till he seemed to lose himself in the Vision of the Only One.

Slums and Town Nuisances.

"The ideal community would have neither slums nor nuisances, and in consequence its expense for the administration of justice, for charities and for the correction of social disorders would be at a minimum"—this is what Dr. M. R. Samay says in the course of an useful article contributed to the *Local Self-government Gazette* for January.

The writer strongly condemns the thoughtless disposition of stable refuse which is known as manure, as also the practice of the housewife depositing the ashes resulting from her use of fuel or coal in the nearest highway.

The common house fly finds its most favourable breeding place in manure, particularly horse-manure. Since it has been discovered that the house fly is an efficient disseminator of disease germs, and not a scavenger doing good work, the disposition of manure becomes distinctly of importance.

No man has a right to injure his neighbour by any of his own acts and in accordance with this well known theory, manures of all sorts should be so cared

† I think in fairness to Dr. Spooner it must be mentioned that since the publication of his paper he has told me that he means to abandon the part of his theory relating to Chanakya.

for as to be completely inoffensive, either from odour or as breeding places for insects. If kept in well-screened and tightly closed pits, and if hauled away from cities at frequent intervals, and if these stables are in themselves kept clean, there should be little difficulty. If, on the contrary, there is neglect of the simple sanitary necessity of preventing the breeding of injurious insects, by reason of neglect to safeguard the handling of manures, then a serious and distinctly dangerous nuisance results.

It is cognate to the subject to say that modern agriculturists insist that manures may properly be disposed of without being subjected to the process of rotting, long supposed to be necessary. As to factory refuse, there can be no proper question as to the necessity for insisting that they be so cared for as not to interfere with the lives, the health, or, indeed, the comfort of a populace.

The house fly and the mosquito are positive nuisances. They are known to be preventable, and the presence of both or either in any considerable numbers is disgraceful in any civilized community.

As a disseminator of typhoid and other diseases, and especially as connected with its influence on infant mortality in hot weather, the house fly is a deadly and desperate menace.

About mosquitos we read :

The mosquito is known in its various species to be the disseminator of malarial diseases, and in certain localities, of yellow fever and other germ diseases. It is known also to breed in stagnant water, and its presence in any community is an evidence of sanitary neglect. Mosquitos rarely fly to any considerable distance. Hence breeding places may best be looked for immediately about the premises affected. A hoopt-rint, a choked roof gutter or rain spout, a discarded tin can, or any little puddle may, in a week or two in hot weather, afford breeding opportunity to a horde of offensive mosquitoes. To screen the house is an excellent method of defence, but a better method is to prevent the breeding of the mosquitoes by drying up the stagnant pools, wherever they may be found, in which they live to generate, or by covering with a thin film of petroleum the water-holding vessels which cannot be otherwise treated, thus killing wrigglers as they rise to the surface to breathe, and by generally seeing to it that the necessary conditions for mosquito life are not provided.

The Education of the Senses.

In the course of a short article in the pages of the *Indian Education* penned by the Rev. E. L. King, which should draw the attention of all engaged in the work of educating our children, we read :

Our system of education has committed a positive wrong—it has sought, not openly or knowingly perhaps but actually nevertheless, to use the child, for its own purposes. The sense of service and of obligation to the child, the realization of a stewardship, has been forgotten and the child has too often sunk to the level of mere educational material.

Rarely, therefore, have there been efforts, and more rarely still have they succeeded, to bring the child into vital and real contact with his world. Even here very little attention has been shown to individual differences—all have been poured into one mould, and teachers have wondered why success

was so meagre and results so contrary to expectation.

The results so far achieved by our schools are sufficient evidence of the failure of a book-bound education; the responses of the normal human being to the call of the great outside world are, likewise, sufficient evidence of the adaptability of the material furnished by nature to the educational process.

"It is through the senses," says Doctor Taylor, "that the child wakes to conscious life, through them that he becomes acquainted with the outer world, which he is to know, and of which he is to become a counterpart. Without them the child lies dormant in his cradle, sleeping away his days, not even knowing of an outer world, nor dreaming of his own mighty possibilities. With his senses he explores the universe round about him and eventually becomes its master. Upon their sensitiveness and perfection his progress depends ... [These senses] are not only to enable him to place himself in space and communicate with his fellows, but to furnish him the materials, the food upon which his mind is to feed and grow. They are not only to give him a knowledge of the sensuous world round about him, but also of those higher relations and harmonies that knit soul with soul and soul with the Infinite."

The proper development of the senses will give a nicety of discrimination and a finality of judgment which will release the child, as well as the adult, from the tyranny of things, and leave him free to indulge in the exercise of the mind and spirit.

Besides the gains of intellectual growth and individual freedom is the development of the judgment for practical use. The development of the senses "does not merely mean making them more acute in the appreciation of particular sensations, though that no doubt is involved in it. It means the acquisition of the ability to discriminate between the objects that produce the sensations in us, so that we feel with exactness what we do feel and are able to interpret it correctly in objective terms by an immediate judgment."

Our revered countryman Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered an address on

Swadeshi

before the Missionary Conference, Madras, which has been published in the *Indian Review* for February, and other papers. We may not all agree with the views of Mr. Gandhi as set forth in the address, but he deserves a patient hearing as one who has labored and suffered for the motherland and has devoted, he is even now doing so, much thought and energy for remedying the drawbacks from which India is suffering.

For the benefit of our readers we make the following important extracts from the address under notice :

Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surround-

ing. If I find it defective I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economies I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting.

Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to-day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit a Hindu refuses to change his religion not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising but continuing their philanthropic work?

India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Caesar what was Caesar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered too its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is true, I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit.

We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge; the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had

instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the Vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc., would have been solved long ago. The village Panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements.

I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Force of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The handloom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. I hate legislative interference in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the state. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that every one followed this mode of life, we would have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that

happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do no harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature.

In the course of an article in the *Indian Emigrant* for January entitled

Fiscal Autonomy for India and Its Effects on Colonial Problems

K. M. Panikkar says some very pertinent things. The article under review provides refreshing reading for its candour and outspokenness. Says Mr. Panikkar :

The one-sided Free Trade fictions of the Government in London have deprived a large percentage of our artisans, previously engaged in various local industries, of the means of their livelihood. They have either merged into the wage-earning poor class, or have fallen an easy prey to the soft promises of emigration agents. Fiscal autonomy for India, with right to tax imported luxuries, &c., may yet save a few of our languishing industries and prevent our skilled artisan from becoming an unskilled factory worker earning a pittance insufficient to keep a healthy family or live in sanitary quarters.

Secondly, a protective tariff will enable us to tax indirectly the rich who are the consumers of foreign goods and to lighten the burden on the poor. The one chief cause of migration from any country is the inability of that land to support its workers. Heavy taxes, combined with an undeveloped system of agriculture, have made that occupation on which India has to depend an almost profitless business. The improvement of agricultural methods and the lightening of the taxes are the only ways by which it can be made profitable. A protective tariff will give the Government a chance of saving our ryots from further poverty and of leading India to a condition of economic prosperity. The importance of this point will be conceded when it is remembered that in such a big State as the U. S. A., the whole federal revenue is raised by indirect taxation. In other ways, too, it will help the solution of our imperial problems. For example, can there be a better remedy to the ill-treatment of Indians in Mauritius than retaliatory taxation on the sugar imported from that island? Our complaints will be cries in the wilderness unless we have methods of making them effective. Fiscal autonomy will leave an effective weapon in our hands because there is no country in the world which could afford to neglect India as a market for its produce.

Any form of political autonomy that is not preceded by complete fiscal autonomy will be a nullity and delusion. What use is it for us to have the right of governing India, when the condition on which its prosperity depends is not in our hands?

We have had great pleasure in reading through the second instalment of

The Study of Indian Art

penned by Mr. O. C. Gangoly and published in the *Hindustan Review* for February.

Mr. Gangoly pleads eloquently for our aesthetic education and rightly deplores the want of appreciation and ignorance of the Indian young man whether trained in Indian or foreign universities. The latter class of young men though said to be appreciating hugely the modern literary productions of the west are woefully innocent of any knowledge of the masterpieces of art.

Says Mr. Gangoly :

While the average European (who has some knowledge of the general principles of plastic arts—and a familiarity with the masterpieces of art, ancient and modern—it being a *sine qua non* of his liberal education) may, some day, correct his present errors and misconceptions. In regard to Indian Fine Art our 'educated' friends from the college, having none of these accomplishments to supplement their college course, have no independent means to test or verify the views on Indian art that have been thrust upon them and to which they tenaciously cling, the artistic faculty itself lying dormant all through their lives. So that, with regard to the study of the art of their native country they are, and seem destined, to remain, for some time yet, veritable foreigners in their own mental atmosphere. This seems to have been the inevitable result of the form of education they have received. For it is notorious that the lack of artistic culture has been one of the characteristic drawbacks of the Indian educational system. The study of the fine arts—paintings, architecture or music has no place in the faculty of "Arts" in the Indian Universities. As a result of this, there has been a tendency in this country to regard all forms of culture with disavour which has no recognition in the official repertoire. Our "Masters of Art" have thus cultivated an ignorance of the alphabets of art. He has studied, (may be in translation), and is more or less familiar with the works of Tasso, Homer or Dante—but he is unaware what a world of beauty he has shut himself from by his ignorance of the masterpieces of Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli or Donatello. Sometimes he picks up a few names, e. g., Raphael and Michael Angelo, but these names hardly connote to him any equivalent artistic-treasures or any intellectual atmosphere such as the name of Shakespeare, Dante or Milton calls up in his mind's eye. Can one boast of a knowledge of the Greek life and civilization—who has only studied them in their literary remains—in the Tragedies and the Epics? Must we ignore Polygnotos and Praxiteles because we are familiar with Euripides and Aeschylus? When shall we convince our brethren from the universities that the culture value of the Greek vases or the Attic bronzes is equally great with the sonnets of Shakespeare or the poetry of Kalidasa? Why study Rousseau or Robespierre when you must continue to despise Watteau, Le Brun or Poussin? How many translations have we not read of the works of Maurice Maeterlinck, Victor Cousin or Guy de Mupassant from the pen of our University graduates who have never heard of Puvis de Chavannes, Jean Francois Millet or Auguste Rodin? I have conversed with friends who evinced a fair breadth in literary tastes—and waxed enthusiastic over the works of Tolstoy, Ibsen or Carducci—but were on the point of collapse when I had happened to mention Constantine Meunier or Hyppolyte Boulenger. Who can pretend

to have a superficial knowledge of the forces which have made Victorian Era great in Art and Letters without apprehending how much has been contributed to it by Watts, Burne-Jones and William Holman Hunt. But I will excuse our M. A.'s and Prebendary Scholars for the moment, if I could find one Indian Vice-Chancellor who can claim familiarity with such works as "the Golden Stairs" or "The Shadow of Death." Matters are no better with our friends who have graduated in the English or the American Universities. Some of these pilgrims back from the ancient shrines at Oxford and Cambridge are saturated with the quintessence of "G. B. S." or smitten with the beauties of Oscar Wilde's prose, but they gasp for breath when they are asked of the usage which Whistler brought to English art or what ideas they have picked up of Brangwyn or of Sargent or what are the relative merits of such works as "Sappho" or "A Visit to Asclepius." But even if we excuse our lack of interest in Western art—our knowledge of Oriental art is pathetically nil. Hokusai or Utamaro, Hiroshige or Sosen, Bhuzad or Mansur, Nagnajit or Parojoy, Dhiman or Molaram raise no quiverings in our breasts. How can our appreciation of *Kumar Sambhava* answer for our neglect of the study of the Gupta Sculptures. What is the value of our interest in the great body of Indian Buddhist literature if we cover our eyes before the bronze images of Dharmapala and Bodhisattvas.

Mr. Gangoly holds that the unlettered Indian has more eye for things artistic than the literate Indian.

The educated Indian, however distinguished he may be in the field of Letters, Science or Philosophy, has equipment necessary to cultivate artistic studies. I have used 'educated Indian' advisedly, for I have noticed amongst the unlettered folks—the so-called backward element in the Indian population a genuine eye for artistic things. The wonderful artistic monuments of India have been the product of a very highly developed aesthetic faculty, a vestige of which still lingers in minds yet uncontaminated by Western "Kultur". The humble peasant girl or the street potato-seller has a more correct eye in choosing an artistic colour for her *Sari* than her sisters from the girls' school or his brethren from the college. The latter has succeeded in completely effacing from his temperament all artistic feelings which he had inherited from his ancestors. While he has disowned and done his best to rub off, like an ugly scar, what is to him a really valuable heritage,—he has not cultivated any knowledge of the general principles of art or of the culture history of the man as revealed in the innumerable forms and shapes now catalogued and studied in the various schools of paintings and sculptures;—in other words, he has failed to cultivate or develop an aesthetic judgment.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Prof. Keith on Dr. Spooner's Persian Theory.

The Behar Herald says that Prof. Berriedale Keith "is one of the greatest products of Oxford. He stood first in the Civil Service, took firsts in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, and is now one of the two greatest Sanskritists of Great Britain and the greatest English authority on Vedic literature. At present he has gone from the Home Civil Service to the University of Edinburgh to fill the chair of the Professor of Sanskrit. He is also a lawyer, being a D. C. L. of Oxford, and is a finished controvertialist, who has crossed swords with scholars of the standing of Jacobi." When such a man criticises Dr. Spooner's theory regarding "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," and observes that "the theory has no foundation in fact," archaeologists are bound to listen. Says Dr. Keith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* :

1. Ahura Mazda is represented as the equivalent of Asura Maya, the latter being the Indian form of a term used by imported Iranians stone-workers. Maya

being really Maja, where J is a spirant. This equation is open to the obvious retort that Asura as an equivalent for Ahura is not explained; are we to suppose that the stone-masons of Iran were such excellent philologists that they knew that Indian Asura was Iranian Ahura, and so replaced their own Ahura by Asura or that their Indian fellow-workers had the same knowledge, or that the Indians merely replaced an unknown word by a known one? The last explanation is, unhappily, open to the fatal objection that as Asura in Mauryan times had an evil sense, we must suppose that the Iranian masons, who revered their patron deity, nevertheless induced the Indians to regard him as a demon. This is all very absurd, and the obvious fact that Asura Maya is an easy and natural Indian conception should not be overlooked.

2. From Weber Dr. Spooner borrows the view that Danavas and Asuras in India often denote foreign peoples, a statement which he should [specially as he rejects Weber's view on Maya] have proved, and which he will find it difficult to prove, and in the assertion, "I am Visvakarman, the great sage of the Danavas" in the great epic he finds an assertion of the identity of Maya with Ormuzd in clear terms. *Kavi* he finds difficult in an Indian sense, as Maya was certainly not a great poet. But *Kavi* in India does not mean necessarily nor even normally in the epic a poet, it means a sage, and the kind of skill is described in the epithet Visvakarman.

3. In several passages of the epic Dr. Spooner finds reference to sculptured representations of figures divine, semi-divine, and human; to this end he renders *divyan abhiprayan*.....*Vihitan* as "concepts of the

gods.....which thou hast fashioned," where the sense is obviously and only possible as "divine purposings.....carried out," the meaning being that the Sabha is to be one fulfilling the aims of gods, &c. So 8,000 Raksasas who "bidden by Maya" guard and support the Sabha, are manufactured into statues, though why the poet should have then said "bidden" instead of "made" passes comprehension, especially as the literal sense is perfect, and the same remark applies to the Gubhikas who support Kubera's Sabha; surely common sense must remind us that these demons have no better task than to support the halls of their overlords. This application of common sense, however, destroys at once the interpretation put on the South Indian text of the epic, in 11-14 16, in which by (a) seeing an incorrect text and inventing a new one, (b) translating *bhava* as a statue of a being, and (c) by inventing for Persepolis an architectural conception of surpassing grandeur, Dr. Spooner finds a reference to a throne-room of various floors, apparently supported by statues. The text is, in itself, as often in the South Indian edition, not very satisfactory, but at any rate *bhava* does not mean statue, nor is there a single word of various floors of the Sabha.

4. The description given by the Asura Maya of his palaces is said to agree most strikingly with the account of Megasthenes of Chandragupta's palaces. The actual similarity seems to me to be of the utmost vagueness, as can be seen from a glance at the two versions as printed by Dr. Spooner. The real parallel with the deeds of the Asura is Pataliputra wrought by magic in the Katha-Saritsagara, but this is purely Indian, for the wiles or magic (*mayas*) of the Asura are notorious throughout Indian literature from the Rigveda on.

5. It may be added that the passages cited cannot be dated precisely; none of them need be, or probably is, older than several centuries A. D. and that they bear witness to the period of the Mauryas is most improbable.

The derivation of Maurya from a Persian form *Mourva*, which is Merv and Meru, and the valley of the Murghab, can hardly be taken seriously, and the discussion of Panini, v. 3, 99, without reference to Bohtlingk's views, is ill-advised. Maurya as Mervian Iranian Zoroastrian (an equation which it is wholly wrong to make) does not help the sense at all, and horses and chariots, if Persian, are also par excellence, alike in early Vedic and in late epic, Indian.

7. The idea that Chanakya was a Magian minister of state is in itself almost too absurd to controvert, but the view that the Atharvan priest is really in whole or part, a magician from Persia is one that ignores the history of the place of that Veda in India, and the early importance of magic and the position thus won for the wielder of magic in the king's entourage; it is sufficient to refer to the end of the Aitareya Brahmana to see that the Purohitis with his magic spells was established in royal favor long before Chandragupta of the Arthashastra, which is very possibly long subsequent to his date.

8. It is abundantly established, it is argued, that the Magi did come into India in early times and that Magadha was their chief centre. But the evidence is that of the Bhavishya and Visnu Puranas, as interpreted by Dr. Spooner, and Purana evidence has absolutely no value for any early date, say before 300 A. D. Doubtless, so far as real Magi are referred to, they are of a late Iranian migration; the Bhavishya Purana, which alone has a clear migration story, is a work which has been continuously interpolated, and which, as now edited refers to Noah, etc. To what inter-

polation in the Magi story refers we do not unhappily know, certainly not to 300 B. C.

9. The Bhavishya mentions that Garuda was lent by Krishna to Samba in his search for Magas, and Wilson expresses doubt whether the Garuda Purana is properly so described, as it deals mainly with sun-worship. The representation of Garuda is like that of Ahura Mazda, and Garuda first occurs in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, and the Aranyakas are centred especially in North Behar. The Garuda Purana is of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin. All this will not for a moment stand examination: Garuda is the sun bird; his substance, though not his name, is early Vedic; a Purana about sun worship is naturally his; the Aranyakas (whatever the plural here means) have nothing to show that they are specially centred in North Behar; if Ahura is depicted with traits like Garuda's, he is no doubt thus showing solar attributes.

10. The equation of Magadha and the Maghas, not to mention the mother goddess Magha, are flagrant absurdities which should have been allowed to rest in the obscurity in which Mr. Hewitt's ingenious but wild speculations now deservedly lie, and Sir G. Grierson is hardly likely to find his theory of inner and outer bands in language strengthened by its yielding the result of concord with Dr. Spooner's theory of Magian dominance.

11. It is impossible to follow Dr. Spooner's argument regarding the Yajurveda. If the Charakas are the Parsis, then the Taittiriya and Kathaka Samhitas should contain heretical doctrines; they do not. If Yajnavalkya is heretical, then why is it that the Vajasaneyi is not heretical? And it is Yajnavalkya who calls the Charakas wrong teachers, and who is rather more eastern than they.

12. That Yavana is equal to Persian is simply impossible unless and until an example of the use of the famous Ionian name of the Persians is produced of any date up to 300 B.C. Zoroastrian tribes in Orissa between 538 and 300 B.C. are phantoms, and the Persian (Yavana) Bhagadatta of the Indian settlement Pragjyotisa is no more substantial.

13. When the mass of unproved and unscientific hypotheses is considered it is obvious that the conclusion of the Persian Buddha and his racial connexion Asoka cannot possibly be accepted. The question of Iranian influence on the story of Buddha's birth is in itself one of legitimate interest, but the fundamental fact is that early Buddhism is wholly untouched, as expounded in the literature which can claim to give the truest version of it, by Zoroastrian ideas, and its origin and development can be and has been successfully depicted on Indian grounds alone. Similarly that Asoka sought to reconcile rulers and ruled on an eclectic basis of religion is not supported by a single piece of evidence.

14. The argument *ex silentio* may be used too far, but it is incredible that Megasthenes should have known that the king to whom he went as ambassador was Iranian and not have told us so. Such a silence is fatal to the whole substance of Dr. Spooner's theory and should have warned him against forming it.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is clear. Iran may and no doubt did lend India ideas of various kinds; in each case these must be carefully looked for and examined and ascribed to Iran only if another and Indian origin is not possible and natural.

Dr. Keith's conclusion is :

A Zoroastrian period of Indian history never existed nor indeed was any such existence to be expected.

The Debt of Civilisation to the Arabs.

In the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for February, S. H. Leeder has briefly traced the "intellectual and moral benefits" for which the Arabs were responsible, "which have had a durable effect on the wider world."

In the first inch of victory this new (Arab) force swept away the Magian incoworship of Persia which the Parthian Empire had been upholding and might have established throughout the East. Then it obliterated the wild ascetic superstitions of denuded Egypt, and in some parts of India, and it scattered the contentious theology of the Greeks who were Christian only in name while they were worse than Pagans in conduct. And, later on, before the forced Arab march, the debased manners, the wretched polity, and the inebriate administration of the Court of Constantinople expired.

The Arab's contribution to literature:

Letters, which originally came to Europe from the East, were brought to Europe a second time by the genius of the Arabs, who were the link between ancient and modern literature. In the West, literature had become almost extinct, and rude barbarism reigned. While the Empire of the Arabians prospered the Latin Church was ignorant of all good letters. Whatever proficiency was made later on by Latin writers, whether in philosophy, medicine, or mathematics, after their ignorance had been reproved by the industry of the Arabians, they owed entirely to them. They were not masters of a single Greek author, except in Latin versions rendered from the Arabic. It was through the medium of the Arabic that Ptolemy first became accessible to us in a Latin translation. Euclid, so long our chief preceptor in mathematical science, came into our hands through the same means.

In two branches of literature a special debt is due to the Arabs—*poetry* and *romance*. The genius of the Saracens for poetry goes back long before Islamic times, and it may be claimed that the *romance* style of writing had its birth in Arabia and was communicated to Europe by the Arabs. The "Romance of Antar," which precedes all European specimens of the romance now extant, is the only specimen of that style existing in the world, before the tenth century, complete in the form and characters proper to the romance.

Their contribution to Science and Philosophy:

Roger Bacon, who was born in 1214, was a man deeply learned in oriental languages, learned in the Universities of Moorish Spain, and as familiar with the Arabian authors of that time as with the Greek and Latin classics. It was from this scholar that Lord Bacon in the seventeenth century imbibed and borrowed the first principles of his famous experimental system; a fact which indisputably establishes the derivation of the Baconian philosophy from the Arabs.

The Arab philosophers were men who combined,

with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowledge which industry could then attain. What they knew they knew thoroughly, and there is a clearness and a penetration about their reasoning which spread a lustre over every subject they handled. Their work highly exalted the intellect of Europe.

The writer goes on to say:

The Arab universities in Spain were the founts of learning to which Christian ignorance went for its early education. Among other celebrated Western pupils of Arab teachers were Peter the Venerable, and Pope Sylvester II. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that up to the end of the fifteenth century there was scarcely a man of eminence or learning in the schools of England, France, and Italy whose biography does not acknowledge the debt which he owed directly or indirectly to Arab learning.

"In the history of Chemistry the Arabs assume the undisputed rank of inventors."

They successfully analysed the various substances of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; made experiments on air, fire, earth and water, ascertained the opposite and kindred properties of alkalies and acids; invented, together with the alchemic, various kinds of distillation and sublimation; discovered the volatile oils, and the medicinal qualities of mercury, and the changing of certain poisonous minerals into salutary medicines.

The West took all these discoveries, both from the Arabs of Asia as well as of Spain, and by their more sober temperament brought the art of chemistry under fixed principles and rules and raised it to a science.

Towards Medicine and Pharmacy great advances were made by the Arabs.

The highest medical authorities unite in acknowledging the debt of Europe to the Arabs for the recovery and improvement of the art of medicine. The Saracens applied themselves with great diligence to the study of medical science, mastering whatever had been known to the Greeks.

In *pharmacy*, or the art of preparing medicines, they enormously enlarged the list of remedies for disease. Among other important additions to the vegetable medicines, they first introduced rhubarb, tamarinds, cassia, senna, and camphor. They first cultivated sugar, bringing an agreeable element into food which to the great masses of the people had been up to that time almost unknown—for honey, the only sweet thing known, was very scarce and expensive.

The study of the symptoms of disease was the favourite and successful study of the Arabs. By zeal and penetration they were enabled to solve many obscure problems, tracing many diseases from their effects to their causes, and to apply effective remedies. In the cure of skin diseases they were particularly successful. To the Saracen physicians belongs the merit of having first investigated and described the deadly disease of small-pox. They were also the first to understand the nature of measles. Various abscesses, specially that of the pericardium and its adherence to the heart, the relaxation and other affections of the throat, are classed by the admission of modern students of medicine as amongst the discoveries of the medical skill of the Arabians.

And we further read that proficiency in the art of healing led to the establishment of hospitals and lunatic asylums.

Religion and Music.

The sense of music like the sense of religion is present in almost everyone, more or less. Almost all music had their birth in religion.

Herbert Antcliffe has contributed an interesting article to the *British Review* in which he has told us many things regarding the birth and growth of music, both Eastern and Western and its relation to different religious faiths.

We read :

Religion without emotion is impossible. And music is the most natural and universal expression of emotion—of the emotions of joy and sorrow, of faith, love, hope, despair; and of worship. Not infrequently religious emotion finds expression in other matters, even its highest expression is not through this means. Its full and complete expression, however, must and does always include expression in music. Music has always been regarded, by pagans and true worshippers alike, as a directly heaven-sent gift, and therefore to be employed chiefly in the service of religion. In the old pagan religions there was usually a god of music, or some hero or demi-god particularly gifted with the talent of music. Such were Osiris of the Egyptians, Apollo and Orpheus of the Greeks, and Nana and Bharata of the Hindus.

Speaking about eastern music the writer says :

Throughout the long history of the Chinese Empire we find music intimately connected with its various religions. Ancestor worship and Emperor (or more strictly, law) worship lend themselves to the ceremonial regulation of its use and disuse. Music, they said, was the harmony between heaven and earth; and therefore their scale consisted of five notes, the number three being the symbol of heaven and two the symbol of earth. The names of the notes were those of the State, from the Emperor downwards (though they considered what we should call up, in music, to be down, and what we call down, up). Whole tones were masculine, that is, according to their ideas, complete and independent; semitones were feminine, incomplete and dependent. But their abstruse and theoretical methods enabled them to divide this scale and to place it in so many different positions as to give them many more notes than we possess.

From the most ancient times on record in native literature, music was forbidden to mourners. Musical instruments were always interred with Emperors and grandees during certain dynasties. When in mourning they did not even speak of music. Japanese music of the old types was more secular. Not so that of the Hindus, however. The Hindus trace their music in its present form back to the earliest times, when it was supposed to be a direct and immediate gift from the gods. They ascribe it to many supernatural powers, and it is through their priests and monks that much Hindu music has been preserved.

About the growth of European music we are told that

With the advent of Christianity the music of the Jewish Church was developed into that of its successor. We have, of course, the highest authority, by example, if not by precept, for the use of music in Christian worship. Not only was our Lord a constant worshipper at the Temple, where music formed an integral part of the worship. "On the same night that He was betrayed," we read that immediately after the institution of the Most Blessed Sacrament He and His disciples sang a hymn.

The earliest Christian music, in fact, was only to a very small extent taken from, or even influenced by, that of Jewry, being mainly taken from that of Greece and Italy. The reason for this, of course, was that Greece was the paramount intellectual power, as Rome was that of politics. Nevertheless, we read that the Christian music was simpler and broader, as befitted its employment by congregations, as well as sweeter and more tender, as befitted its subjects, than was the pagan music from which it evolved. Congregational music, if at this stage it may be called so—that is, the music of the whole body engaged in any act of worship—would develop earlier than that for choirs or instruments. One respect in which the earliest records show that Jewish methods were retained, if not the music itself, was in that of antiphonal singing, either between preacher and congregation or between women and men.

Instruments were probably not employed, at least to any serious extent, until after the invention of organs suitable for accompanying voices. This did not take place until the fourth century or later. It happened to coincide approximately with the period when other instruments were used to such debased purposes as to be forbidden to all faithful Christians. The use of the organ did not become general, however, for many years after this. During the terrible times of the great persecutions there was little music, for fear of discovery of the churches. Even then, however, it was not altogether suppressed, and the tradition was continued till more peaceful times.

The writer goes on to say :

A letter notation was invented early in the eleventh century by Guido, a monk of Arezzo. He also developed the line notation invented by Hucbald of Saint-Amand (in Flanders) a little more than a century earlier. Hucbald was one of the first to develop the system of part-writing or harmony, and Guido further developed it. It was Guido who first invented the practice of what we call solmization, or *solleggi*—that is, the singing of the notes to certain syllables, which syllables serve the double purpose of putting the mouth in a good position for obtaining a pure tone and of aiding the memory.

Indian India and Its Rajas : Their Relations with the British

is the title of an article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. The article is full of interesting information and quite readable; moreover it is frank and outspoken. The writer strongly takes exception, and correctly so, to the term "Native." His reasons for doing so are :

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In itself it is an expressive word; but it has degenerated. Uncultured Europeans have brought it into such disrepute that Indians and other Orientals consider it to imply that those to whom it is applied are looked upon as belonging to an order of humanity low in type and civilization. The substitution of "Indian" for "Native" usually serves the purpose. The phrase "Indian State" is in much better taste than "Native State," and is as easy to comprehend.

Likewise he objects to the terms "Chief" and "Prince" on the following grounds:

Like "Native," the word "Chief" is in itself a good term. But Europeans and Americans have a habit of associating it with the leaders of uncivilized tribes in America and Africa. I object to the application of such a word to personages of the most ancient lineage and to Rulers whose ancestors, for many generations back, have extended their patronage to learning and art. In addition to being thus objectionable, the word "Chief" does not always describe a Raja. The Indian Rulers are not all heads of distinct clans. Even those who are leaders of clans are departing from the patriarchal form of government. The position that the Rajas are assuming in their administrations cannot, therefore, be described as that of a "Chief." I need hardly add that my remarks are directed against the employment of the word "Chief" as a generic term, and not against its application in individual instances where its use is *technically* correct, such as the Chief of Mudhol or Ichalkaranji.

On similar grounds I object to the word "Prince." The term is not generally used in connection with Sovereigns, but is applied to their sons and other male relatives. The only case where, to my knowledge, it is applied to Europeans exercising functions of sovereignty is in the case of those who hold certain principalities in the German Empire, such as Lippe, Reuss, Schaumburg Lippe, Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, Waldeck, etc. The system of centralization of which these Principalities constitute parts, is now being execrated all over the world. The present war has shown it to be rotten to the core. As far as I know, the word "Prince" is now generally used in connection with the male relatives of Sovereigns. It should not be applied to Indians who rule in their own right and name. It must be remembered that some of them carry on their administrations without any, and many without much, British intervention. Some of the powerful Rulers like the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir govern a larger area than that of countries in Europe. Some, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, hold sway over a larger number of subjects than, for instance, the Queen of Holland.

The phrase Protected Prince is technically correct as regards the foreign relations of the Rajas, but it is misleading to those unlearned in diplomatic phraseology. In any case, it expresses only half the truth; it implies that the British protect the Rajas, but there is nothing in it to show the fact that the Rajas contribute towards the security of the Empire. It is difficult for me to imagine that any Briton would wish to employ this term after the whole-hearted and enthusiastic aid that the Rajas have rendered to the British Empire during the present crisis.

Mr. Singh goes on to say:

The numerical strength of the Army in the employ of the Rajas, compares very favourably with the strength of His Majesty's forces in India.

The subjects of the Rajas number from seventy to eighty millions, according to whether or not certain

States, like Nepal and Bhutan, are considered parts of Indian India, which, according to my estimate, has an area of 850,000 square miles. This population has not been subjected to the provisions of a rigorous Arms Act, as the inhabitants of British India have been for more than a half-century. A considerable portion of it is descended from fighting stock, and much of it is famihar with the use of arms. I do not know of any unit of British India, which can supply as many soldiers to fight for the Empire as can Indian India.

The writer only states the truth when he says:

The presence of so many of the Rajas in the firing line demonstrates that they are not only content with merely being "protected," but that they are eager to do all that they can to protect British liberties.

The term "tributary" cannot be applied indiscriminately to the Rajas. Many of the Indian Rulers do not pay tribute to the British. Some of them actually receive tribute from others.

If the European test of feudalism is applied to those who possess parts of Indian India, it will be found that very few of them are in possession of States which were conquered by the British and given to them. Portions of only a few States consist of territory bestowed upon them by the British. In one case a Maharaja has been given an estate, which does not form a part of his State (kapu thal), and which yields revenue to him, but is not under his rule. If the word "feudatory" is not employed in the sense in which it is generally understood by the British, it should either be discontinued, or should never be used without an explanation as to what sort of feudal tenure it indicates.

The Indian Rulers are not generally effeminate incapables given over to enjoying life with dancing girls, concubines and court favorites, but are

as a rule busy personages, engrossed in administration and in initiating, remodelling, perfecting and carrying out schemes to uplift the people that Providence has entrusted to their care. The majority of Rajas are serious minded personages who spend most of their time and energy doing useful work for humanity. Time and again I have proposed to British and American editors who conduct publications that are read by the populace contributions dealing with the administrative life of the Rajas and the progress that they are making but in nearly every instance my suggestion has been overruled and I have been asked to contribute, instead, articles dealing with the pomp and pageantry of the Indian States.

Indian Rulers who give themselves up to pleasure and let favourites manage the state are the exception.

Mr. Singh advises the giving of a "much freer hand to the Rajas in the development of their military resources than they have had in the past; and the creation of a board of arbitration to settle disputes between the British and Raja, and Rajas and Rajas." He thinks that the British policy of isolating ~~one~~ Indian Ruler from another needs modification.

All purely technical business between neighbour

lungs breathe, which draws us back automatically from pain and pushes us toward pleasure. Above this is the intellect, the mind that knows, by which man perceives, classifies and associates ideas, thus gaining what we ordinarily call knowledge. Still beyond is the super-conscious or the spiritual mind, by which man apprehends being directly. In this state of consciousness he no longer reasons or infers. He sees face to face what is. The hidden laws of God become apparent to him and he learns to identify himself with the Universal. As Browning describes it in "Sordello": "Divest mind of e'en thought and to God's unexpressed Will dawns upon us."

To attain this state of spiritual illumination is the goal held out by the Vedic Sages to every living being : for through it alone will a light be kindled in the heart by which man will perceive his true nature and the true nature of all things. Every man is "a god though in the germ," we read in "Rabbi Ben Ezra" ; and in "Sordello," man "must fit to the finite his infinity." The soul, in Browning's conception of life, cannot stop short of the Infinite, the *Sat-Chit-Anandam* or "Existence Absolute, Knowledge Absolute and Bliss Absolute" of the Vedas. Therefore, he tells us in "Sordello" again, "Let essence, whatsoever it be, extend, never contract." With him, as with the ancient Indo-Aryan Seers, all salvation or ultimate attainment can be reached only through the full revelation of the soul to itself. When that supreme moment arrives and the veil drops from Spirit, then, the Svetasvatara-Upanishad declares : "As a mirror clouded by dust shines bright again after it has been polished, so is the embodied one satisfied and free from grief after he has beheld the real nature of his Self. And when by means of the real nature of his Self, he sees, as by lamp, the real nature of the Supreme, then having known the Eternal God, who is beyond manifested nature, he is freed from all fetters."

The Vedic doctrine of *Maya*, so often misinterpreted as delusion, actually means change.

Life on this plane depends on change and motion, on continuous circulation, perpetual ebb and flow. Yet behind this ceaseless play of *Maya* is a light that never flickers, an Absolute which holds the relative, a Real which lends to the changing form through which it shines that alluring show of reality which so easily deceives the unseeing eye. Thus speaks Browning in "Rabbi Ben Ezra" :

"Fool, all that is, at all,
 Lasts ever past recall,
 Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure
 What enters into thee,
 That was, is, and shall be.
 Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay
 endure.
 He fixed thee 'mid this dance
 Of plastic circumstance,
 This present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest.
 Machinery just meant
 To give thy soul its bent,
 Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed."

With the force of a still mightier vision the Vedic Sages of old proclaimed again and yet again that Ultimate, Unchanging Reality, "from whence all beings are born ; by which, when born, they live ; unto

which they go"; and this ancient Sanskrit Prayer was ever on their lips: "O Thou Supreme Light of the Universe, Lead us from the unreal to the Real, from darkness to light, from death to immortality."

Browning practised true yoga.

None but a great soul could respond to the Higher Vision as Browning's soul responded; and no other could maintain so remarkable a balance between the Divine and the human, between flesh and spirit between earth and heaven. Everywhere one finds a natural intermingling of the two; sometimes the scale may seem to tip a little to the fleshly side, then suddenly something swings it back to the spiritual. This is one of the greatest proofs of his genius, for higher vision never leads to the elimination or destruction of any element of life; it enables us to rate each at its proper value and maintain a balance among all. This is also the basis of the Vedic science of Yoga or spiritual development. The very word, from the same root as the English "Yoke," makes this plain; for man invented a yoke that he might balance his burdens and thus carry them more easily. Yoga, we are told in the Gita, only brings illumination to that man who observes moderation or balance in all his activities. This does not mean that at every moment he must stand at a neutral central point, but that when he swings to this side or that, he will have such control over all his forces that in an instant he will be able to correct his deflection and regain the middle point, that point where all things are perceived at their true value.

The writer concludes thus:

Vedanta teaches that each human being is the author of his own destiny. He can choose his own course to attain ultimate perfection. But he must inevitably suffer if he breaks the law, just as a child cannot escape the smart and sting if he burns his fingers. Every living creature must push on and on, climbing by his mistakes until he attains the farthest height, for "incentives come from the soul's self, the rest avail not."

But what is the purpose of it all? Browning answers in "Death and the Desert":

"God's gift was just than man conceive of Truth
And yearn to gain it."

For "The Absolute Truth is bliss itself ; on attaining it the soul feels happy," the Taittiriya Upanishad declares. And where is the Truth to be found ? Again the answer comes in "Paracelsus" :

"Truth is within ourselves ; It takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness, and around,
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,
This perfect, clear conception which is truth,
A baffling and perverting carnal mesh
Binds it, and makes all error ; and to know
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without. . . .
Therefore set free the soul alike in all,
Discovering the true laws by which the flesh
Accloys the spirit."

NOTES

Famine in Bankura.

Babu Nishikanta Bose has given in the Bengali weekly *Sanjibani* his impressions of a tour in some forty villages in the northern and southern parts of the district of Bankura. He writes:—

"I have no words to adequately describe what I saw in these villages. Most of the men and women who came to the relief centres to receive their doles of rice looked almost like skeletons. In almost every village I found from 8 to 16 houses deserted by their owners, who had gone to other districts.

"The condition of the middle class gentry is extremely bad.....An old man of sixty of this class, no longer able to conceal his condition, told me how he had at first sold all the jewellery of the women of his family, then he had sold the dishes and other metal vessels, and parted next with the stone cups and plate which were heirlooms in the family. Finally he had sold all the doors of the house,—except the front-door, and that had not been sold only in the vain effort to keep up appearances. He wept as he said all this. It was then 12 noon, and yet there was in his house nothing to cook. Without food, without cloth, all the members of the family were in great agony."

He then describes how in a village named Murakati within the jurisdiction of police station Taldangra a woman aged 40, named Bama Dasi, mother of Kedar Karmakar, fell down unconscious, because of want of food, and died after remaining in an unconscious condition for a whole night. From the list of villages in receipt of help from the various agencies, which he gives, it is clear that most affected villages are still without any assistance.

"In all the forty villages I have visited, there is dire scarcity of water. There is not a blade of grass in the fields. People are feeding their cattle on the straw taken from the thatching of their houses. A buffalo fell down off account of thirst. It was given six pitchers of water to drink; still it could not stand up. In some

villages there is water in one or two tanks only a cubit or two deep. Men and cattle bathe in that water, clothes are washed there in, and it is also used for cooking and drinking. Small-pox has broken out in some of these villages.

"Almost all the villages are without any special provision for drinking water. In some villages people dig holes in the sandy beds of the dried-up rivers, situated at a distance of one or two miles, and draw water from there with great difficulty.

"In a village near Bajjora, inhabited by gentle folk, I found at mid-day some 17 or 18 gentlewomen waiting in such a dry sandy river-bed under the scorching rays of the sun for sufficient water to accumulate in the six wells, each 2 or 3 cubits deep, which they had dug in the sand. Water was oozing out very slowly through the sand; the women were getting a cup-ful every three or four minutes. In this way, each of them had to spend an hour or two in filling her vessel. In the afternoon some two to two hundred and fifty people would come to the sandy river-bed for water; hence the gentlewomen referred to above had chosen the hottest part of the day to fetch water. One cannot refrain from shedding tears at the sufferings of these well-born women. To whatever village I have gone, I have been approached by people of all classes for the relief of their sufferings from water famine.

"In some places, people have given up bathing, because there is so little water. Reaching a village in the evening, I found that the people there drank the water of a tank in which there was only some 2 cubits of water. From within a radius of 2 miles people came to bathe in it and also use its water for drinking. Besides, some 200 buffaloes plunge in it every day. On hearing all these details I refused to drink its water; so water had to be brought for me from a distance of a mile and a half. What can be more dreadful than this? Men can live without food for some days, but not without water. If there be no rain within a

BANKURA FAMINE.



A group of famine-stricken people most of whom are Brahmins.

Photo by Bankura Sammilani

BANKURA FAMINE.



A group of members of respectable families who are at last forced to receive doles from the Bankura Sammilani.
Photo by Bankura Sammilani.

BANKURA FAMINE.



The pitiable condition of the cattles and the huts shown above.



The dilapidated huts of the village Chapardanga in Thana Taldangra.

BANKURA FAMINE.



The only tank used for drinking purpose at the most populous village of Harmasra, Thana Ta Jangra, completely dried up. Requires re-excavation. Estimated cost rupees two hundred. The tank is called Sarbanda.

Photo by Bankura Samitran

fortnight or so, many people will die of thirst.

"I humbly entreat Government and all the relieving agencies to save the lives of the people by excavating wells."

Wells with brick masonry walls would cost about Rs. 150 each; but bricks would not be available in most villages. Wells with circular burnt-clay walls made by the village potters would not cost more than Rs. 50 each, and would last a generation or more. *Kutch* wells cost some ten or fifteen rupees. On the whole the second kind of wells seems preferable. Out of the 4634 villages in the district perhaps not more than 2000 would require a well each. A lakh of rupees would, then, suffice to assuage their thirst. This is by no means a large sum for Government to spend, specially as they have an enormous sum in their hands, called the Famine Insurance Fund, raised by special taxation. The Social Service League and the Bankura Sammilani have already begun to do what they can. Government should at once publish a list of the villages which require wells, and dig them at their own expense, or call in the aid of the generous public. There is not a day to be lost. We in Calcutta have had no rain for about five months, but having a filtered water-supply we do not feel greatly troubled. It is different in the famine stricken area.

It is to be borne in mind that the wants of the people are fourfold: (1) want of food, (2) want of water, (3) want of clothes, (4) want of shelter. Many of the houses have not been thatched for two or three years, straw being scarce. In addition, some villages and houses have caught fire and been burnt down. There are besides the cattle to be provided for.

Famine Pictures.

A relief-worker, Babu Hariprasad Mallik, has written some heart-rending things in the *Sanjibani*. We are not equal to translating them, but nevertheless shall try to give a somewhat literal rendering.

"When thousands of men and women, somehow covering their emaciated skeleton-like bodies in tattered dirty clothes, or some in a half naked condition, stand before us; when our mothers, our sisters, giving up their sense of modesty, come to us in this state, fortifying their hearts with hope; and when we cannot give all of them a piece of old cloth each to preserve

their modesty, then how can we say what we feel? A piece of old cloth, a handful of rice,—rice of the worst and coarsest quality, we cannot give them even these; what then shall we say?

"Mother half-dead, infant near her bosom. Its agonised cry for sucking her breast; the mother, unmindful of her imminent death, trying to encircle and draw it close to her bosom with her weak and emaciated arms; her lips no longer able to articulate words, her eyes casting on the child a mute look of agony, and the curtain of death slowly dropping down; the simple child, unable to understand all this, still groping for the mother's breasts to suck, but the next moment stopping short and in silence assuming a grave look as of a sage:—these things we have seen. Say, what the feelings of the parents must be, if they should at all be capable of feeling. As for ourselves,—we shall not say what our feelings are. You may try to realise them. Try to imagine what feelings scenes like these give rise to.

"We have no language to explain what happens when hungry and thirsty men and women and children, exposed to the fierce rays of the midday sun, come to us for their doles of rice from distances of eight to ten miles, walking over the hot sands of a gravelly soil, and go back home in the darkness of the night with tottering steps traversing gravelly ground full of ups and downs."

"I have never seen a desert; but the picture of a desert which I had formed in my imagination seems to have materialised here. All around the bare gravelly ground pains the eyes to look upon; the tanks all dried up, some retaining a little muddy water; no grass in the fields; the verdant beauty of the extensive *sal* forests no longer to be seen, the leaves drying and falling down; the mango blossoms constantly drizzling down."

From all accounts, it is clear that larger and larger numbers of persons are coming within the grip of Hunger and Thirst. The sufferings of the people are getting more and more intense as day follows day. Cholera and small-pox have broken out in some villages. Cattle are half-dead, and dying in many places.

Large numbers of students will soon have their long summer vacation. We trust they will devote part of their time and energy to the service of the sufferers.

We entreat Government and the philanthropic bodies engaged in relieving distress to at once prepare and publish an exhaustive list of the places which are suffering from scarcity of food and water. Let the affected villages also form themselves into groups and form committees, and let these committees apply for help.

Rise and Disappearance of Political Rowdyism in Japan.

In his work on "The Educational System of Japan" Mr. W. H. Sharp, now Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, tells us that in Japan, as in India, almost all who attend the higher institutions are qualifying themselves to earn a living; and "the public service was at one time the most secure, dignified, and attractive of livings." Her *samurai*, says Mr. Sharp, were both the educated and the official class; they had been provided with a free education, and with a suitable position in the retinue of their feudal lords; and they were totally unfitted to earn their living in any other way. With the abolition of feudalism in the new era, all this was changed; the privileges and hereditary incomes of the *samurai* disappeared; despising work, and ignorant of business, many fell into great poverty and misery. It was useless for the Japanese Government to employ old-fashioned persons, trained on Chinese lines; it was necessary to employ young men educated for the new system of administration. "Though the eagle be starving, he will not eat grain," was the motto of some of those who were thus dispossessed of their former rights; "discontent, rebellions, assassinations followed, but victory remained with the new order."

This is a proof that unemployment and change in the economic condition and social position of a class of men may produce very serious political consequences. This is a fact which the Government and the leaders of the people of India should constantly bear in mind.

Mr. Sharp goes on to say that at that time the university was in Japan practically a school for turning out Government officials, who gradually took the place of the hundreds of foreigners at first employed; the *samurai* now called *shizoku*, supplying perhaps 80 per cent., a proportion which declined as the *heimin*, or commoners, began to take advantage of their new

rights, until now there are probably more commoners than gentry in the public service. The *samurai* were consequently driven to seek new fields of employment; but the idea still prevailed among all classes of the educated that for an educated man the public service was the only service. As Government offices came to have fewer and fewer vacancies, "there arose a new class of malcontents, young men who had obtained some education, but who were not able, or not qualified, to obtain posts. Hence came the *shoshi*, a class of political rowdies, who became notorious some years ago, but of whom little is heard now."

How did this change for the better come about? Let Mr. W. H. Sharp answer:—

"The removal of feudal restrictions on travel and occupations; the efforts of Fukuzawa and other influential men to develop the spirit of self-help, and to turn young men to professional and commercial careers; the influence of English economic doctrines; and I suppose, a certain amount of common sense on the part of those concerned; all tended to the solution of the problem."

"But," continues Mr. Sharp, "it would scarcely have been solved so rapidly, but for the enormous expansion of Japanese life in the last few years; it is the opening up of numerous industries and professions which at present affords plenty of room for those qualified to avail themselves of it, and until this came about the mere provision of technical schools and the like produced little effect."

We learn further that "the recent growth of material wealth has caused many young men to turn their eyes to the more remunerative [than the public service] paths of commerce, technics, or industry; and the colleges of literature or science no longer attract the ablest or the most ambitious of the university students."

Student Government.

In these days when attempts are being made to teach students their place by fining, expelling, rusticating, locking out or flogging them, it may be of some use to remember that in Princeton University in America there obtains a system of student government, which is most markedly developed in the "honour system" in examinations and written recitations, under which

every student signs a pledge on his paper that he has "neither given nor received assistance." There is no faculty or monitorial watch over students in examinations; the system is administered by a student committee, to which any dishonesty in examinations is to be reported, and which then investigates the charge, and if it finds it true reports the offender to the faculty for dismissal. This system of student government at Princeton extends to other spheres of discipline also. In Sir Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur there is a system of self-government by students. Here, too, there is no watch kept over the boys in examinations.

Anglo-Japanese Relations.

The Kobe Herald tells us that the *Peking and Tientsin Times* suggests the "despatch of a member of the British Royal Family to convey the king's personal congratulations to the Emperor of Japan upon his coronation," and hopes that this would have far-reaching results in improving existing relations between Japan and England. *The Kobe Herald* goes on to say:

Referring to recent discussions in the House of Peers, our Tientsin contemporary does not pretend to say whether Baron Den really believed the absurd report that British subjects in China were instigating the Chinese to boycott Japanese goods, or whether he dragged this rumour into publicity merely to enable Baron Ishii to scotch it. But it does say that in view of the German intrigues which have been afoot ever since the commencement of the war to estrange Japan and her principal Ally, it seems high time that a serious effort were made to establish more cordial and more sincere relations between the two countries

The Mission of Japan.

Japan too has begun to proclaim like every other belligerent country that her mission is to establish peace in this aggressive world. *The Kobe Herald* quotes an English translation of an article penned by Dr. Jakata, the Japanese Minister of Education, which has at least the quality of frankness. We cull the following from the same:

The principal reason for the outbreak of the present war is the existence of racial prejudice. There is no doubt about this. So if you wish to secure the future peace of the world, the first important problem to be solved is how to weaken and destroy the power of racial prejudice. Japan has tasted the bitter experience of falling into a difficult position on account of the racial prejudice of the white race. But to offer violence for violence, and prejudice against prejudice is no way to bring about the cessation of struggle and contention. The existence of such a condition in

the world presents a great obstacle to the development of the Japanese nation. As a fundamental principle of the Japanese nation in the future, we need, therefore, to live entirely above racial prejudice, playing our part on the world-stage in the humanitarian spirit of love, righteousness and friendship. In short, the ascendancy of militarism, aggressive policies and racial prejudice leads to world confusion. To try to remove the prejudice of others while harbouring prejudice oneself is the height of inconsistency. Looking at ourselves, we Japanese cannot say positively that we have no racial prejudice. From one point of view, we have a tendency to look at ourselves blindly as the "select people of God," as the Germans do. There seems to be too much self-confidence in us. Then, the self-confidence of the Germans is general, while that of the Japanese is restricted to warfare. Confidence in our ability to make great achievements in science, art, commerce and industry seems lacking. And then we have been victorious in the past and have no experience of defeat. From a certain point of view, therefore, this conception seems to be very dangerous for us. This is the point to which we must give the deepest consideration. Whether during the war or after the war, the Japanese nation should strive earnestly for peaceful achievements in commerce and industry.

Japan and Manchuria.

The Japanese are gradually capturing the trade of Manchuria. Even property there is passing from the Russians to the Japanese. *The Kobe Herald* quotes the Harbin correspondent of the *North China Daily News*, who says:

Thanks to the war Japanese imports are finding their way into northern Manchuria in ever-increasing quantities, for Russian wants must be satisfied now that neither Austrian nor German goods can enter, and old stocks are exhausted. Japanese imports for the use of the Chinese are also on the increase, for the wave of the Chinese settling movement not only along the whole course of the trans-Manchurian railway but also over the entire expansive Sungari plain, one of the richest granaries of northern Asia, is becoming larger and larger as years roll on and will not cease until the province of Heilungking can boast of twenty million or more inhabitants. The requirements of these Chinese settlers may be individually small, but on account of the number to be supplied the grand total is very respectable.

Piece-goods hold easily the first place amongst Japanese imports into north Manchuria, whilst other Japanese goods required by the Chinese include cotton yarns, haberdashery, matches, soap, paper, umbrellas (European style), hosiery, glassware, drugs and medicines, and dried sea and vegetable products. In Manchurian exports there is a great increase in Japanese activity, and this season Japanese exporters are very favourably placed; consequently a large portion of the export trade in North Manchuria has come into their hands.

Many Russian owned houses are also getting into Japanese hands. The Harbin householders are as a whole a motley crowd, drawn from all classes of society. The greater number made their money before or during the Russo-Japanese War and as most of them originally had been the reverse of well-off they considered that the best way to invest their newly made capital was to put it into real estate.

Harbin railway land, which has now such great value, is acquired on special leasing term from the railway authorities in regular lots, and as the title-deeds cost money the Japanese comes in handy. He lends money, on terms, however, which frequently result in his becoming owner of the property. In this manner numerous properties have in the past few years gone from Russian into Japanese hands, and the actual price paid by the latter for these buildings is usually far under the actual cost.

"If any time Russia decides to evacuate Manchuria," the correspondent opines, "Japan will step in and fill the breach created."

A Boy Sculptor.

Those who visited Mr. G. K. Mhatre's studio in Bombay in Christmas week last year must have been struck with some of the remarkable work done by the sculptor's son Master Shamrao, a boy of thirteen. His plaster model of the bust of his grandfather, Mr. Kashinath Mhatre, has won the second Sir Dorab Tata prize of Rs. 25 at the Art Exhibition held in the Bombay Town Hall in February last. We print side by side photographs of the boy's grandfather and the bust of "My grandfather" made by him. The likeness is striking; and there is life in the boy's work. We are also glad to be able to reproduce a photograph of a study by Master Shamrao named "The Grapes." There is no stiffness in the pose; it is natural; and the look of intelligence and cheerfulness in the girl's face is noteworthy.

Successful Indian Students in England.

The announcement has been made at Cambridge University, says *India*, that certain papers which have been submitted to the Degree Committee of the Special Board of Mathematics, by Mr. Srinivasa Ramanujam, of Trinity College, have been pronounced as of merit as a record of original research. This carries with it the degree of B. A., advanced students not being permitted to enter for triposes or special examinations. Mr. Ramanujam only received the ordinary Indian school education, and was formerly a clerk in the



"GRAPES."

Life-size.

By Shamrao G. Mhatre.



"MY GRANDEFATHER."

Life-size.

By Shamrao G. Mhatre

employment of the Madras Port Trust. His mathematical training remains a mystery. He is particularly brilliant in the theory of numbers and the theory of elliptic functions, and many of the theories he sent to Cambridge were quite new. Others had been anticipated by writers of whom he had never heard, and of whose work he was quite innocent. He discovered for himself a great number of things which the leading mathematicians of the last hundred years, such as Cauchy and Jacobi, had added to the knowledge of schoolmen. At Cambridge he has been learning modern mathematics, and in the opinion of a well-known expert, he is an infinitely finer mathematician than many who have become Senior Wranglers.

A meeting of the Senate of the University of London was held on February 23, when the degree of D.Sc. in organic chemistry was conferred upon Mr. Brajendranath Ghosh, of University College, and that of D.Sc. (Economics) upon Mr. John Matthai, of the London School of Economics.

Three Distinguished Students.

The name of Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., F.R.S., is familiar to our readers.



Original photograph from life of Shamrao's Grandfather.

He has contributed to our pages some valuable articles on Indian economics, on the maritime activity of the ancient Hindus. These latter have subsequently appeared as part of his well-known work on the history of shipping and maritime activity in ancient India. His book on the Fundamental Unity of India appeared in our pages in its entirety. We are glad, and our readers, we know, will be glad to learn that Mr. Mukerji has obtained the degree of Ph. D. of the Calcutta University. He has a valuable work on Chandragupta Maurya ready, which will be published when the war is over.

Professor Radha Kamal Mukerji, M.A., a younger brother of Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, is another of our well-known contributors who has obtained a high academic distinction this year. He has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship, which is considered the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University. An original work relating to the foundations of Indian economics which he has written will shortly be published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.

Mr. Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., whose original work "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity" has been deservedly praised by competent persons in India and abroad, has also won the Premchand Roychand Studentship. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji can be proud of this fact, as Mr. Law has been his pupil for years. Mr. Law's achievement is specially noteworthy, as, being the son of Maharaja R. C. Law, he belongs to a very wealthy family. The Laws are subarna-baniks (*lit.*, gold-merchants) by caste, and, as such, more noted for their business capacity and wealth than for scholarship. This makes Mr. Law's academic laurels unique. Besides the book referred to above, of which many portions appeared in our *Review*, he has written another scholarly work, namely, "Promotion of Learning in India by early European settlers up to about 1800 A. D.," published by Longmans.

Prof. C. V. Raman's work in Acoustics.

The number of original workers in science among Indians is small; whatever recognition, therefore, the work of any one of them receives cannot but afford pleasure to patriotic Indians. We are glad to note that in the new edition of the text-book on sound by Prof. E. H. Barton, D. Sc., F. R. S. E., of University College, Nottingham, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., three of the published investigations in acoustics by Prof. C. V. Raman are referred to.

The first is his theory of resonance under forces of double frequency. In this theory, Prof. Raman supplied the missing links necessary to reconcile the phenomena observed by Faraday, Melde and Lord Rayleigh with those indicated by the mathematical equations. The second is the work on the vibrations of bridge of the violin, the first instalment of which appeared sometime ago in the "Philosophical Magazine". The third comprises what Dr. E. H. Barton refers to as "the elegant experiments and photographic records" demonstrating an entirely new class of maintained vibrations, discovered by Prof. Raman. A special feature of interest is that one of the publications referred to was printed and published in India by the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

An Authorised Auditor of Accounts of Companies.

It is satisfactory to note that Mr. J. C. Das, B.Sc. (California), A.L.A.A. (London), a well-known practising auditor of Calcutta, has been given an un-restricted certificate by the Government of Bengal entitling him to audit Joint-Stock Com-

panies, including Insurance Companies, throughout British India. Mr. Das is one of the pioneers in Bengal who went abroad for Commercial Education and was educated in this special line in Japan, America and England. As early as 1908 we published in the *Modern Review* the news of his passing the Accountants' Examination in America securing 99% marks in Higher Accountancy. Mr. Das is the Lecturer on Banking and Currency at the Government Commercial Institute of Calcutta and has been connected with the Institute for the last six years. Mr. Das has already established a reputation as a successful Auditor. During his extensive travels in foreign lands he had seen and studied the working of many business concerns and his advice and suggestions to business people here should be very valuable. He has been, for some time past, entrusted with auditing accounts of various Companies throughout Bengal and is credited to have discharged his duties to the satisfaction of all concerned. As a Certified Auditor he is a specialist in the competition field of this special branch of work. We are glad to be able to say these words of him and to commend him to the business public in India.

The proposed Swarnamayi College.

Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar intends to found a well-equipped College in Calcutta and name it after his aunt, the late Maharani Swarnamayi of blessed memory. It is proposed to be located in the commodious Samavaya Mansions in Corporation Street. In view of the congestion in the Calcutta Colleges and of the not negligible number of students who, for want of room, are every year refused admission to them, we welcome the proposed establishment of a new college.

Government want our Colleges to be entirely or largely residential. This College would be largely residential, there being room in the building for 500 boarders, in addition to class-rooms, offices, hall, library, &c. Government want our Colleges to be endowed, as it is easier for endowed institutions than for unendowed ones to maintain discipline and endeavour to realise the ideals of education. This College will be endowed; and it will also be located in its own buildings. For the Maharaja, we hear, is owner of

two-thirds of the Samavaya Mansions and will soon acquire the remaining one-third. For these reasons, we think Government and the University ought to help the Maharaja in every way to give effect to his public-spirited desire to promote the cause of high education.

On theoretical grounds, it would be more desirable to establish Colleges in the mufasil than in a crowded city. But we have to look some stubborn facts in the face. No district of Bengal is at present healthy; Calcutta is healthier than any mufasil district. The same causes which have led to the desertion of Bengal villages, partly impell Bengali students to flock to Calcutta. Considerations of health, then, would make a Calcutta College preferable to a college in a district town. There is also another and a very important determining factor. When a public benefactor proposes to make a gift of a building worth many lakhs situated in a city, it is not reasonable to ask him to incur fresh expense to build a similar edifice in a country town at the cost of an equal amount of money. Money is not so cheap, nor are public benefactions in aid of high education so common in India that we can afford to dictate the how and where unnecessarily.

The building and site are as healthy as those occupied by any of the colleges in the northern part of Calcutta, and they are the majority, being more than 90 per cent. The proposed college would be within a few minutes' walk of the Maidan, and that is a great advantage. As for its proximity to a market and a theatre, Presidency College is within two minutes' walk of a theatre and a market. The Bethune College, the Scottish Churches College, and the Central College are within a few minutes' walk of several theatres and markets. There were, no doubt, unsavoury associations connected with Jaun Bazar Street, the former name of Corporation Street. But things have changed much latterly, and the vicinity of the Samavaya Mansions is quite respectable. And for that matter, a few minutes' walk can take one from the Scottish Churches College and some other colleges to the most infamous quarters of the town. No town or quarter of a town in Bengal is, we presume, proof against vicious inclinations or their gratification. The theatre near the Samavaya Mansions is a European theatre, and as such not likely to exercise so much in-

fluence on Indian students as Indian theatres do. Quite close to the proposed locality of the college is the Young Women's Christian Association, which, it is to be presumed, has not chosen a disreputable quarter for its location. The Free School, too, has existed in the neighbourhood for many decades. The Municipal Market close by is so orderly that even Indian ladies, not to speak of Indian gentlemen, go there to make purchases.

The most statesmanlike method of dealing with the unrest among students is to give them increasing opportunities of receiving a good education, and to remove, as far as possible, all reasonable causes of dissatisfaction. Any effort to cope with the situation by decreasing the facilities for high education or by preventing its further spread is bound to fail disastrously. The story of the disappearance of rowdiness among Japanese youth told in a previous note should be remembered in this connection. We are the people and of the people and know where the shoe pinches, better than any high placed official of the education, executive, police and other departments.

No part of Calcutta is either in fact or by law exclusively owned or occupied by Indians or Europeans, a circumstance favourable to the much-to-be-desired closer social relations of the races. The fact that the site of the proposed college is near a police station and the quarters where merchants, for the most part European, carry on business, would be a guarantee for good behaviour on the part of the students of the proposed college. We say this only to allay the apprehensions of persons who may have become unnecessarily alarmed at some recent occurrences. The real fact is, it is the easiest thing in the world to manage Indian students. They seldom give trouble, unless one provokes, harrasses, or insults them. To say that they are all or for the most part anarchists is a falsehood which interested parties alone would eagerly proclaim or accept.

In conclusion, we wish to say that taking all the circumstances into consideration, we do not think the University and Government can at present have a more acceptable proposal for a college. The best thing for them would be to sanction the establishment of the institution and make it gradually conform to a higher and

higher ideal. The worst would be to refuse affiliation, and thereby lend additional support to the public suspicion, which already exists, that, in spite of the declaration of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the contrary, there is in high official quarters strong opposition to education in general and high education in particular.

Presidency College Affairs.

The Enquiry Committee are said to have finished their labours. Their report is awaited with some interest.

Though Mr. James did not show himself to be a strong, considerate or competent principal, we are bound to say that in the recent incidents, he has not had fair treatment. Though he was appointed one of the members of the committee of enquiry, he was really one of the persons whose conduct was the subject of investigation. We do not, therefore, see how it was unreasonable, improper, or illegal for him to object to the personnel of the Committee. Even persons accused of heinous offences have the right to object to be tried by a particular court, though, of course, the objection may or may not be considered valid. But the fact of making such an objection is never held to go against a person. Then, as regards Mr. James's insulting a member of the Executive Council of the Bengal Government, that ought to have been a quarrel for the parties to settle among themselves, or, failing that course, it could have been referred to a law-court. We are lay men unversed in law, high esoteric politics, or bureaucratic methods. We cannot understand how the insulting of one European official by another can be one of the grounds for the practical dismissal of the latter. It may have violated the dignity of the former, it may have been a social or a legal offence, but it certainly was not *lese majesty*.

The treatment of the students has been one-sided and unfeeling throughout. Though a committee of enquiry has been appointed, there has been no waiting for its report. The students have been punished, and punished heavily, before and during the sittings of the Committee. The order to leave the hostel put many students to great inconvenience and much expense. Many had no time even to take their meals, and some, though ill, had to leave in that weak condition. The holding of the

annual examination at very short notice is another grievance. It is natural and right to expect students to pay the same respect to their *gurus* as to their parents. But even parents when punishing their sons are expected to give indications of the possession of a feeling heart.

Certificates of popularity depend for their value on circumstances. When during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, much was sought by the defence to be made of the fact of Hastings having been almost adored by some Indians, the reply was given that in India even serpents were worshipped.

Lord Carmichael on Presidency College Affairs.

Lord Carmichael's Convocation speech consisted mostly of observations on the Presidency College affairs. What he said was considerate, sympathetic and statesmanlike. He said :—

Mistakes, if such have been made, must be brought home to those who made them. Misunderstanding must be cleared up. If the system has been at fault it must be changed. For we must have a cordial working together of teachers and the taught.

He quoted from the *Manu Samhita* to show what the old Indian traditional sentiments governing the relations between the teacher and the taught were. But he forgot, and many others have made the same mistake, that the whole system of education has changed, that the modern teachers do not stand *in loco parentis* as their predecessors in ancient India did, and that the modern teachers do not conform or come up to the old ideals. Under the circumstances, it is not reasonable to judge modern students by the old ideals. Ideals to be binding must be binding on both the teachers and the taught; and it should not also be forgotten that the old rules and penalties were laid down by the teachers, and they made things comfortable for themselves, it may be unconsciously, at the expense of the students.

Regarding the ideals of honour of Bengali students His Excellency said :—

My experience about students is not so great as yours; but such as it is, it leads me to believe that Bengalee students—quite as much as any students elsewhere have high ideals of honour and of duty; and that their aim is honourably to live noble lives. Here as elsewhere, their ideal may not be always clearly defined; here as elsewhere students may at times confuse the true with the false; here as elsewhere, students may do foolish perhaps even wrong things

in the heat of the moment, or at times deliberately but I believe they are as generous here, and as ready to give and take as they are elsewhere.

We are in hearty agreement with the sentiments expressed in the following passage:—

I look back on things that happened many years ago, more than once in other countries where a fault was committed against college discipline and the authorities did not know who had committed it. I ask myself what course did the college authorities take. What consideration public opinion and student opinion gave them to take? Did they telephone to the Commissioner of Police to come and help them to find the offender? Did they come to them about it? They placed the punishment on the shoulders of the body of students directly concerned, but not with the object of punishing any student for a crime or for something others. To try to obtain retribution in such a way from others than the offender is equivalent to give information about other people's domestic affairs, a dishonourable student duty, whether in England or in Bengal. No! The duty is to the honour of the offenders themselves, to believe that the offenders would value freedom more than they dreaded punishment, and would come forward to bear the punishment due to them. I know individuals will not always in fact do this. But I should always have expected my fellow students as a whole to feel that they ought to do it, and to look to individuals to justify that expectation. I wish to see no coercion that this is not so here. Yet many people tell me it is not. If you know that it is not, and you who have just finished your time as students must know—for the sake of your good name, for the sake of your own chance of getting for yourself some things which I know you want to get, and which I want you to get, and for the sake of your fellow countrymen whose future condition must depend on the reputation which educated Indians hold in the eyes of the world, I would beg you to try, and bring about a change of student feeling. From my knowledge of Bengalis I feel sure that this idea of honour will appeal to you if only you clearly grasp it. I feel sure that Bengali students will never respect men who are so cowardly as to let others suffer for their fault. I do not believe that Bengali students are cowards either morally or physically.

That the Police Commissioner should have been allowed to meddle in the affair, shows the spirit in which things have been handled;—it shows that our students are looked upon in some official quarters (including some European Principals and Professors) more as possible criminals deserving of repression, than as young men who are to be educated to become free citizens. It is this fact which probably explains the failure of His Excellency's appeal to evoke a response from the assailants of Prof. Oaten. From what we know of our students, we think the assailants would have, as His Excellency expected, come forward, to bear the consequences of their act, if those con-

sequences could be expected to take only the form of even the severest college disciplinary punishment. But as matters stand, the assailants, whenever discovered, would most probably be presumed to have connection with anarchists, and as such would be interned and dealt with in a severer manner subsequently. For several years past and particularly during some recent months many of our students, including some of the best in character and intellect, are being dealt with in such a manner that their troubles would perhaps last as long as their lives. An inexpressibly gloomy thought for them and for the nation.

The Vice-Chancellor's Pronouncement.

In the course of his convocation address the Vice-Chancellor observed:

"Our tradition is well founded in moral laws, and our tradition has put the law into our own hands. Where unfortunately there is a just grievance, the redress must be left to the judgment of the authorities. If this great lesson be not thoroughly and assiduously applied in life all round, we shall never really graduate in the self-government."

Indications have been discernibly in evidence of late that some students so forget what is due to themselves, their guardian, and their colleges as to let their protests take the shape of unwarrantable combination and strike, sometimes worse in preference to constitutional methods of redress for grievance, once they are clearly open to them. When they forget themselves like this they also forget that the mere fact of going on what is known as strike, not only makes them liable to academic penalties, but they also voluntarily reën their connection with the college, which may be more than offset by re-establishing the college chooses to take other than a lenient view of their case. The University in which control and discipline are vested by law cannot tolerate such a deplorable state of affairs, and is determined eternally to put down disorder and violation of discipline if it stir.

One would like to know how the university would deal with undisciplined professors. It would also be helpful if students were given some guidance as to what they should do when they do not get any redress by referring things to the judgment of the authorities. We suppose in such circumstances it is as legitimate and lawful for students to go on strike as it is for carters and mill-hands. Perhaps our graduates and undergraduates combined may be credited with the power to take as intelligent a view of things as our carters and mill-hands. Law and order we all understand and appreciate, but we cannot make a fetish of them as they are sometimes interpreted. We should not take

it for granted either that the students are always right, or that their teachers are always right.

The Vice-Chancellor on the Expansion of High Education

We find ourselves in general agreement with the Vice-Chancellor's observations on the methods to be adopted in coping with the increasing number of students.

While all interested in the country's advancement must rejoice that high education is making big strides, there is the other side of the question of which note has to be taken. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the present arrangements are proving altogether insufficient. On the other hand stringent artificial measures advocated in some quarters for keeping down numbers would be no real solution. The normal method of coping with increasing numbers, would, therefore, be a proportionate increase in the number of colleges and of duplication of classes in existing colleges within proper limitations, for which I must plead again with all the earnestness I can command. The Government and the people, as well as the University, have enormous obligations in the matter that cannot be ignored. Infinite, patient, sympathetic and self-sacrificing efforts on a large scale will be promptly needed to cope with the situation, if we are to profit by the progress that has been given so excellent a start and that must not be dwarfed or arrested, because of its seeming rapidity.

While we undoubtedly need more colleges, the suggestion cannot, however, be entertained that they should be tolerated, except on sound lines, taking every circumstance into consideration, and upon compliance with the regulations.

I was much struck by the observations of a prominent and thoughtful European Member of the Senate in another concern of late, when he urged that "mere lack of tick and mortar should not be the standard of exclusion." That would be sad indeed, where there is a genuine and widespread desire for learning.

Lord Curzon, the author of the Universities Act and the promoter of the Regulations under which we work, strongly protested against the "monopoly of the best education by the few" and earnestly pleaded for its "diffusion among the classes who are worthy of it." His Lordship strongly urged that "the interests of the Government and the people in this matter are identical," for "an ignorant India is a discontented India," while "the really well-educated Indian is also the best citizen." Those who would discount a "discontented India" and would put a premium on and wish to see a rapid increase of our "best citizens," cannot possibly subscribe to the cult of artificially checking the numbers.

His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to tell the Benares assemblage that "the Government realizes that the greatest boon the Government can give to India is the diffusion of higher education." His Excellency would, thus, trust to no mere filtration downwards, but aims at diffusion. No one has the right to call a 'halt.'

"Educational problems," in Lord Hardinge's words, "have a way of stirring up more feeling than almost any other social question." The difficulties I am now indicating are by no means new or exclusive and educational systems elsewhere have been

equally liable to them. A noted writer describing a similar situation in another country spoke of two seemingly antagonistic forces—"one striving to achieve the greatest possible extension of education and the other to minimise and weaken it." "The one would spread learning among the greatest possible number and the other would limit it to the favoured few and make it renounce its highest claims." The struggle between the movement for limiting and concentrating education and for strengthening and securing its independence have long gone on in many countries including ours in the past, and the latter has generally prevailed. We have carefully to steer clear of thoughtless impetuosity and of equally thoughtless sneer and banter, against which every Vice-Chancellor and every earnest University worker has to show himself proof.

We hope these observations will be borne in mind by all concerned in discussing the application of the proposed Swarnamayi College for affiliation.

Indian Students and British Professors.

There is no doubt that there are well-meaning and fair-minded men among British professors in India. But the relation in which the British people have hitherto stood and still stand to India, not in theory but in practice, make it difficult for the best British professors to exercise on their Indian pupils the influence which an ideal teacher ought to be able to exercise on his pupils. We dwelt on some of the reasons in an article published in the April number of this Review in 1912, from which an extract is given below.

"In England the political status, aims and goals of both students and professors are the same. The student is, or may be, when he comes of age, as much a citizen as his professor. There is no desire, inducement or thought in the professor's mind to keep his students in political tutelage or subordination."

"Supervision and control of students with a political object in view is nowhere absent, degenerating in parts of our country into actual shadowing and spying. We are not here discussing how far such a state of things may or may not have arisen from political or administrative necessity, we are stating circumstances as they are. And these circumstances lead many, if not most, European professors, to bring to their work the minds of police superintendents to some extent, making them look upon their students as potential political offenders. We do not see how mutual love and confidence can grow in such an atmosphere. Nor do we see how manhood can develop under such circumstances."

"In England, professors and students can and do mix on terms of perfect racial and social equality. They belong to the same community, race and society. In India European professors and some Indian professors, too, cannot and do not mix on terms of social equality with their students. They belong to different communities, races and societies. However affable English professors here in India may be, the gulf between them and their students, generally speaking, is impassable, so long, at any rate, as India continues to be treated as the

Cinderella of the British Empire. This may be a harsh truth, but it is a fact which it is perfectly useless to conceal or blink.

"In England the intellectual and cultural aims and goals of professors and students are the same and are not in any way antagonistic. An English professor there naturally desires and intends that his English students should in time equal him, nay, he must often be delighted with the prospect of his students leaving him behind in the race, and outshining him in original work and name and fame.—What a great stimulus all this must be to the work of both teachers and students! In India do the European professors welcome the prospect of their Indian students becoming their equals, not to speak of their being superior to them in culture in intellectual equipment and strength, in original work and in position? Or do they work with such a prospect in view to hump about its realisation?"

China and Monarchy.

The Reuter's telegram announcing that China has definitely abandoned monarchy and resumed the Republic appears to be true. A month ago the *Asiatic Daily News* published an "Imperial Decree," announcing the official postponement of Yuan-Shih-Kai's accession to the throne. The following summary of the Decree was given by the *North China Daily News*:

"Memorials from various places have been received, requesting me to assume the Throne as soon as possible. The patriots have doubtless the aim of permanent peace in view. But the authorities must bear the responsibility of studying the signs of the times. During the present disturbance started by Yunnan and Kweichow and spreading to west Hunan and south Szechuan, where our people are being trampled upon, my painful thought of our people's suffering prevents me from enjoying my sleep and food. Moreover, there is no lack of the strangest rumours fabricated by treacherous persons. The latter have even made capital out of my earnest desire to save the country and the people. Should I mount the Throne at once, how can I satisfy my own conscience? As I have made up my mind to postpone the occasion, let all memorials and telegrams embodying such a request in future be not submitted to me."

Japan's Intention regarding China.

The *Asahi* of Osaka, a Japanese paper, explains that, judging from the past history of China,

the diplomatic policy of China is always to restrain one country by making use of another country. In 1196, China concluded a secret treaty of six conditions with Russia with a view to sweeping Japan's influence from the Korean peninsula. Availing of this treaty, Russia was able to extend the Siberian Railway as far as Manchuria, and Russia then gradually encroached upon the East. She became very active, and in the end her policy gave rise to a collision between Japan and Russia which lasted for several years. There was no peace in the Orient at that time. That is to say, peace in the Far East invariably depends upon China, and the outlook is regularly disturbed by her favourite

diplomatic policy. In other words, peace in the Orient cannot be truly safeguarded so long as Japan does not make China abandon her diplomatic policy vis-à-vis the various Powers. The shortest way to make China give up her chronic policy is to induce her to realise the powerlessness of her policy, and in order to make China realise that, the best way is to make China recognise Japan's superior position, which is paramount to that of all other Powers. Because this would mean that Japan was formally recognised as the Powers' representative in China. On the whole, the Osaka paper regards the recognition of Japan's superior position in China as of paramount importance. It is more important than the conclusion of an Alliance between Russia and Japan.

This means in plain language that Japan seeks to be the overlord of China. Should this ambitious desire be fulfilled, she might be able to lord it over the whole of Asia.

Further indication of Japan's intention is found in the speeches made at a political meeting held recently. In the course of the dinner which followed,

several men spoke. All of them said that President Yuan should be held responsible for the present unrest in his country, and that the disturbances gave Japan a capital opportunity for employing a strong hand in China and for driving him out of power and restoring peace.

The Resolution adopted at the meeting reads:—

"Resolved, that the present disturbances in China are entirely due to the maladministration of the Yuan government, and that we recognize the revolts in the various parts of China in opposition to Yuan-Shih Kai's ambition to attain the Crown of China as justifications on the part of the people of China, and are determined to see Yuan-Shih-Kai resign his post as soon as possible."

Professor Hamilton's Deputation to Japan.

Professor Hamilton has been deputed by Government to visit Japan and ascertain, among other things, what the Japanese Government has done to bring about the industrial prosperity of Japan. This cannot be a substitute for an investigation made on the spot by a representative of the people; it is rather an additional reason for us to send such a representative to Japan, in order that he may be able to write a report containing information similar to what Lala Lajpat Rai conveyed to his countrymen through the three articles on the Evolution of Japan which he recently contributed to this Review. We should never forget that when in the course of his address as President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce the Hon'ble Mr. Stewart was candid enough to declare that "it must be very many

years before India can supply even a fair proportion of her home requirements and that, incidentally, it will not particularly suit Britain when India can do so," he only gave honest expression to what the generality of the British people, including Anglo-Indian officialdom, have hitherto regarded as the proper economic relation between Great Britain and India. We are not eager to discredit Prof. Hamilton's report in advance, but wish that there should be a report from the people's point of view also to supplement and, if need be, to correct the former.

The Industrial Commission.

The terms of reference and personnel of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate and give advice on the industrial possibilities of India, are not entirely satisfactory. The President, Sir Thomas Holland, when head of the Geological Survey Department, was not known to be disposed to encourage Indians to desire to hold high posts in that department. As administration and exploitation, in Lord Curzon's phraseology, are two sides of the same shield, we do not think Sir Thomas would be friendly to the Indians' desire to exploit the resources of their own country. Sir Rajendranath Mukherji has great experience of engineering, railway construction and business in general; but we do not know what expert knowledge he possesses of manufacturing processes or concerns. So, we think, Dr. P. C. Ray ought also to be made a member, as well as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. The number of Indian members should be at least equal to that of the European members.

As regards the terms of reference, they should have included all that Sir Ibrahim asked for, *not excluding issues relating to the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India*; as these are vital, Sir Ibrahim wanted the following points among others, to be considered :—

(1) Whether representation should be made to the Home authorities through the Secretary of State for securing to the Government of India full fiscal autonomy, specially in reference to import, export and excise duties.

(2) Whether (a) protection, (b) granting of bounties and subsidies, (c) guaranteeing certain rates of interest on capital invested in approved industries, should be availed of in such cases and for such time as may be deemed necessary.

(3) Whether a special expert staff should be maintained to carry on research work and institute detailed enquiries into the possibility of successfully

initiating and establishing new industries in India and to supply expert advice for the development of existing industries.

(4) What means should be employed for securing a sufficient supply of skilled labour.

(5) What special railway facilities in the matter of fares and otherwise are needed.

(6) Whether any special measures are necessary to attract capital and secure banking facilities.

Japanese State Aid for the Development of Japan's Chemical Industries.

Our readers have learnt from Lala Lajpat Rai's articles some of the methods and means adopted by the Japanese Government to create, and foster the development of Japanese industries. The following extract from the *Board of Trade Journal* gives additional information :—

The Japanese Government will pay three subsidies : one, to a company specialising in the manufacture of dye-stuffs whose capital is at least 6,000,000 yens ; the second, to a company manufacturing glycerine and carboic acid, whose capital is at least 1,200,000 yens, and the third to a company manufacturing drugs whose capital must be at least 500,000 yens. Any one who desires to organise a subsidised company for the manufacture of dye-stuffs and chemicals must apply to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce for permission to establish the projected concern, but in the case of drugs permission should be sought from the Minister for Home affairs. When part of the capital is paid up, the first general meeting of the shareholders completed, and the new company duly registered in the courts, the promoters of the Company are entitled to ask for a subsidy.

The Government guarantees to each Company a dividend of 8 per cent. per annum, making up any deficit. Each Company must lay aside one twentieth of its net annual profit as a reserve fund. A special reserve fund is also to be provided in order that the Company may become self-supporting, as soon as possible, and to this fund will go half of the excess net profits after the dividend of 8 per cent. per annum has been paid. The balance of the excess may be distributed amongst the shareholders, the maximum dividend from this source not exceeding 1 per cent. per annum ; the residue will be included in the special reserve fund.

The conduct of the subsidised Companies will be under the strict surveillance of the Government.

Size of Colleges and Classes in Colleges.

European educational and other officials are greatly anxious to keep down the number of students in colleges and college classes. If the country could afford to have a very large number of colleges, we would not care to object. But as matters stand, to have small classes and small colleges is to deny education to a very large number of our youth. Moreover, we do not admit that it is better to have no education than to have education in large colleges and large classes. We have both taught and been taught in large

classes and can speak from personal experience. It is sufficient only to have an adequate number of tutors; and that is far more easily and practicable than to establish a large number of colleges,—to which latter course also officials are opposed.

Large classes do not in themselves imply inefficient education. "The Student's Handbook to the University and Colleges of Cambridge," 1914-1915, tells us:

"A great part of University and College teaching consists of lectures, delivered to audiences varying from 10 to 300 students, under the formal conditions of the lecture room."

If in wealthy England and in such a superior seat of learning as Cambridge lecturing to even 300 students is not considered "bad" education, how is it "bad" in India to lecture to a class of more than 150, or, as in the Allahabad University, to even more than 60? As we have observed before, what would be reasonable to insist upon is the employment of a sufficient number of tutors, as in Cambridge.

As for "individual teaching in colleges," Prof. J. N. Fraser, editor of *Indian Education*, writes in the March number of his journal:—

Much is said of the need for individual teaching in colleges and of the impossibility of giving this to large numbers. We think it would be more sensible to recognise at once that individual teaching in colleges is neither possible nor desirable. The place for individual teaching is the school: a young man is not fit to go to college till he is able to stand alone. College lectures should of course be suitable to the average student, and the professor should spare no pains to be audible and intelligible, but it is not his business to spend time after his lectures explaining points to the densely stupid and ill-prepared. To impose this on him is simply to ruin all college ideals. The students on whom a professor may and should spend time are the able students, and it should be left to him which he chooses to cultivate. A professor should make it his business to start small societies for the benefit of these and try to get them to do a little original thinking. But to ask him to give monotonously a few minutes per week to every student—good, bad and indifferent—is to mistake the nature of college work and ideals.

"The Empire means freedom."

In his pamphlet named "The British Empire and the War," published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, Mr. E. A. Benians says:

"The leading idea of our Empire is the association and free development of a group of peoples. The Empire means freedom."

This is true so far as the white people inhabiting the Empire are concerned. It is

not true as regards the non-white and non-European peoples, who form the vast majority. The estimated total population of the British Empire in 1911 was 434,286,650, of which 60,000,000, or less than one seventh were white. Where more than six-sevenths are not free, it is an abuse of words to say that "the Empire means freedom," it would be truer to say, "The Empire means the administration and exploitation of vast territories by a very small minority."

The British Press on England's Blockade of Germany.

The British newspapers print figures to show that England is actually feeding Germany, and the *London Morning Post* alleges that Germany is obtaining "through neutral countries essential supplies to an amount exceeding the amount imported by her in times of peace."

It will be recalled that Holland and the Scandinavian neutrals are allowed by England to import what they will, under a gentlemen's agreement that such supplies will not be re-exported to Germany. How this works in practice we learn from Mr. Basil Clarke, the special commissioner of the *London Daily Mail* in Scandinavia. Writing of Denmark he says:

"She is exporting, of course. To whom? She is exporting to Germany, to Sweden, and a tiny morsel to Russia. But the vast bulk of her export goes to Germany either directly, by train or ship, or via Sweden, where obliging workmen, disguised *pro tem* with the title 'merchant consignee' (but whose whole stock in trade consists perhaps of a hammer, some nails, and a batch of labels), change the labels on the goods and perhaps turn upside down the marked ends of the packing cases, and then re-consign the goods to Germany."

"And they may even leave Sweden in the very railway-trucks and cases in which they have arrived and travel to Germany back through Denmark in sealed trucks over which the Danish customs have no control."

The British Board of Trade returns of foreign commerce show that the northern neutrals are importing abnormally large quantities of certain supplies, and from *The Daily Mail*, which quotes these official returns, we learn that while in 1913 Denmark imported 4,750,000 bushels of corn, in 1915 she took no less than 10,950,000 bushels, a curiously rapid trade-increase. Again, in 1913 Holland and the Scandinavian neutrals imported 1,417,000 barrels of flour, while last year's figures were nearly four times that amount, namely 5,100,000, barrels. The growth in the

appetite of these countries for bacon during the same period is remarkable, for the amount imported grew from 30,900,000 pounds to 91,500,000 pounds. Equally strange is the desire for new shoes shown by these neutrals: in 1913 they bought 462,000 pairs, while two years later no less than 4,800,000 pairs were demanded. Cotton jumped from 53,000 to 1,000,000 bales, and, despite these large purchases, there seemed to be plenty of money for automobiles, for while these four little nations could only afford to import cars to the value of \$1,300,000 two years ago, the amount expended in 1915 was \$20,100,000.

"In 1913 the whole of Denmark's importation of rice did not reach 3,000 tons; in 1915 that of Copenhagen alone was much more than 16,000. From the Argentine that country imported in ten months of 1915 over 11,000 tons of linseed oil, whereas in 1914 she imported none. The total Danish imports of pork were 950 tons in 1913, last year they had risen to 12,500 tons. The same story is told of lard, starch, meal, coffee, tea, and cocoa.

"Of course, all these commodities are consigned to Danish purchasers, under guaranties that they are not intended for the enemy. . . .

"No sane person will believe that the Danish people have suddenly developed such a passion for pork that they must increase their consumption by 1,300 per cent, or that every man, woman, and child in Denmark requires the daily bath in cocoan with which the 23,000 tons they now import would appear to be intended to provide them. The only possible inference from these figures is that we are being deluded, and are feeding Germany in our own despite."

No wonder the conclusion of the German press with regard to England's blockade of the German coast is that it is "a nuisance, not a menace."

Trade Relations with the Enemy after the War.

In England there is a considerable volume of opinion demanding that after the conclusion of the war there should be no *free* trade with what are now enemy countries. This one can understand. In India the Anglo-Indian demand seems to be that after the war the citizens of what are now enemy countries should not be allowed to trade in or with India. Such a state of things would be highly injurious to our interests. Germany and Austria are large purchasers of Indian raw materials, they are also among our suppliers of cheap goods. When peace has been concluded, why should India lose good customers? And why should she not have the advantage of buying from the cheapest foreign markets? It would, of course, be quite another matter if by the imposition of high protective

tariffs on *all* imported manufactures (including British) and with other forms of state-aid, India could supply most of her own home requirements. But so long as she has to import manufactures largely, she must certainly have the liberty of choosing her suppliers. And in any case, as the present blockade shows, it would not be possible to stop the overseas trade of enemy countries. What, then, would be the advantage in paying middlemen belonging to neutral countries?

The "risk" of adverse Public opinion.

At a recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, an official member, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar is said to have observed that if people accused Government of lip sympathy in the matter of fostering education, Government could not help incurring that risk. Under the system of Government at present obtaining in India, it is perfectly easy to make a defiant and cynical remark like the above. But it is certain that if there had really been any "risk" in flouting Indian public opinion and rousing public resentment, the Hon'ble member would not have had the courage to make any such observation.

Chancellorship of Calcutta University.

The ideal is that universities should not be under official control. But so long as such control exists, it is better that the official controlling authority should feel the force of public opinion than otherwise. If the Governor of Bengal were the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Bengal public would be in a better position to make its voice heard than is the case now with the supreme controlling authority dwelling on the far-off heights of Simla or among the distant dynastic monuments of Delhi. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, therefore, did well to move in the Imperial Council:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to consider the advisability of placing the University of Calcutta on the same footing with the Universities of Madras and Bombay in respect of the relations between the Calcutta University and the Head of the Local Government for purposes of administration and control."

He suggested that the resolution could be given effect to in the following way:

"This is what section 28, clause 2, of the Universities Act of 1904, says:—

"The Chancellor may delegate any power con-

ferred upon him by the Act of Incorporation or this Act to the Rector."

"Since, therefore, the Chancellor is at liberty to delegate any or all his powers, my submission is this. Let the Chancellor delegate his powers in respect of colleges within the territorial limits of Bengal to the Governor and let him retain control over the other Provinces. I think that section justifies such a course. So far as Bengal is concerned let the Chancellor delegate the powers that are vested in him—and the Section gives him the authority—in respect of the affiliated institutions in Bengal—and they are 41 in number, Sir, out of 48—retaining his power in respect of the institutions outside the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal.

This is quite reasonable. When Bihar, Burma and Assam have their own Universities, the Governor of Bengal may be made the Chancellor of the Calcutta University in name as well as in reality.

The Governor of Bengal has to do only with Bengal politics, whereas the Viceroy has his head full of Imperial politics. Under such circumstances, Bengali opinion has, in the long run, a greater chance of influencing the provincial Governor than the Viceroy. Besides, it is easier for the Bengalis to have access to their Governor than to the Viceroy.

Imperial and Provincial Budgets.

In the Indian viceregal and provincial councils, the official view of things prevails more by the number of the official and the nominated non-official votes than by its reasonableness and justice; by which we do not imply that all reason is on the side of the elected non-official members or that the official and the nominated non-official members always say unreasonable things. But the general situation is as we have put it. Therefore, while not saying that the detailed discussion of the imperial and provincial financial statements is entirely useless, we are of opinion that our energies ought to be concentrated more on obtaining such reforms as would constitute the elected non-official member a decided majority in the councils, than on a week's discussion of the budgets.

Military Expenditure

Military expenditure engrosses too large a proportion of our revenues. In the revised estimates for 1915-16, the total Imperial and provincial revenues amount to £82,506,000, and the military expenditure amounts to £21·8 millions, or more than one-fourth of the total revenues. Again, in the budget estimates for 1916-17, the total revenues amount to £86,199,000,

and the net expenditure on military services amount to £22 million, or more than one-fourth of the total revenues.

Such is not the case in the only oriental country noted for its military strength, we mean Japan. In the working budget of Japan for 1915-16 the revenue amounts to 557,191,776 yen. The ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the War Department comes up to 83,136,342 yen, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total revenue. It is only if we add the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the Navy Department also, that the total defensive and offensive expenses amount to 155,040,531 yen, or more than one-fourth of the total revenue. It is to be borne in mind that India has no navy, and could, therefore, be insulted by the *Emden*. It is also superfluous to compare the Indian army with the army of Japan as regards strength, efficiency, national character, &c.

So far as the amount of expenditure on the Indian army is concerned, it may be necessary even to increase it. But as our army serves not only India, but also the British Empire outside India, and as the possession of India and its tranquility go to enrich Great Britain, the Imperial Treasury in London should bear an equitable share of our military expenditure. The fact that many of the greatest British generals had India for their training ground and field of experience lends additional strength to our contention.

If the commissioned ranks of the army were thrown open to Indians, there would be some consolation for the enormous military expenditure.

If India could be made more wealthy by her sons being enabled by education and by state encouragement, help and legislation to develop the resources of their country, £22 million would not appear too large an amount to spend on the army.

Education and the Police

It is recognized that on account of the war there must be retrenchment. But, whereas the emoluments of the highly paid covenanted civilians have increased, the provincial budgets for 1916-17 provide for smaller educational expenditure than in 1915-16, except in Bombay and Madras, as the following figures will show:—

BUDGET.

	1915-16.	1916-17.
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal	1,05,62,000	88,30,000
Bombay	76,86,000	77,54,000
Madras	77,69,000	80,87,000
United Provinces	67,31,000	61,54,000
Punjab	44,66,000	42,76,000
Burma	31,31,000	31,32,000
Behar and Orissa	37,65,000	37,22,000
Central Provinces	34,04,000	32,83,000
Assam	15,29,000	15,18,000
	4,90,46,000	4,70,56,000

There is thus on the whole a *decrease* of about twenty lakhs of rupees in educational expenditure.

The following table gives the expenditure on the police in the different provinces :-

BUDGET.

	1915-16.	1916-17.
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal	1,05,35,000	1,09,62,000
Bombay	1,12,04,000	1,10,09,000
Madras	1,12,26,000	1,16,71,000
United Provinces	1,21,24,000	1,26,07,000
Punjab	61,26,000	70,11,000
Burma	1,36,08,000	1,39,99,000
Behar and Orissa	48,52,000	47,83,000
Central Provinces	36,21,300	37,00,000
Assam	25,29,000	25,33,000
	7,64,25,000	7,82,75,000

Except in Behar and Orissa, and Bombay, there has been an increase everywhere, resulting in a total *increase* of more than eighteen lakhs.

We do not certainly like to be killed, maimed, injured, or robbed; and, therefore, appreciate the existence of the police,—except so far as they themselves are a source of unmerited trouble. But we certainly consider education not less important than policing. To be plain, we consider the work of the educator far more important, indispensable and essential than that of the policeman. And why? That requires the consideration of another question, namely,

Why Policing is required.

The police department is needed because men are morally not as good as they ought to be, and also because some men are economically not as well off as they require to be. In other words, the better men become morally and economically, the less does society require the aid of the police. Here comes in

The work of the Educator.

It is by education that moral and material improvement can be brought about.

So that the more a state spends on the right sort of education, the less would it require to spend on the police.

We can imagine an ideal condition of society in which the need of police interference would be *nil* or next to nothing, but the educator will be required in all states of society. In fact, with the progress of humanity, the work of the educator will gain in importance, and receive increasing appreciation.

It may be an unpleasant truth, but it is a truth all the same, that a government which spends more on the police than on education, is still wedded to the traditions of uncivilized rule. Militarism and police-rule are akin. When Englishmen denounce German militarism, do they bear in mind this fact?

The "ma-bap" theory.

British officials in India think or profess to think that they are the "ma-bap," the parents, of the people, though in reality they are public servants or servants of the public. But let us take it for granted that they are really *in loco parentis*, and stand in the relation of parents to the dumb millions.

What does the father of a family do for his children? Does he think it more important to keep some strong men armed with big sticks to prevent the boys and girls from fighting among themselves, than to make good arrangements for their education, so that they may be disposed to live together amicably? The answer is obvious.

Kalidasa in his *Raghuvansa* says of King Dilipa :

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणोदपि ।

स पिता, पितरस्मादां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

"He was in the position of a father to his people.....because he arranged for their education, protection and maintenance."

It is not a mere accident that the great poet mentions education first among the duties performed by the great king Dilipa.

Sanitation and the Police.

People pay more to lawyers than to physicians; property is considered more valuable than health and life. A similar state of things is observable in the expenditure incurred by some governments. They spend more on the police than on sanitation.

Let us consider the question only from the point of view of economic gain or loss; and for that purpose let us take a particular province, namely, Bengal.

Economists consider that a human life has a certain money value, depending on its earning capacity. In England this value is taken to be Rs. 25,000 per life. In our country the average income per head is officially estimated to be about Rs. 30 per annum, and the average duration of life is less than 24 years. Therefore the value of an Indian life would be Rs. 720. Let us take it to be Rs. 500. In Bengal in the year 1914, there were 489 cases of murder and 302 of culpable homicide; or, say, there were altogether 800 persons killed. The death of 800 persons involved an economic loss of Rs. 500 multiplied 800, or only four lakhs. In the same year 1914, the number of deaths from cholera, a preventible disease, was 89,224, involving an economic loss of Rs. 4,46,12,000, or more than four crores. In the same year 10,61,041 persons died of fevers. It would not be an overestimate to assume that five lakhs of these deaths were due to malarious fever, a preventible disease. These five lakh deaths mean an economic loss of twenty-five crores of rupees. There were deaths from other preventible diseases which we do not take into account. It is not the deaths alone which cause economic loss. The periods of illness and convalescence, the permanent invalidation of many, the expenses of treatment, the unproductive expenditure of time in nursing the sick,—these all cause economic loss. The seriousness of this kind of loss will be understood from the following figures. In Italy some 15,000 persons die of malaria every year, and it is estimated that two million attacks lead to 15,000 deaths. In Bengal the death of 5 lakhs then mean sixty-five million attacks of malarious fever. It is difficult even to imagine how enormous must be the economic loss caused by these attacks.

The work of the police in 1914 related, partly, to a matter of 800 deaths involving an economic loss of four lakhs of rupees; the work of the medical and sanitation departments, if supposed to be confined only to dealing with cholera and malarious fever, related to an economic loss of at least some thirty crores of rupees. But in the Bengal Budget for 1916-17, provision has been made for about four times

as much expenditure on the police as on the medical and sanitary departments.

Of course, the prevention and detection of murders and culpable homicides is not the only work of the police. They have to deal with dacoities, robberies and thefts, &c., also. But the economic loss caused by these latter crimes cannot certainly come up to even one crore per annum.

The moral and intellectual deterioration caused among the people by disease and death is undoubtedly greater than the same kinds of deterioration caused by the crimes with which the police deal.

What want of Sanitation and Education means.

When his children fall ill, the head of a family does not say, "When in some future year I have sufficient income, I shall call in a doctor to prescribe medicine for them;" for in the meantime the children may die. He denies himself as much as possible, dispenses with the services of servants, curtails all other expenditure, and, if necessary, borrows, and gives his children the benefit of medical treatment; or he takes them to a charitable dispensary.

But in the National Household, which is the country, we find year after year Government refraining from taking adequate steps to save the lives of the people, millions of whom die every year of preventible diseases. We are expected to wait for some future time when the public treasury overflows with wealth. That time may or may not come. But in the meanwhile who is responsible for the deaths caused in the National Household? Who is the head of this Household, and how can his responsibility be brought home to him?

Similarly, the civilized and intelligent head of a family stints himself in every possible way and has recourse to all possible economies in order to give his children a good education. He does not say, "When five or ten or twenty or fifty years hence, the circumstances of the family improve, I will send the children to school;" for by that time they would be long past the school-going age, or he and they might all die. If the family be utterly indigent it is another matter.

The National Household called India is certainly not utterly indigent; for it can employ able and intelligent men as

servants, and pay them salaries on a scale higher than any that prevails in the richest countries. But in this big Household the vast majority of the children grow up in ignorance. They do not receive any literary, scientific, agricultural or technical education. We are told to wait for the golden times to come. But who is responsible for the barren lives of the boys and girls, men and women, growing up in ignorance and uselessness in the meanwhile? Is there any responsible head of the National Household who will listen to and redress this grievance?

The Enhanced Salt Duty.

The Budget for 1916-17 is estimated to leave a surplus of £ 1,052,000. This has been brought about by increased taxation, of which one of the items is the increased salt duty of Rs. 1-4 instead of Rs. 1. The increased salt duty will bring in only £ 600,000. Considering that the grocers have almost doubled the price of salt, Government would have done better if they had not enhanced the duty on the poor man's salt. This would, no doubt, have reduced the surplus to some extent. But as surpluses have a tendency to cause extravagant expenditure on useless things, it is a bad policy to raise by taxation more than what is strictly needed.

Abolition of Indentured Labour.

The Viceroy has promised that eventually indentured labour will be abolished. When our laborers cease to be helots in any country, this will be recognized as the greatest humanitarian achievement of the Viceroy.

We should have been pleased if Lord Hardinge could have fixed the farthest date by which abolition must take effect.

Political Evolution.

In a recent speech Lord Hardinge brought forward the theory of political evolution, as applied by Britishers to India, in order to reconcile us to the indefinite postponement of national self-rule. As we have shown the fallacious character of this theory in our notes on Fitness for Self-rule in the February number, we need only refer the reader to that issue. The reader should also read once more Mr.

Lajpat Rai's first article on the Evolution of Japan.

Duty on Cotton Goods.

In the speech referred to above the Viceroy held out hopes of duties being enhanced on imported cotton goods and of the excise duty on such things made in India being entirely abolished. We shall congratulate ourselves when these hopes are fulfilled. The time for rejoicing is not yet.

Flogging in School Discipline.

In the notorious Madras incident in which some boys and young men were flogged in the Wesley School, it has been said in justification of the flogging teachers that English public school traditions allow such punishment. That may or may not be strictly true. But it is absurd to hold that whatever is British must be good. Great educational theorists have been opposed to whipping or flogging. Locke is opposed to whipping, for "what is beaten into boys excites their repugnance for that very reason." Montaigne protests with all his might against the use of the rod. It is, however, by John Amos Comenius that there is stated in a wonderful metaphor, the real objection to mere brutality: "A musician," he says, "does not dash his instrument against a wall, or give it cuffs or blows, because he cannot draw music from it, but continues to apply his skill till he extracts a melody. So by our skill we have to bring the minds of the young into harmony,....."

Corporal punishment is entirely forbidden in Belgium, Italy and France. But it is needless to make this note exhaustive.

We will only add, without entering into details, that, recent studies have shown the danger of premature or perverted sexual developments as a result of corporal punishment, especially on the posterior parts of the body. One of the possible grave results is the danger of arousing anti-social feelings that may last through life. "Many of the criminals, anarchists, and the like, are thought to owe their hatred of society to unjust punishments in childhood." A large proportion of juvenile suicides has been traced to this cause.

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(15) *At the Himalayas.*

WE stayed about a month in Amritsar, and, towards the middle of April, started for the Dalhousie Hills. The last few days at Amritsar seemed as if they would never pass, the call of the Himalayas was so strong upon me.

The terraced hill sides, as we went up in a *jhampan*, were all aflame with the beauty of the flowering spring crops. Every morning we would make a start after our bread and milk, and before sunset take shelter for the night in the next staging bungalow. My eyes had no rest the livelong day, so great was my fear lest anything should escape them. Wherever, at a turn of the road into a gorge, the great forest trees were found clustering closer, and from underneath their shade a little waterfall trickling out, like a little daughter of the hermitage playing at the feet of hoary sages wrapt in meditation, babbling its way over the black moss-covered rocks, there the *jhampan* bearers would put down their burden, and take a rest. Why, oh why, had we to leave such spots behind, cried my thirsting heart, why could we not stay on there for ever?

This is the great advantage of the first vision: the mind is not then aware that there are many more such to come. When this comes to be known to that calculating organ it promptly tries to make a saving in its expenditure of attention. It is only when it believes something to be rare that the mind ceases to be miserly in assigning values. So in the streets of Calcutta I sometimes imagine myself a foreigner, and only then do I discover how much is to be

seen, which is lost so long as its full value in attention is not paid. It is the hunger to really see which drives people to travel to strange places.

My father kept his little cash-box in my charge. He had no reason to imagine that I was the fittest custodian of the considerable sums he kept in it for use on the way. He would certainly have felt safer with it in the hands of Kishori, his attendant. So I can only suppose he wanted to train me to the responsibility. One day as we reached the staging bungalow, I forgot to make it over to him and left it lying on a table. This earned me a reprimand.

Every time we got down at the end of a stage, my father had chairs placed for us outside the bungalow and there we sat. As dusk came on the stars blazed out wonderfully through the clear mountain atmosphere, and my father showed me the constellations or treated me to an astronomical discourse.

The house we had taken at Bakrota was on the highest hill-top. Though it was nearing May it was still bitterly cold there, so much so that on the shady side of the hill the winter frosts had not yet melted.

My father was not at all nervous about allowing me to wander about freely even here. Some way below our house there stretched a spur thickly wooded with Deodars. Into this wilderness I would venture alone with my iron-spiked staff. These lordly forest trees, with their huge shadows, lowering there like so many giants—what immense lives had they lived through the centuries! And yet this boy of only the other day was crawling round about their trunks unchallenged. I seemed

to feel a presence, the moment I stepped into their shade, as of the solid coolness of some old-world saurian, and the checkered light and shade on the leafy mould seemed like its scales.

My room was at one end of the house. Lying on my bed I could see, through the uncurtained windows, the distant snowy peaks shimmering dimly in the starlight. Sometimes, at what hour I could not make out, I, half awakened, would see my father, wrapped in a red shawl, with a lighted lamp in his hand, softly passing by to the glazed verandah where he sat at his devotions. After one more sleep I would find him at my bedside, rousing me with a push, before yet the darkness of night had passed. This was my appointed hour for memorising Sanscrit declensions. What an excruciatingly wintry awakening from the caressing warmth of my blankets!

By the time the sun rose, my father, after his prayers, finished with me our morning milk, and then, I standing at his side, he would once more hold communion with God, chanting the Upanishads.

Then we would go out for a walk. But how should I keep pace with him? Many an older person could not! So, after a while, I would give it up and scramble back home through some short cut up the mountain side.

After my father's return I had an hour of English lessons. After ten o'clock came the bath in icy-cold water; it was no use asking the servants to temper it with even a jugful of hot water without my father's permission. To give me courage my father would tell of the unbearably freezing baths he had himself been through in his younger days.

Another penance was the drinking of milk. My father was very fond of milk and could take quantities of it. But whether it was a failure to inherit this capacity, or that the unfavorable environment of which I have told proved the stronger, my appetite for milk was grievously wanting. Unfortunately we used to have our milk together. So I had to throw myself on the mercy of the servants; and to their human kindness (or frailty) I was indebted for my goblet being thenceforth more than half full of foam.

After our midday meal lessons began again. But this was more than flesh and blood could stand. My outraged morning

sleep *would* have its revenge and I would be toppling over with uncontrollable drowsiness. Nevertheless, no sooner did my father take pity on my plight and let me off, than my sleepiness was off likewise. Then ho! for the mountains.

Staff in hand I would often wander away from one peak to another, but my father did not object. To the end of his life, I have observed, he never stood in the way of our independence. Many a time have I said or done things repugnant alike to his taste and his judgment; with a word he could have stopped me; but he preferred to wait till the prompting to refrain came from within. A passive acceptance by us of the correct and the proper did not satisfy him; he wanted us to love truth with our whole hearts; he knew that mere acquiescence without love is empty. He also knew that truth, if strayed from, can be found again, but a forced or blind acceptance of it from the outside effectually bars the way in.

In my early youth I had conceived a fancy to journey along the Grand Trunk Road, right up to Peshawar, in a bullock cart. No one else supported the scheme, and doubtless there was much to be urged against it as a practical proposition. But when I discoursed on it to my father he was sure it was a splendid idea—traveling by railroad was not worth the name! With which observation he proceeded to recount to me his own adventurous wanderings on foot and horseback. Of any chance of discomfort or peril he had not a word to say.

Another time, when I had just been appointed Secretary of the Adi Brahma Samaj, I went over to my father, at his Park Street residence, and informed him that I did not approve of the practice of only Brahmins conducting divine service to the exclusion of other castes. He unhesitatingly gave me permission to correct this if I could. When I got the authority I found I lacked the power. I was able to discover imperfections but could not create perfection! Where were the men? Where was the strength in me to attract the right man? Had I the means to build in the place of what I might break? Till the right man comes any form is better than none—this, I felt, must have been my father's view of the existing order. But he did not for a moment try to discourage me by pointing out the difficulties.

As he allowed me to wander about the mountains at my will, so in the quest for truth he left me free to select my path. He was not deterred by the danger of my making mistakes, he was not alarmed at the prospect of my encountering sorrow. He held up a standard, not a disciplinary rod.

I would often talk to my father of home. Whenever I got a letter from anyone at home I hastened to show it to him. I verily believe I was thus the means of giving him many a picture he could have got from none else. My father also let me read letters to him from my elder brothers. This was his way of teaching me how I ought to write to him; for he by no means underrated the importance of outward forms and ceremonial.

I am reminded of how in one of my second brother's letters he was complaining in somewhat sanscritised phraseology of being worked to death tied by the neck to his post of duty. My father asked me to explain the sentiment. I did it in my way, but he thought a different explanation would fit better. My overweening conceit made me stick to my guns and argue the point with him at length. Another would have shut me up with a snub, but my father patiently heard me out and took pains to justify his view to me.

My father would sometimes tell me funny stories. He had many an anecdote of the gilded youth of his time. There were some exquisites for whose delicate skins the embroidered border of even Dacca muslins were too coarse, so that to wear muslins with the border torn off became, for a time, the tip-top thing to do.

I was also highly amused to hear from my father for the first time the story of the milkman who was suspected of watering his milk, and the more men one of his customers detailed to look after his milking the bluer the fluid became, till, at last, when the customer himself interviewed him and asked for an explanation, the milkman avowed that if more superintendents had to be satisfied it would only make the milk fit to breed fish!

After I had thus spent a few months with him my father sent me back home with his attendant Kishori.

(16) *My Return.*

The chains of the rigorous regime which had bound me snapped for good when I set out from home. On my return I gained an accession of rights. In my case my very nearness had so long kept me out of mind; now that I had been out of sight I came back into view.

I got a foretaste of appreciation while still on the return journey. Travelling alone as I was, with an attendant, brimming with health and spirits, and conspicuous with my gold-worked cap, all the English people I came across in the train made much of me.

When I arrived it was not merely a home-coming from travel, it was also a return from my exile in the servants' quarters to my proper place in the inner apartments. Whenever the inner household assembled in my mother's room I now occupied a seat of honour. And she who was then the youngest bride of our house lavished on me a wealth of affection and regard.

In infancy the loving care of woman is to be had without the asking, and, being as much a necessity as light and air, is as simply accepted without any conscious response; rather does the growing child often display an eagerness to free itself from the encircling web of woman's solicitude. But the unfortunate creature who is deprived of this in its proper season is beggared indeed. This had been my plight. So after being brought up in the servants' quarters when I suddenly came in for a profusion of womanly affection, I could hardly remain unconscious of it.

In the days when the inner apartments were as yet far away from me, they were the elysium of my imagination. The zenana, which from an outside view is a place of confinement, for me was the abode of all freedom. Neither school nor Pandit were there; nor, it seemed to me, did anybody have to do what they did not want to. Its secluded leisure had something mysterious about it; one played about, or did as one liked and had not to render an account of one's doings. Specially so with my youngest sister, to whom, though she attended Nilkamal Pandit's class with us, it seemed to make no difference in his behaviour whether she did her lessons well or ill. Then again, while, by ten o'clock, we had to hurry

through our breakfast and be ready for school, she, with her queue dangling behind, walked unconcernedly away, withinwards, tantalising us to distraction.

And when the new bride, adorned with her necklet of gold, came into our house, the mystery of the inner apartments deepened. She, who came from outside and yet became one of us, who was unknown and yet our own, attracted me strangely—with her I burned to make friends. But if by much contriving I managed to draw near, my youngest sister would hustle me off with: "What d'you boys want here—get away outside." The insult added to the disappointment cut me to the quick. Through the glass doors of their cabinets one could catch glimpses of all manner of curious playthings—creations of porcelain and glass—gorgeous in coloring and ornamentation. We were not deemed worthy even to touch them, much less could we muster up courage to ask for any to play with. Nevertheless these rare and wonderful objects, as they were to us boys, served to tinge with an additional attraction the lure of the inner apartments.

Thus had I been kept at arm's length with repeated rebuffs. As the outer world, so, for me, the interior, was unattainable. Wherefore the impressions of it that I did get appeared to me like pictures.

After nine in the night, my lessons with Aghore Babu over, I am retiring within for the night. A murky flickering lantern is hanging in the long venetian-screened corridor leading from the outer to the inner apartments. At its end this passage turns into a flight of four or five steps, to which the light does not reach, and down which I pass into the galleries running round the first inner quadrangle. A shaft of moon light slants from the eastern sky into the western angle of these verandahs, leaving the rest in darkness. In this patch of light the maids have gathered and are squatting close together, with legs outstretched, rolling cotton waste into lamp-wicks, and chatting in undertones of their village homes. Many such pictures are indelibly printed on my memory.

Then after our supper, the washing of our hands and feet in the verandah before stretching ourselves on the ample expanse of our bed; whereupon one of the nurses Tinkari or Sankari comes and sits by our heads and softly croons to us the story of the prince travel-

ling on and on over the lonely moor, and, as it comes to an end, silence falls on the room. With my face to the wall I gaze at the black and white patches, made by the plaster of the walls fallen off here and there, showing faintly in the dim light; and out of these I conjure up many a fantastic image as I drop off to sleep. And sometimes, in the middle of the night, I hear through my half-broken sleep, the shouts of old Swarup, the watchman, going his rounds from verandah to verandah.

Then came the new order, when I got in profusion from this inner unknown dream-land of my fancies the recognition for which I had all along been pining; when that, which naturally should have come day by day, was suddenly made good to me with accumulated arrears, I cannot say that my head was not turned.

The little traveller was full of the story of his travels, and, with the strain of each repetition, the narrative got looser and looser till it utterly refused to fit into the facts. Like everything else, alas, a story also gets stale and the glory of the teller suffers likewise; that is why he has to add fresh colouring every time to keep up its freshness.

After my return from the hills I was the principal speaker at my mother's open air gatherings on the roof terrace in the evenings. The temptation to become famous in the eyes of one's mother is as difficult to resist as such fame is easy to earn. While I was at the Normal School, when I first came across the information in some reader that the Sun was hundreds and thousands of times as big as the Earth, I at once disclosed it to my mother. It served to prove that he who was small to look at might yet have a considerable amount of bigness about him. I used also to recite to her the scraps of poetry used as illustrations in the chapter on prosody or rhetoric of our Bengali grammar. Now I retailed at her evening gatherings the astronomical tit-bits I had gleaned from Proctor.

My father's follower Kishori belonged at one time to a band of reciters of Dasarathi's jingling versions of the Epics. While we were together in the hills he often said to me: "Oh, my little brother,* if I only had you in our troupe we could have got up a splendid performance. This would open up to me a tempting picture

* Servants call the master and mistress father, and mother, and the children brothers and sisters.

of wandering as a minstrel boy from place to place, reciting and singing. I learnt from him many of the songs in his repertoire and these were in even greater request than my talks about the photosphere of the Sun or the many moons of Saturn.

But the achievement of mine which appealed most to my mother was that while the rest of the inmates of the inner apartments had to be content with Krittivasa's Bengali rendering of the Ramayana, I had been reading with my father the original of Maharshi Valmiki himself, Sanskrit metre and all. "Read me some of that Ramayana, *do*!" she said, overjoyed at this news which I had given her.

Alas, my reading of Valmiki had been limited to the short extract from his Ramayana given in my Sanskrit reader, and even that I had not fully mastered. Moreover, on looking over it now, I found that my memory had played me false and much of what I thought I knew had become hazy. But I lacked the courage to plead "I have forgotten" to the eager mother awaiting the display of her son's marvellous talents; so that, in the reading I gave, a large divergence occurred between Valmiki's intention and my explanation. That tender-hearted sage, from his seat in heaven, must have forgiven the temerity of the boy seeking the glory of his mother's approbation, but not so Madhusudan,* the taker down of Pride.

My mother, unable to contain her feelings at my extraordinary exploit, wanted all to share her admiration. "You must read this to Dwijendra," (my eldest brother), she said.

"In for it!" thought I, as I put forth all the excuses I could think of, but my mother would have none of them. She sent for my brother Dwijendra, and, as soon as he arrived, greeted him, with: "Just hear Rabi read Valmiki's Ramayan, how splendidly he does it."

It had to be done! But Madhusudan relented and let me off with just a taste of his pride-reducing power. My brother must have been called away while busy with some literary work of his own. He showed no anxiety to hear me render the Sanskrit into Bengali, and as soon as I had read out a few verses he simply remarked "Very good" and walked away.

After my promotion to the inner apartments I felt it all the more difficult to resume my school life. I resorted to all manner of subterfuges to escape the Bengal Academy. Then they tried putting me at St. Xavier's. But the result was no better.

My elder brothers, after a few spasmodic efforts, gave up all hopes of me—they even ceased to scold me. One day my eldest sister said: "We had all hoped Rabi would grow up to be a man, but he has disappointed us the worst." I felt that my value in the social world was distinctly depreciating; nevertheless I could not make up my mind to be tied to the eternal grind of the school mill which, divorced as it was from all life and beauty, seemed such a hideously cruel combination of hospital and gaol.

One precious memory of St. Xavier's I still hold fresh and pure—the memory of its teachers. Not that they were all of the same excellence. In particular, in those who taught in our class I could discern no reverential resignation of spirit. They were in nowise above the teaching-machine variety of school masters. As it is, the educational engine is remorselessly powerful; when to it is coupled the stone mill of the outward forms of religion the heart of youth is crushed dry indeed. This power-propelled grindstone type we had at St. Xavier's. Yet, as I say, a memory I possess which elevates my impression of the teachers there to an ideal plane.

This is the memory of Father DePeneranda. He had very little to do with us—if I remember right he had only for a while taken the place of one of the masters of our class. He was a Spaniard and seemed to have an impediment in speaking English. It was perhaps for this reason that the boys paid but little heed to what he was saying. It seemed to me that this inattentiveness of his pupils hurt him, but he bore it meekly day after day. I know not why, but my heart went out to him in sympathy. His features were not handsome, but his countenance had for me a strange attraction. Whenever I looked on him his spirit seemed to be in prayer, a deep peace to pervade him within and without.

We had half-an-hour for writing our copybooks; that was a time when, pen in hand, I used to become absent-minded and my thoughts wandered hither and thither. One day Father DePeneranda was

* Name of Vishnu in his aspect of slayer of the proud demon, Madhu.

in charge of this class. He was pacing up and down behind our benches. He must have noticed more than once that my pen was not moving. All of a sudden he stopped behind my seat. Bending over me he gently laid his hand on my shoulder and tenderly inquired: "Are you not well, Tagore?" It was only a simple question, but one I have never been able to forget.

I cannot speak for the other boys but I felt in him the presence of a great soul, and even to-day the recollection of it seems to give me a passport into the silent seclusion of the temple of God.

There was another old Father whom all the boys loved. This was Father Henry. He taught in the higher classes; so I did not know him well. One thing about him I also remember. He knew Bengali. He once asked Nirada, a boy in his class, the

derivation of his name. Poor Nirada* had so long been supremely easy in mind about himself—the derivation of his name, in particular, had never troubled him in the least; so that he was utterly unprepared to answer this question. And yet, with so many abstruse and unknown words in the dictionary, to be worsted by one's own name would have been as ridiculous a mishap as getting run over by one's own carriage, so Nirada unblushingly replied: "Ni—privative, *rode*—sun-rays; thence Nirode—that which causes an absence of the sun's rays!"

* Nirada is a Sanscrit word meaning *cloud*, being a compound of *nira*=water and *da*=giver. In Bengali it is pronounced *nirode*.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE QUIVER-ADORNING PLUM BLOSSOM

A PRIEST while on his way visiting various places of interest, now stood by the River of Ikuta in the Settsu province, where a young man who looked to be one of the villagers was seen gazing on the plum tree at the river bank; the young man murmured that, although a flying flower or falling leaf might be taken to express the world's mutability, your perception might make of them a symbol of everlasting glory. "But a man," he continued, "who is only susceptible to beauty and colour, simply becomes a slave of worldly passion, and never thinks of the swift changes of the world and life. I myself, being still infatuated by the fleeting world, must ever wander in the highroads of dream." And he seemed loth to leave the tree. The priest approached the young man and asked him if the tree on which he was gazing was of any special interest. On being told that it was called "Ebira no Ume or the Quiver-Adorning Plum Blossom," the priest begged him to dwell at length upon the history of the tree. The young man began to narrate the scene of battle between the Taira and Minamoto clans of the olden age:

"The castle of Ichi no Tani which was

held by one hundred thousand fighters of the Taira clan could be reached through the Forest of Ikuta; it was Noriyori Minamoto who marched thither to storm it. In the camp of the Minamoto clan were Kagetoki and Kagesuye, father and son. Kagesuye, being a youth with much inclination for poetry, took quick notice of one plum tree in the forest, now in its most beautiful blossoming with a splendid scorn of the winter's frosts or snows; he loudly praised its mighty courage, as the very leader of the season. 'Who will be the leader of the battle?' Kagesuye exclaimed. He broke off one blossoming twig of the tree and thrust it into his quiver. Lo, he rushed into the thick of the battle exclaiming, 'Oh, gods of war, look upon your beloved Kagesuye!' Not only the soldiers of his own side but also those of the Taira clan, were rapt in admiration at the distinguished sight of the brave youth bearing, as his warrior's emblem, the beautiful plum blossom; Kagesuye's deeds on that day, needless to say, matched the flower which trampled down all threats of chill air and frost. He gained the name of a harbinger or leader, at least in that

battle. Afterwards the plum tree, that very tree, became a god of protection for the Minamoto clan; and then people began to call it the 'Quiver-adorning Plum Blossom.' That is the story of the tree under whose shade I am standing."

Seeing that the priest showed a deep interest in his story, the young man was much encouraged, and continued:

"One hundred thousand soldiers of the Taira clan shut themselves in Ichi no Tani, feeling quite strengthened by their victories over the armies of Yoshinaka and Yoshiyuki at Mizushima of Bitchu and Muroyama in the Harima province; they looked to be invincible, covering the ten miles of hills and valleys with their red flags, between the Forest of Ikuta on the east and the Castle on the west. And there on the seas were many hundred junks also flying Taira's red flags. This castle of Ichi no Tani was of a great strategical strength, having the harbours of Suma and Akashi to the left and right, facing the seas directly in front, and carrying the mountain on its back. As the season was not yet free from cold, Wakaki no Sakura, the famous cherry tree at Suma, was some weeks from its blossoming; but the plum trees were in their zenith. It was the plan of the Minamoto clan to march down from both sides at once; the army under Yoshitsune Minamoto pressed on Ichi no Tani from the mountain in the postern, their white flags fluttering in the vigorous air looked as if the remaining snows or groups of storks. Against those white flags there were Taira's red flags without intermission, appearing like fishing fires in the offing. And these fishing fires, nay the red flags, blown by a storm dashing down from the mountain, were going to die away. The war junks were now seen drawing speedily anear the shore to rescue from imminent danger the army of the Taira clan. Oh, what a rush and flurry!"

As it was already evening the priest asked the young man if he might avail himself of his hospitality and be given a bed. The young man looked strangely and exclaimed: "Alas, I have no home myself. But if you ask for a bed under the impression that I am the master of this plum tree, I will certainly fulfil your desire. Pray, lie down by the tree and have a good rest to-night!"

"What you say sounds strange. Who

are you that you say you are the master of the plum tree?"

"Let me reveal myself to you, Holy Priest. I am the ghost of Kagesuye who entreats you to say a sacred mass for him. There is a proverb that it is a matter of affinity even for two people to see each other under the shade of the same tree; pray, do not treat me as a stranger. And I beg you to sleep here tonight; I, the master of the tree, wish to earn the name of being your host." And the ghost disappeared before he had finished his words.

Now the priest spread his only robe under the tree, on which he sat and offered a mass for the ghost. Was it a dream or reality that a young handsome warrior appeared in the depth of the night, his quiver adorned with a beautiful branch of the plum tree? The youthful warrior said that his soul could not yet forget the battle and bloodshed, and as in his days of life, suffered an agony and the torture of hell in meeting with an enemy on a heinous hill of corpses or by the monstrous river of blood. The priest asked him who he was; he answered: "I am naught but Kagesuye Kajiwaru who made his presence to receive your offering of mass. Oh, behold, Holy Priest, how the enemy in frenzy attack and assault! Is it the rain that falls on us? It's the rain of swords and clattering furious war-cries. Oh, hearken, Holy Priest, to the scream of seas and the tremble of trees; is the world going to be overturned? The thunders and lightnings rush down through the violent clouds and winds toward the wild forest of red flags of the Taira clan. What a ghastliness over the land and water! Here is the Ikuta River where I made a name for bravery; indeed I was the very first who dashed into Taira's encampment to storm it. Since the season was early Spring, the plum trees were blooming; one of their beautiful branches in my quiver cast away its undaunted proud odour into the air. And I dare feel proud thinking how I too scattered my bravery as that plum branch its fragrance, to gain my final victory, when I was seized by eight warriors of the enemy."

Hearing the voice of a crow and then a temple bell which announced the dawn, Kagesuye Kajiwaru, nay his ghost, looked about him, turning very pale and restless, and said:

"The time comes when I have to bid you farewell, Holy Priest. All the flowers return to the roots of their tree; and the bird to its old nest. But whither shall I return? Oh, Holy Priest, say a sacred mass that my soul may regain its final rest!"

The priest awoke from his dream by the plum tree, and saw the petals of the blossom carried by a wind far away.

YONE NOGUCHI.

RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN OFFICIAL *

SLEEMAN'S *Rambles and Recollections*, completed in 1839 and published in 1844, enjoys a deservedly wide reputation and is as valuable to-day as it ever was—even more valuable in some respects. His claim that 'the opportunities of observation, which varied experience has given me, have been such as fall to the lot of few' is quite justifiable. 'His knowledge of the customs and modes of thought of the natives of India, rarely equalled and never surpassed, was more than half the secret of his notable success as an administrator.' His bulky volumes have been reduced to manageable proportions by the art of the printer and the editor combined, and the result is a handy book which in excellence of get-up as well as of the matter contained in it leaves nothing to be desired.

The sympathy which characterises the whole book is evident in the very first chapter, where he says :

"Sir Thomas Munro has justly observed, 'I do not exactly know what is meant by civilising the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient ; but, if a good system of agriculture, if unrivalled manufactures, if the establishment of schools for reading and writing, if the general practice of kindness and hospitality, and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex are among the points that denote a civilised people, then the Hindoos are not inferior in civilisation to the people of Europe.'

However flattering such an eulogium may be to our feelings, we must in fairness admit that the very book in which this extract finds place contains ample evidence of the fact that a progressive deterioration had taken place in India in regard to every one of these particulars, and the observa-

tion required to be considerably modified before being applied to the author's own times. The deficiency in 'the theory and practice of good government,' of which Sir Thomas Munro gave a hint, was no doubt responsible for these baneful consequences. The self-contained village communities, which are so highly praised both by Sleeman and Munro, were adapted to a state of society which, owing to the increasing contact with the great world outside, was rapidly vanishing, and whose arcadian simplicity and contentment were only compatible with a political isolation which was no longer possible. The Hindus with no sense of cohesion, patriotism and nationalism, and the Muhammadans, who had forgotten the art of government and were divided by factions and dissensions, fell easy victims to the exigencies of the situation, and the result was only too manifest in Sleeman's pages.

Sleeman gives an instance of a *Suttee* from his personal knowledge which impressed him very deeply and which would go to show that at its best the practice was ennobled by the genuine martyrdom of devoted and faithful wives, whom nothing could prevent from mounting the funeral pyre and who perished in the flames with unflinching courage in the hope of immediately uniting their souls with those of their husbands.

"Soon after the battle of Trafalgar I heard a young lady exclaim, 'I could really wish to have had a brother killed in that action'. There is no doubt that a family in which a *suttee* takes place feels a good deal exalted in its own esteem and that of the community by its sacrifice."

The Government officers throughout India were for the most part opposed to the abolition of the custom. Nevertheless when Lord William Bentinck put a stop to it,

* By Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K. C. B. Revised annotated edition by Vincent A. Smith. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. 667.

'not a complaint or murmur was heard.' One cannot but contrast the attitude of the Government of those days with that of its modern successors when even such a harmless and mere enabling measure of social reform as the intermarriage of Hindus, supported though it was by a large body of official and non-official opinion, was vetoed by the Government.

Only once in Sleeman's *Rambles* do we find a reference to Bengalis, but the solitary instance is one among many which prove that Bengal was the pioneer of education in British India. At page 29 he speaks of 'Gurcharan Babu, the Principal of the little Jubbulpore College' who 'was educated in a Calcutta College, speaks and writes English exceedingly well; is tolerably well read in English literature, and is decidedly a *thinking man*.' The context shows that he was a firm believer in the doctrine of transmigration of souls.

The religious toleration of the Hindus, the intelligence and politeness of the agricultural classes of India, the orderliness and the absence of female outrage which characterise the immense crowds assembled at Hindu fairs, the kindness of Hindus to birds and its contrary among Europeans, all these and many other points of excellence have been noted by the author with evident sympathy and admiration. The evils of the *Begar* system, encouraged by Europeans from ignorance or indolence, are graphically described. One important feature of the book is that Sleeman gives *verbatim* reproductions of the conversations he had at various times and on various subjects with notable Indians as well as common cultivators. They give us a better glimpse of the spirit of Indian life and thought than verbose descriptions in which the writer's own mentality is apt to get inextricably mixed up. These dialogues tend to show that side by side with a good deal of shrewd practical common sense there was in the Indian mind a proneness to superstition and belief in the miraculous to which must be attributed much of the decay of Indian civilisation.

"Ninety-nine out of a hundred among the Hindoos implicitly believe, not only every word of this poem [The Ramayana] but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanskrit.....The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties, which we are accustomed to make occasionally.....with the Hindoos.....the greater the impro-

bability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction, the greater is the charm it has over their minds; and the greater their learning in Sanskrit the more are they under the influence of this charm."

"There was a time, and that not very distant, when it was the same in England, and in every other European nation; and there are, I am afraid, some parts of Europe where it is so still. But the Hindoo faith, so far as religious questions are concerned, is not more capacious or absurd than that of the Greeks and Romans in the days of Socrates and Cicero—the only difference is that among the Hindoos a greater number of the questions which interest mankind are brought under the head of religion."

[Regarding the parallel here drawn the editor's remark in the footnote is: "This comparison is not a happy one."] The same catholicity and soundness of judgment is to be found in the author's observations on Indian veracity, to which subject a whole chapter is devoted. Sleeman says that truth does not flourish in the atmospheres of the court and the camp, both in India and in Europe, but in the Indian village communities the virtues of honesty and truthfulness most prevail.

"I believe there is no class of men in the world more strictly honourable in their dealings than the merchant classes of India."

The whole chapter is replete with wise reflections, and brings out much of the hollowness of European standards of judgment in these and cognate matters. One or two extracts must suffice:

"How much of untruth is tolerated in the best circles of the most civilised nations, in the relations between electors to corporate and legislative bodies and the candidates for election? between nominators to offices under Government and the candidates for nomination? between lawyers and clients, vendors and purchasers, between the recruiting sergeant and the young recruit?"

Again,

"Take the two parties in England into which society is politically divided. There is hardly any species of falsehood uttered by the members of the party out of power against the members of the party in powers that is not tolerated or even applauded by one party...." "The circumstances under which falsehood and insincerity are tolerated by the community in the best societies of modern days are very numerous.... As long as the motive is not base, men do not spurn the falsehood as such."

The fear of public opinion is the only controlling agency in such matters.

"The man who would not hesitate a moment to destroy the happiness of a family by the seduction of the wife or the daughter, would not dare to leave one shilling of a gambling debt unpaid—the one would bring down upon him the odium of his circle, but the other would not; and the odium of that circle is the only kind of odium he dreads. Our own penal code punished with death the poor man who stole a little food to save his children from

starvation, while it left to exult in the caresses of its own order, the wealthy libertine who robbed a father and mother of their only daughter, and consigned her to a life of infamy and misery."

The Editor in a footnote remarks:

"All that the author says is true, and yet it does not alter the fact that Indian society is and always has been permeated and paralysed by almost universal distrust. Such universal distrust does not prevail in England. This difference between the two societies is fundamental, and its reality is fully recognised by natives of India."

In the face of the universal distrust which is at the root of the present European war, and the appalling capacity for mendacity which it has revealed among Western nations, it is hard to maintain any such distinction between the European and the Indian variety of falsehood, and as for its being 'fundamental,' it implies a belief in the ineradicability of racial characteristics, which is opposed to all sound political thinking. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that a good deal of mutual distrust and low cunning prevails in the vitiated atmosphere and the narrow outlook of the small Indian towns where a dominant ruling race and a subject population divided by castes, creeds and petty selfish interests are brought face to face. The evil is very largely the result of our political subjection, which in itself is the result of deep-rooted defects in the Indian character. In the tracts governed by Indian princes of his time, the author sees the beneficent results of the dominance of the Brahmins in certain Marhatta countries, who spent the greater part of the incomes in tanks, groves, temples, and other works of public utility, with its concomitant evil, the decay of the military spirit, and *per contra*, he also notices the evils of military states such as Scindhia and Holkar whose capitals were mere standing camps. This makes him reflect as follows:

"A Hindoo prince is always running to the extreme; he can never take and keep a middle course. He is either ambitious, and therefore appropriates all his revenues to the maintenance of soldiers, to pour out in inroads upon his neighbours; or he is superstitious, and devotes all his revenue to his priesthood, who embellish his country at the same time that they weaken it, and invite invasion, as their prince becomes less and less able to repel it."

The author gives a graphic description of the famine of 1833 and he has nothing but praise for the patient resignation with which the people bore the calamity. "I must say," he declares, "that I have never

either seen or read of a nobler spirit than seems to animate all classes of these communities in India on such distressing occasions."

"*Company ke umal men kuchh rozgar nahin hai*" — There is no employment in the company's dominion, is a common maxim, not only among the men of the sword and the spear, but among those merchants who lived by supporting native civil and military establishments with the luxuries and elegancies which, under the new order of things, they have no longer the means to enjoy."

Two favourite themes of the author are the evils flowing from the absence of a law of primogeniture and of a rich mercantile class in India.

"The eternal subdivision of the landed property reduces them too much to one common level, and prevents the formation of that middle class which is the basis of all that is great and good in European societies—the great vivifying spirit which animates all that is good above it in the community."

Again,

"To this concentration of capital in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which forms the great characteristic of European in contradistinction to Asiatic societies in the present day, we must look for those changes which we consider desirable in the social and religious institutions of the people, where land is liable to eternal subdivision by the law and the religion of both the Muhammadan and Hindoo population; where every great work that improves its productive powers, and facilitates the distribution of its produce among the people, in canals, roads, bridges, &c., is made by Government, where capital is nowhere concentrated in great commercial or manufacturing establishments, there can be no upper classes in society but those of office; and of all societies, perhaps that is the worst in which the higher classes are so exclusively composed. In India, public office has been, and must continue to be, the only road to distinction, until we have a law of primogeniture, and a concentration of capital. In India no man has ever thought himself respectable, or been thought so by others, unless he is armed with his little 'hukumat'; his 'little brief authority' under Government, that gives him the command of some public establishment paid out of the revenues of the State. In Europe and America, where capital has been concentrated in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, and free institutions prevail almost as the natural consequence, industry is everything; and those who direct and command it are happily, looked up to as the source of the wealth, the strength, the virtue, and the happiness of the nation. The concentration of capital in such establishments may, indeed, be considered, not only as the natural consequence, but as the prevailing cause of the free institutions by which the mass of the people in European countries are blessed. The mass of the people were as much brutalised and oppressed by the landed aristocracy as they could have been by any official aristocracy before towns and higher classes were created by the concentration of capital."

The editor, who was in India one of the most talented members of a privileged bureaucracy, says in a foot-note that 'few

readers are likely to accept this proposition.' The evils of capitalism were no doubt not very evident in Sleeman's days, and the socialists had not yet begun to make themselves heard. But what Sleeman contended was that the growth of a middle class, so necessary for the progress of arts and civilisation and free institution, could only be fostered by the diffusion of wealth and power among the many instead of its being confined to a few officials, and for such diffusion of wealth and power it was also necessary to stop the progressive pauperisation of the people by the eternal subdivision of property. In this sense his remarks seem to us to hold as good of the India of today as they did in Sleeman's own times.

We learn from this book that the Raja of Tehri used to spend, at the most moderate estimate, three lakhs of rupees a year, or one-fourth of his annual revenue, in celebrating the marriage of the *Salagram* and the *Tulsi* plant, at which vast numbers of Bairagis and Brahmans used to be fed for days together, and that such events were by no means rare among wealthy people in the country. In the kingdom of Oudh, 366 news-writers were employed by the Nawab, and paid 3194 rupees per month, at the rate of four or five rupees each. The 'great confederacy' of the Marhattas had been broken up by being deprived of its Peshwa, 'the head which alone could infuse into all the members of the confederacy a feeling of nationality.' 'There is not now the slightest feeling of nationality left among the Maratha states, either collectively or individually.' [Editor's note: During the early years of the twentieth century a spirit of Maratha nationalism has been sedulously cultivated, with inconvenient results.] Regarding the vandalism (the editor calls it 'barbarian stupidity') which used to be practised in Sleeman's times, he says:

"The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful marble baths of this palace [the Taj] to send home to George IV of England, then Prince Regent, and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fretwork and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our Government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner."

[The editor cites other instances, and notes; 'It is painful to be obliged to record

so many instances of vandalism committed by English officials.'].]

Elsewhere Sleeman speaks of John Wilton, Opium Agent at Dinapore, who in 1810 complained that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon opium purchased by the Government from the cultivators.

'They were sinecure posts for the drones of the service, or for those who had great interest and no capacity.'

Sleeman speaks of the plundering of Bharatpur in 1826. From the editor's note we learn that Lord Combermere himself took six lakhs. 'The plundering,' Metcalfe observed, 'has been very disgraceful, and has tarnished our well-earned honours.' Shrewd reflections like the following occur every now and then:

"We often find Englishmen in India, and I suppose in all the rest of our foreign settlements, sporting high Tory opinions and feelings, merely with a view to have it supposed that their families are, or at some time were, among the aristocracy of the land."

Again,

"I have heard many Muhammadans say that they could trace the decline of their empire in Hindustan to the loss of the Rajput blood in the veins of their princes. Better blood than that of the Rajputs of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings; or what is the same thing, no blood was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination, and the imagination is all-powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebeianised by the Battle of Hastings; and how difficult it would be for any of us to say from which we descended—the Britons or the Saxons, the Danes or the Normans; or in what particular action our ancestors were the victors or the vanquished, and became ennobled or plebeianised by the thousand accidents which influence the fate of battles."

The author describes the life led by the Anglo-Indian official of his time, taking the cantonment of Meerut, 'justly considered the healthiest station in India,' as his text.

"I visited it in the latter end of the cold, which is the healthiest season of the year; yet the European ladies were looking as if they had all come out of

their graves, and talking of the necessity of going off to the mountains to renovate, as soon as the hot weather should set in. They had literally been fagging themselves to death with gaiety, at this the gayest and most delightful of all Indian stations..... Up every night and all night at balls and suppers, they could never go out to breathe the fresh air of the morning; and were looking wretchedly ill..... There is assuredly no society where the members are more generally free from those corroding cares and anxieties which 'weigh upon the hearts' of men whose incomes are precarious, and position in the world uncertain..... We return to the society of our wives and children after the labours of the day are over, with tempers unruffled by collision with political and religious antagonists, by unfavourable changes in the season and the markets, and the other circumstances which affect so much the incomes and prospects of our friends at home..... There is, however, one great defect in Anglo-Indian society; it is composed too exclusively of the servants of government, civil, military and ecclesiastic, and wants much of the freshness, variety and intelligence of cultivated societies otherwise constituted."

The editor's remark is characteristic.

Now all is changed. The rupee has an artificial value of 1s. 4d., the members of the services are numerous and ill-paid, while living is dear.

In making this remark the editor has been guilty of suggesting one or more falsehoods. If the rupee has an artificial value, the white servants of the crown have their exchange compensation allowance, and, in some cases, other allowances. "The members of the services are ill-paid" indeed! Why, of all public servants in the world, including those in the richest countries, the European servants of the Indian Government are paid on the most extravagant scale. The reader may refresh his memory by reading Lala Lajpat Rai's article on "The Cost of Administration in India, Japan and the United States of America" in the January number of this Review, and an editorial note on "Salaries in England and India" in the December (1915) number. As for living being dear, it is certainly not dearer than in the richest countries of the world where the salaries of the public servants are smaller than those in India.

Sleeman's views regarding the duties and responsibilities of the Service also reveal his largeheartedness:

"How exalted, how glorious, has been the destiny of England, to spread over so vast a portion of the globe her literature, her language, and her free institutions! How ought the sense of this high destiny to animate her sons in their efforts to perfect their institutions which they have formed by slow degrees from feudal barbarism; to make them in reality as perfect as they would have them appear to the world to be in theory, than rising nations may love and

honour the source whence they derive theirs, and continue to look to it for improvement."

Regarding Indian village communities, Sleeman's observations and the editor's comments both deserve notice.

"As ships are from necessity formed to weather the storms to which they are constantly liable at sea, so were the Indian village communities framed to weather those of invasion and civil war, to which they were so much accustomed by land; and in the course of a year or two, no traces were found of ravages that one might have supposed it would have taken ages to recover from."

Mr. Vincent Smith remarks:

"The rapid recovery of Indian villages and villagers from the effects of war does not need for its explanation the evocation of a spirit of moral and political vitality. The real explanation is to be found in the simplicity of the village life and needs..... Human societies with a low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life are, like individual organisms of lowly structure and few functions, hard to kill."

In our opinion there is some truth in this, but does not the Indian scheme of life demonstrate the fact that the highest intellectual development is compatible with plain living, and is it not a higher and a nobler ideal than the mad race for wealth which is among the most potent causes of the present European Armageddon? But to return to our author. How true is the following observation:

"In India, where the people have learnt so well to govern themselves [in their village communities] from the want of settled government, good or bad government really depends almost altogether upon good or bad settlements of the land revenue. Where the Government demand is imposed with moderation, and enforced with justice, there will the people be generally found happy and contented, and disposed to perform their duties to each other and to the state; except when they have the misfortune to suffer from drought, blight, and other calamities of season."

Sleeman was quite averse to ryotwari settlement nor was he in favour of large Zamindari settlements, and he considered that the evils of both the systems could be cured by 'village settlements in which the estate shall be of moderate size, and the hereditary property of the holder,' descending by the right of primogeniture.

The sentiments which Sleeman expressed towards Akbar are worthy of him:

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets; and feeling as a citizen of the world, I revered the marble slab that covers his bones more, perhaps, than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted."

The author had a high opinion of Persian culture, and more than once

expresses the opinion that a Mahomedan gentleman of education 'is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts,... and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times'. His head is 'almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the young man raw from Oxford.'

"He therefore thinks himself as well fitted to fill the high offices which are now filled exclusively by Europeans, and naturally enough wishes the establishments of that power could open them to him."

Many in these days will be startled to hear that "the profession next in rank after that of the soldier robbing in the service of the sovereign was that of the robber plundering on his own account." Sleeman knew that the state of things in Europe a century or two earlier was no better:

"There was a time in England, it is said, when the supply of clergymen was so great compared with the demand for them, from the undue stimulus given to clerical education, that it was not thought disgraceful for them to take to robbing on the highway and all the high roads were, in consequence, infested by them."

But gang robbery was very frequent in India in those unsettled times, and what is more, the aristocracy and landed gentry were in league with such robbers, and the law's delay, of which Sleeman complained bitterly, and the corruption of the Police, made its suppression very difficult in British India, though Sleeman did succeed in suppressing the Thuggee, which was gang robbery in the most aggravated form. The editor notes that even honorary magistrates and other men of position have been known to be receivers of stolen property, and that the introduction of men of good birth, drawing high salaries, in the ranks of the Police, has not improved its *morale*. But the wise reflections of Sleeman on this point are as true now as when they were made, namely, that you must pay these officers on a scale high enough to place them above temptation, and unless you do so, you must be very imperfectly acquainted with human nature and with the motives by which men are influenced in all quarters of the world, to expect that they will be zealous and honest in the discharge of their duties.

The theory of 'no conviction, no promotion,' seems to be of good old origin, for we find Sleeman writing as follows:

"A Magistrate's merits are too often estimated by the proportion that his convictions bear to his acquittals among the prisoners committed for trial to the sessions."

In the Revenue and Judicial Services, where the prospects were much better than in the Police service, the author found

"A degree of integrity in public officers, never before known in India, and rarely to be found in any other country. In the province where I now write [the Sagar and Nerbudda territories], which consists of six districts, there are twenty-two native judicial officers, Munsifs, Sadar Amins, and Principal Sadar Amins; and in the whole province I have never heard a suspicion breathed against one of them; nor do I believe that the integrity of one of them is at this time suspected."

Here, as usual, the editor comes forward with a disparaging remark to the effect that the standard of integrity among the higher Indian officials 'is still a long way from the perfection indicated by the author's remarks.' This remark is as undeserved as it is cruel, for in regard to the Provincial Services, the Public Service Commission of 1886 has endorsed entirely the high opinion expressed by Sleeman.

A feature of Hindu social life which is often noticed by Sleeman is the stream of pilgrims he met with everywhere during his peregrinations, and he is not slow to notice the great privations they endured in the cause of their faith. The chapter on the public spirit of the Hindus is as instructive as it is entertaining. It gives us a pleasing picture of the Hindu social structure.

"If by the term public spirit he meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their own enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment, for the common good, there is perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollections of their countrymen for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility is the study of every Hindoo of rank and property."

There are many other passages in a similar strain. Then he proceeds to estimate the number of temples, groves, mosques, tanks, wells, &c., in the district of Jubbulpur of which he was in charge, and supports his statements by figures.

Sleeman's observations on the disarmament of the people and its effect on robbery are so applicable to the present situation that they deserve quotation:

"Some magistrates and local rulers, ...have very unwisely adopted the measure of prohibiting the people from carrying or having arms in their houses, the very thing which, above all others, such robbers most wish; for they know, though such magistrates and rulers do not, that it is the innocent only, and

the friends to order, who will obey the command. The robber will always be able to conceal his arms, or keep them out of reach of the magistrate; and he is now relieved altogether from the salutary dread of a shot from a door or a window. He may rob at his leisure, or sit down like a gentleman and have all that the people of the surrounding town and villages possess brought to him, for no man can any longer attempt to defend himself or his family."

For the Sepoy Army Sleeman has nothing but praise: 'No army in the world was certainly ever more moral or more contented than our native army.' It is characterised by 'a general and uniform propriety of conduct, that is hardly to be found among the soldiers of any other army in the world, and which seems incomprehensible to those unacquainted with its source—veneration of parents cherished through life, and a never impaired love of home, and of all the dear objects by which it is constituted.' But Sleeman's observations on throwing open the commissioned ranks of the army to educated Indians shows that his political views could not in some essential respects rise superior to the narrow outlook of the average Anglo-Indian circle. According to him the effect of such a course will be that

"Our native army will soon cease to have the same feelings of devotion towards the Government, and of attachment and respect towards their European officers that they now have. The young, ambitious, and aspiring native officers will soon try to teach the great mass that their interest and that of the European officers and European government are by no means one and the same, as they have been hitherto led to suppose; and it is upon the good feeling of this great mass that we have to depend for support."

The Rajput, the Brahman, and the Pathan who has chosen the sword for a profession, does not consider it essential also to possess the qualifications of a clerk; and according to Sleeman, 'this is a tone of feeling which it is clearly the interest of Government to foster than discourage.' The editor has no comment to make on Sleeman's views on this point, from which it would appear that they are in accord with his own. But loyalty not based upon enlightened self-interest proved its unreliability in the Sepoy Mutiny, and the only way to make the masses feel that their interest is the same as that of their rulers is to make it so in reality, by throwing open the higher ranks of the civil and the military career to educated natives.

Regarding the handsome Mausoleums of the Mogul times, where apartments were

usually set aside for Koranic studies. Sleeman says:

"These buildings were, therefore, looked upon by the Hindoos, who composed the great mass of the people, as a kind of religious volcanoes, always ready to explode and pour out their lava of intolerance and outrage upon the innocent people of the surrounding country."

And then follow certain reflections which, we regretfully observe, are only compatible with a conviction in the efficacy of the divide and rule policy.

"The recollection of such outrages, and the humiliation to which they give rise, associated as they always are in the minds of the Hindoos with the sight of these buildings, are perhaps the greatest source of our strength in India; because they at the same time feel that it is to us alone they owe the protection which they now enjoy from similar injuries. Many of my countrymen, full of virtuous indignation at the outrages which often occur during the processions of the Mohurrum, particularly when these happen to take place at the same time with some religious procession of the Hindoos, are very anxious that our government should interpose its authority to put down both. But these processions and occasional outrages are really sources of great strength to us; they show at once the necessity for the interposition of an impartial tribunal, and a disposition on the part of the rulers to interpose impartially."

A similar somewhat Machiavellian—we are sorry to have to use the word in connection with such a habitually fair-minded man as Sleeman—reason is given for the preservation of the remaining Native States, which might be justified on the grounds of justice and equity alone, but which Sleeman probably thought would not find much favour with his countrymen. Sleeman advocated their preservation on two grounds; first, because the apprehension was already too prevalent among the native chiefs that the British Government desired by degrees to absorb them all, "and secondly, because, by leaving them as a contrast, we afford to the people of India the opportunity of observing the superior advantages of our rule."

[Editor's Note: 'The methods of Government in the existing Native States have been so profoundly modified by the influence of the Imperial Government that these states are no longer as instructive in the way of contrast as they were in the author's day.] Yes; the contrast in some cases is not to the advantage of the British Government.

A word or two on the Editorial notes. The meticulous accuracy with which the author's mistakes in spelling proper names,

in giving the distances and describing the physical and topographical features of localities, have been corrected in the notes, seems to us to be typical of the difference between the present race of Anglo-Indians and their predecessors. Everything has now been reduced to measure, duly labelled and entered in a gazetteer or cyclopaedia, and an Anglo-Indian of the present generation can easily surpass the older type in giving references and quoting exact figures and statistics and parallel passages. But the real soul of the people with whom they came into contact was far better understood and expressed by the older generation of administrators, who mixed intimately with the people, as apart from mere physical environments and ethnological peculiarities, which after all, constitute only the outer shell and not the inner core. In his brief preface, the author writes to his sister that 'the work may, perhaps, tend to make the people of India better understood by those of my countrymen whose destinies are cast among them, and inspire more kindly feelings towards them.' We regret to observe that the impression created by many of the editorial notes will be of an opposite character. The editor says: 'Modern investigation has proved that Hindoo medicine, like Hindoo astronomy, is largely of Greek origin.' Even if we ignore such positive statements on doubtful controversial subjects, there are others, i.e.—'In some provinces, especially in Bengal, the action of the High Courts has almost paralysed the arm of the executive'—which cannot be excused, though they appear in footnotes, and may claim the obscurity of a small type. 'The Rajas at Simla might now be considered by some people as an encumbrance,' but only by those to whom the sight of even the chiefest in rank among Indians is odious. 'The service of the British Government is sought because it pays, but a foreign Government must not expect love. Respect for the British rule depends upon the strength of that rule.' After this frank and to us only a half-true statement, the difficulty which the editor feels in reconciling official professions with the actualities of the administration need not occasion surprise:

"The contemplation of the vast administrative machinery working with its irresistible force and unfailing regularity in obedience to the will of rulers

whose motives are not understood, undoubtedly has a paralysing influence on the life of the nations of India, which, if not counteracted, would work deep mischief. Something in the way of counteraction has been done, though not always with knowledge. The difficulties inherent in the problem of reconciling foreign rule with self-government in an Asiatic country are enormous."

The editor's last word on Indian civilisation seems to be these:

"India cannot truly be described as an uncivilised or barbarous country, but side by side with elements of the highest civilisation, it contains many elements of primitive and savage barbarism."

The editor is not certain that British rule grows more and more upon the affections of those subject to it, and 'the less is said about the supposed affection of mercenary troops for a foreign Government, the better,' and quotes from Lord William Bentinck's minute, 'as a corrective to the author's too effusive sentiment,' where he says:

".....we cannot be blind to the fact that many of those ties which bind other armies to their allegiance are totally wanting in this. Here is no patriotism, no community of feeling as to religion or birth-place, no influencing attachment from high considerations, or great honours and rewards. Our native army is also extremely ignorant, capable of the strongest religious excitement, and very sensitive to disrespect to their persons or infringement of their customs.....In the native army alone rests our internal danger, and this danger may involve our complete subversion.....All these facts and opinions seem to me to establish incontrovertibly that a large proportion of European troops is necessary for our security under all circumstances of peace and war....."

Commenting on Sleeman's account of the murder of Mr. Fraser, the Governor-General's representative at Delhi at the investigation of a Muhammadan nobleman, Mr. Vincent Smith writes as follows in one of his footnotes:

"This sinister incident shows clearly the real feeling of the Muhammadan populace towards the ruling power. That feeling is unchanged, and not altogether confined to the Muslim populace."

We suppose if an Indian journal were to vilify the entire English race on the strength of the not uncommon instances of fatal assaults committed by Europeans on Indians with little risk to themselves so far as the Anglo-Indian jury are concerned, the Editor would not hesitate to call it a 'gutter rag.' And yet he does not hesitate to blacken the character of a whole nation on the strength of a single incident.

But when all is said, the fact remains that trust alone begets trust, and at the time when the Editor was inditing all

these notes, the Indian sepoys were dyeing the battlefields of France with their life-blood in the cause of their British employers. If neither his antiquarian researches nor the part played by India in the present war has led the editor to en-

ertain kindly feelings towards the people of the country, we may well nigh despair of the average Anglo-Indian official who does not possess either the ability or the thoughtfulness of Mr. V. A. Smith.

POLITICUS.

"THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY"

II.

TURNING to the grand superstructure of the theories which the learned excavator of Pataliputra has attempted to raise on the basis of his supposed discoveries we have no hesitation to say that some of his queer observations fail to appeal to our conviction and common sense. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1915, he says :

".....It should be understood that stratigraphical evidences cannot lie and that by careful observation and scrupulous tabulation they can be made to yield as certain information as to the nature of a structure as actual remnants of the same in situ."*

But his conviction was not so strong only a year ago. In his Report for the year 1913-14 he admits that

".....It is understood by everybody that all such synthetic readings of stratigraphical evidences as are published from time to time in the course of an excavation are essentially *tentative* and always subject to revision in the light of accumulating evidences."†

From what we have quoted above it seems legitimate to conclude that the conviction of the learned excavator has grown stronger in the meantime and he now comes forward with assertions which to us seem not in any way better warranted. The excavations at Pataliputra are not finished yet. But we find that the learned gentleman has already veered round and changed his opinion. We have already seen how easily stratigraphical evidences can mislead a person and how very difficult the true interpretation of such a piece of evidence really is.

Now, let us, for the sake of argument, accept the explanation put forward by Dr. Spooner of the evidences revealed in the

strata of earth laid bare by his excavations of Pataliputra, and proceed to examine his conclusions based on these so-called evidences. Let us admit that the fragments of polished stone discovered at Pataliputra really form part of the remains of a pillared hall, that though the columns stood above the level of the stylobate; their lower parts escaped destruction somehow and sank vertically into the earth leaving behind round shafts filled up with ashes, and that at the end of the first season indications of eight rows of monolithic polished pillars, with at least ten pillars in each row" have been discovered. Granting that Dr. Spooner's assumptions are true and that "the building consisted of a vast pillared hall, presumably square, with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet, or ten Mauryan cubits, each from each," we cannot help concluding that the learned antiquarian has been overpowered by the glamour of the weird appearance of the ruins of the ancient city; for immediately after the above statement he says: "Square halls with multiple rows of pillars in square bays are commonplaces in modern Indian architecture, but the ancient period has hitherto none to show." We wonder how such a statement could emanate from a member of the Archaeological Department! How many ancient sites has the Department excavated with that thoroughness as it has brought into play at Sarnath, Kasia and Taxila, and how many located? and also in how many undertakings has the Department spent sixty thousand in three years? Dr. Spooner is perhaps the best person to answer these questions and surely these questions must have occurred to him when he wrote what

* *Journal of the Roy. As. Soc.*, 1915, p. 65.

† *Annual Rep.*, 1913-14, p. 47. The italics are ours.

has been quoted above. It is a pity that the voice of Sridhara Ramakrishna Bhandarkar has been silenced for ever. For more than once the late scholar endeavoured to bring to their senses those who in spite of their high pretensions consciously fell into such quagmire and proceeded to propound such arrant absurdities. It is a pity that in India the archaeologist needs always reminding that his work is only begun and that years of toil and labour must pass in the systematic excavation of old sites before any generalisation on the results of spade work is to be attempted. Egypt has almost been thoroughly explored and the Egyptologists have only recently acquired the right of generalising on the evidences adduced from the study of stratigraphy. Whereas in India a regular spade work has been begun only about twelve years ago. In Magadha the metropolitan district of India for about a thousand years, the surface only has been scratched here and there, and not more than three or four sites have been proved. It would be premature, nay hasty to generalise from such scanty evidences as are alleged to have been discovered by Dr. Spooner. Any theory formulated from such scanty and flimsy resources does not carry any weight in the domain of scientific study.

Dr. Spooner's next statement shows very clearly that he began his researches with a preconceived notion.

"When the plan of our building seemed to be so clearly un-Indian, while our columns showed the peculiar Persian polish, it seemed to me not impossible that even in its design, the building might have been under Persian influence."*

Two assertions have thus been made in the above statement. In the first place, it has been said that the Persian influence predominated, and secondly, that the plan of the building was "un-Indian." When one starts in a research work with a preconceived notion, it is no wonder that whatever he may happen to find would seem to him to corroborate his own ideas. Dr. Spooner's subsequent statements or assertions clearly point to such foregone conclusions. As soon as the thought flashes into his mind that the building is altogether "un-Indian" in character, a statement which he has not cared to prove and that the Persian influence is a predo-

minating element in the new find, he very naturally jumps to the conclusion that the so-called Mauryan hall is only a replica of the Persepolitan hall of hundred columns. But the hall at Persepolis lacks a plinth or a stylobate, whereas the one said to have been discovered at Pataliputra seems to have been built on a stylobate. The pillars at Pataliputra are fifteen feet apart, while in the case of the hall at Persepolis the intervening distance between a pair of them is twenty-one feet. ‡

This difference in the method of construction of the two buildings does not count for much with the learned excavator of Pataliputra who holds that the Persepolitan hall affords a striking parallel to the one he has discovered.

Further assertion with regard to the Persian character of the hall discovered by Dr. Spooner is to be found in the following passage :—

"Yes, more, the one big column which we had recovered showed a mason's mark familiar at Persepolis. The form was not identical perhaps, but the resemblance was nevertheless unmistakable and very striking."

The only fragment found in the excavated area is a part of a column bearing several mason's marks which we had the opportunity of examining during our visit. They formed a very close approach to the *crux ansata*, the symbol of life in Egyptian mysticism. They cannot, we are sure, be taken to represent any other thing. Dr. Spooner admitting that the forms on the Pataliputran column are not identical with anything similar found at Persepolis is rather dogmatic in his assertion with regard to the Persian influence, and finds, we are quite at a loss to understand how, marks having a "striking" and an "unmistakable" resemblance to those at Persepolis. The origin of the symbol is certainly to be sought in Egypt. It might have been imported into India and Persia simultaneously, or what is more probable it might have passed into Persia through India. This opens up a new vista of researches with regard to the origin of this symbol and its migration from its original abode to those countries where it has been subsequently found. The mere occurrence of the symbol, even if the identity were established, would not advance a step

‡ An Rep. Arch. Surv. of Ind. East. Circ., 1913-14, p. 51.

* J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 67.

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 66.

further the arguments in favour of the Persian influence on the ground of its being a common mason's mark at Persepolis.

* Such are the queer evidences brought up by Dr. Spooner to establish his conclusions which cannot be at all regarded as scientific or logical. In this strange land many things are allowed to pass as genuine provided they happen to bear the hall-mark of officialism.

Dr. Spooner does not find any loophole in his own arguments and has no hesitation in making the following statement:—

"Enough has been said already to explain why it seemed to me reasonable to assume, as a working hypothesis for the conduct of future operations, that the structure under excavation really did betray strong Achaemenian influence, and that indeed it looked, at even that early stage of work, curiously like a copy of the Persian Hall."*

Dr. Spooner next tries to prove that the Mauryas copied the design of the palace at Persepolis. His preconceived notions led him to this assumption. He takes Lord Curzon's plan of Persepolis, works out the south-west corner of his pillared hall which probably never existed anywhere else but in his dreams, and starts through the jungle with his accessories and instruments for the sake of a mere theory and even that not standing on any sure basis. We had better quote his own words:—

"The whole story of that wonderful day cannot be given here. It will be found in my Annual Report for 1913-14."†

Turning to the Annual Report of the learned excavator, we find him taking seven massive platforms "located in the eastern half of the south side," as marking the southern limit of the building. He refers, we believe, to several massive solid wooden structures, discovered at Patna, and photographs of which were published in the "Statesman". We do not exactly understand why he takes these to be the southern limit of the building. Let us, however, accept the conclusion provisionally and consider what he says with regard to the other points:—

"Having then marked out a theoretical south-west corner for my pillared hall, I proceeded to measure out a distance of 200 feet to the south, and found myself thereby brought to a large and lofty mound."‡

Admitting that the wooden foundation

marks the southern limit of the so-called hall, what on earth can help one to ascertain the south-west corner of the building when the western limit is altogether unknown? The wooden platforms might have been erected for a portion of the southern limit where the soil was very soft. Dr. Spooner does not claim to have discovered a line of such platforms extending over 275 ft. which is the length of the southern facade of the stylobate. Were it so, it would have been a much more easy task for the learned excavator of Pataliputra to determine the corners, and perhaps, in that case his conclusions might have carried conviction. But as it stands now, it cannot be said with any degree of certainty that Dr. Spooner has succeeded to hit the south-west corner of his Pataliputra hall. Not resting satisfied with what he thought he had discovered, the learned Doctor proceeds to discover the palace of Xerxes. The location of this desideratum has been made by Dr. Spooner at a place 200 ft. from the imaginary south-western corner. This is an unexplored mound which he at first took for "an ordinary stupa mound."

"But the other sides were found to the prevalently intact, and all to be straight lines, north and south, and east and west, running to sharp and well-defined right angle corners. No stupa ever left this configuration."*

But instances are not rare. A Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey Department who took part in the exploration of Sahr-i-Bahlol should not, perhaps, need reminding by a lay man outside the Department of the square stupas of Ate Masjid. No attempt has yet been made to explain these. If Dr. Spooner had devoted some of his time to the exploration of the ruins of Behar he would have found that the plinths of all mediaeval stupas are square. Hundreds of such structures were exposed by Cunningham and Beglar at Bodhi-Gaya and by Marshall and Oertel at Sarnath. Then comes a very queer remark from the learned explorer to the following effect:—

"Lord Curzon's plan then shows to the west and to the north-west of his south-east edifice, two natural hills. There are no counterparts to these in Patna."†

In the plan printed in vol. 2 of Lord Curzon's work, one of these "natural hills"

* J. R. A. S. 1915, pp 67-68.

† *Ibid.* p. 68.

‡ Annual Rep., 1913-14.

* Annual Report, 1913, p. 53.

† Annual Report, 1913, p. 53.

has been marked as a mound. It is almost beyond our power to conceive what led the learned scholar to call them "natural hills." Let us read what Lord Curzon writes on this point:—

"Before leaving this place, let us notice that between the terrace that precedes it on the north, and the hindmost pillars of the great Hall of Xerxes, is a space of ground about a hundred yards in length, which is now occupied only by a mound, rising in parts to a very considerable height above the true level of the platform."^{*}

We do not understand how one could expect to find counterparts to these at Patna. To the west of the mound at Kumrahar Dr. Spooner finds a mound in the jungle which he at once identifies with the palace of Darius. He admits, the distance is not exact, but all the same he sticks to his theory. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* he further adds:—

"There were even ridges and other minor indications at other points corresponding to further members of the Achaemenian group of structures; but these were less conclusive than the main mounds and their significance was uncertain."[†]

In his Report for the year 1913-14 he remarks on this point—

"The north inner wall of Darius's palace according to Lord Curzon's plan, lies almost exactly in one line east and west, with the south wall of the throne-room away off to the east. The corresponding edge of the main body of our mound was found to be in corresponding bearing to our seven wooden platforms at the other site."[‡]

The mound at Kumrahar which Dr. Spooner supposes to be the ruins of Darius's palace, in the replica of Persepolis, at Pataliputra, has not yet been excavated; and therefore its outlines may be taken to correspond roughly with the outer walls. It would be rather an abnormal strain on the imagination to suppose that a corresponding inner wall might be regarded as forming the interior of an unexplored mound. It should be noted here that Dr. Spooner has taken the boundary walls between the fields and some elevated village roads to be the ridges. We could not find anything in them which might lead us to believe that they were the remains of walls or staircases as supposed by the learned explorer. We have to quote another

instance of Dr. Spooner's American method of archaeological investigation. The palaces of Persepolis were built on an immense platform with a raised stone plinth which is still to be found intact. At Patna there is no such platform and the remains of a high stone plinth has not been so much as even traced. So the learned Doctor says:—

"It seemed perfectly futile to expect anything like a counterpart to the actual platform, at Kumrahar, for all the neighbourhood of Patna is a level plain. However, preconceived notions were by this time laid aside, and I proceeded to the west to look. Due west of the second mound a modern water channel lay, which obscured the surface and threw that particular tract out of reckoning. But going south west from the south-west corner of the mound to a very short distance from it, I came upon the most astonishing resemblance of them all. There actually was a terrace, after all. The land on which I had been walking theretofore was then disclosed as definitely elevated land some two feet higher than the fields around it."^{*}

The platform at Persepolis was "faced with gigantic blocks of stone, constituting a perpendicular wall that rises to a height varying from twenty to nearly fifty feet above the plain."[†] According to Dr. Spooner the remains of the platform at Pataliputra corresponding to the platform at Persepolis is only two feet in height. The explorer has not succeeded in discovering even the slightest indication of a stone-faced stylobate or plinth and perhaps it did not occur to him that this very slight variation in height is due to the accumulation of rubbish. Such are the methods employed in unravelling the mysteries of an ancient capital of the Mauryas. They were altogether unknown to the Indologists until the advent of the American scholar in the field. Even the most reckless and hasty people of the type not uncommon in the Department have never ventured to adopt them.

With these discoveries to stand by, the learned gentleman proceeds to examine the Indian literature for further evidences of Zoroastrian influence. "But does this mean," questions the explorer, "that really very little Persian influence is traceable in India?" In answer to this question he states that the edicts of Asoka only echo Darius's, and that "Dr. Marshall tells us his columns and his capitals were wrought by Greco-Persian masons." There may or may

* Curzon's Persia, vol II, p. 175.

† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 69.

‡ Ibid., p. 51.

* An. Rep., 1913-14, p. 54.

† Curzon's Persia, Vol. 2, p. 151.

not be an echo of Darius's edicts in the rock and pillar edicts of Asoka, but one pauses for breath when the explorer of Pataliputra calls to his aid the all-knowing chief of the Department, to prove that the columns and the capitals of Asoka were wrought by the Greco-Persian masons. Any action or utterance of this remarkable personage forces us to remember that he was chosen by Lord Curzon's Government to fill the highest post in the Archaeological Department not on account of his proficiency as an Orientalist but for reasons better known to himself and his patrons than to the public, that his want of knowledge in Indology prevents and shall always prevent him from being a reliable authority on any branch of Indian antiquities, and that his statements, always unsupported by substantial proofs, have never found general acceptance. Was it not he who some years ago blazoned forth his discoveries of the antiquities of the 12th century at Bhita in the district of Allahabad in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society? Well, afterwards when his fit of enthusiasm subsided to a considerable extent he became more modest in the pages of his Annual Report for the year 1911-12 where he curtailed a considerable portion of his statements with regard to the excavation. Sir John was probably dreaming when he thought of the Greco-Persian masons working at the shafts and capitals of Asoka's monoliths. We are sure he has not a grain of authority in support of this statement—nay, we challenge the whole Archaeological Department to come forward with any substantial piece of evidence in corroboration of the assertions of their chief. Dr. Thomas seems to be perfectly right when he says "we must look to the facade of Darius's tomb to realize how the Mathura lion capital fitted into place."* The lion capital of a pillar or a pilaster is purely an Assyrian design copied both in Persia and in India.

After enumerating the capitals of the Asoka pillars and citing the instance of his imaginary pillared hall as signs of the so-called Persian influence on Indian civilisation, Dr. Spooner proceeds to bring up an array of literary evidences in support of his theory.

"Megasthenes," he says, "will bear us testimony

that the Indian court was almost wholly Persian in his day. Mr. Vincent Smith has brought together the details in his invaluable History, and the picture which he paints for us of Chandragupta's Court is Achaemenian in every line and tint."†

These remarks do not demand any comment on our part, as they show quite clearly the undercurrent of thought and ideas that were running through his mind. Should Dr. Spooner feel inclined to contest this point, we can assure him, he would not find us falling back. We find another queer remark which may very easily be misconstrued:—

"When the edict pillars of Asoka testify to Persian influence, not by their style alone, but by their substance and their very script, it is clear that he, at least, drew definitely on the west for inspiration."‡

When Dr. Spooner passes any remark about the script, it appears that he is sure that the script of all the inscriptions of Asoka testifies to the much-talked of Persian influence. This statement is partially borne out by two of the rock edicts, viz., at Manshera and Shahbazgarhi, written in Kharoshthi script. This script owed its development to the later Aramaic and was written from right to left. The situation of Manshera and Shahbazgarhi necessitated the adoption of this script. Once they were included in an Achaemenian Satrapy and so perhaps the script remained in those regions as the residual of an exotic political supremacy at least for some time after the foreign yoke was removed. Parallel instances are not wanting in modern times. The Persian language was retained in the courts of Bengal for more than a century after the assumption of the *dewani* by the East India Company.

We learn from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman that a reservoir, originally constructed by the Vaisya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor under Maurya Chandragupta, was subsequently fitted up with conduits by the Yavana king Tushaspha for Asoka the Maurya.§ This reservoir was subsequently repaired during the reign of Skandagupta. But a new light is thrown on the origin of this reservoir of water. The learned explorer of Pataliputra informs us that "it is believed that the famous waterworks he (Tushaspha) carried out were copies of

* *Ibid.*

‡ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 71.

§ *Epi. Ind.* VIII, pp. 36 et seq.

the Babylonian." But by whom is it so believed? A statement unsubstantiated by evidence does not induce belief. Where are the references? Such a vague assertion as this unsubstantiated by evidence and unsupported by reasoning has no place in history.

Dr. Spooner's conclusions are almost always as queer as the finds at Pataliputra are scanty.

"At the court," says the learned Doctor, "where the Indian monarch washed his royal hair according to the Persian Calendar and built the royal highway from his palace in imitation of Darius's, his palaces themselves may very well have been as imitative as the royal road. We therefore need no longer hesitate to give our archaeological evidences at Kumrahar their full face value."*

Well, I am afraid, there is not much to be said in favour of the views taken up by Dr. Spooner with regard to the hair-washing ceremony of Maurya Chandragupta, which the learned explorer says was observed in accordance with the Persian Calendar. Let us see what Mr. V. A. Smith has to say on this point.

"In accordance with the Persian custom," he writes, "which had much influence upon the Indian court and administration, the king ceremonially washed his hair on his birth-day, which was celebrated by a splendid festival, at which the nobles were expected to make rich presents to their sovereign."†

Nothing has been said by Mr. Smith with regard to the Persian Calendar. The birth-day is as sacred to the Indians in the modern times as it was in the ancient days. This can never be called an observance of the Persian Calendar. We have not got any detailed account of the ceremony, which on the authority of Strabo and of Herodotus Mr. Smith understands to be a Persian custom. This might have been a custom common to both the Indians and the Iranians. Moreover bathing, besprinkling the head with water, or washing the hair, as Strabo and Herodotus puts it, is the ceremony of purification insisted on by all the Grihya-sutras on all auspicious, memorable and sacred days, or as a preliminary to other ceremonies. There would be nothing un-Indian in washing oneself on his birthday which would always be regarded as memorable and observed with due ceremonies. The authority of Strabo and Herodotus does not seem to be so unques-

tionable as Mr. Smith and Dr. Spooner are inclined to think. Their accounts of India were got mostly from secondhand reports, or at least they might safely be regarded as such as there is no evidence which would go to show that either of them ever visited the land.

Neither is there any authority for our believing that the highway to Darius's palace was imitated at Pataliputra. Such statements on the sole authority of a foreigner cannot be relied upon. For one from the West, who first lights on Persia and probably her western satrapies and then sojourns to other Oriental countries, and if he were more familiar with Persia and the Persians, it would be natural to expect him to compare every remarkable thing that he might happen to visit with things he found in a land where he would be more at home and less regarded as a foreigner. Persia and Media by their contiguity to Greece would not so much be regarded as a strange land by a Greek as India would be.

Our intrepid explorer now proceeds to his next conclusion. His idea is that the important finds of his own excavations at Pataliputra "shows us upon the threshold of the historical period a dynasty of almost purely Persian type—how purely Persian we shall see as we go on."*

In connection with this our learned explorer has almost unwittingly uttered a piece of genuine historical truth. This is about the introduction of the use of stone in Indian architecture. Asoka has hitherto been credited with having introduced the use of stone as a building material and the Greeks have shared with the Persians the honour of inspiring him. Serious scholars have often been led to doubt the correctness of this statement. Nothing can be brought up in support of this utterly unwarranted assertion. But it is implicitly believed to be true by such Indian archaeologists as Sir John Marshall, whose lack of knowledge of Indian history and literature leads him to believe that the origin of every Indian art and craft must be sought in Greece. Dr. Spooner very aptly remarks—

"A Greek himself, Megasthenes would surely not have failed to boast of his own nation's influence at a foreign court which he openly admired, had such

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 72.

† Early History, 3rd ed. p. 124.

* J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 72.

existed. For Chandragupta's time the evidences point to Persia only."^{*}

The statement is not quite clear. Perhaps what Dr. Spooner means is that India was indebted to Persia for the introduction of stone in the Indian architecture. For the history of Chandragupta's reign we have no evidence save the fragmentary statements of Megasthenes. The *Arthasastra* has yet to be proved to be a genuine work of Chanakya before it can be admitted into the arena of contemporary accounts. Before even the commencement of Chandragupta's reign the Persian Empire was destroyed and the Persians had ceased to be a nation of any consequence. The Empire was cut up and parcelled out among the generals of Alexander, and its individuality was almost entirely stamped out under the Hellenic supremacy. When Persia revived out of the ashes of her former glory, under the semi-Hellenised earlier Parthian rulers, her old Achaemenian magnificence and splendor had altogether disappeared. So that one has not got far to seek the evidences to the effect that during Chandragupta's reign, Persian civilization had already lost its glamour, and Persia had altogether ceased to be a centre of influence.

Now for the structures, the remains of which Dr. Spooner imagines to have discovered at Pataliputra, he tells us that "these (at Kumrahar) so far as can be judged were wholly built of wood. Possibly portions were made of brick, but stone was used sparingly, for certain features only." † These remarks so far as we can understand point directly to the failure on the part of the explorer to discover evidences of a stone structure. A few fragments of stone pillars he has succeeded to find, and so he asserts that they are the indications, or rather the very remains of a large pillared hall. And the consequence is that he is led to imagine the building was mainly of wood wherein bricks might have been partly used. Fergusson's conception of the brick walls of the Persepolitan palaces, and corroboration of Lord Curzon‡ thereof are perhaps to a large extent responsible for this assertion.

The next assertion of the learned explorer

is still less worthy of a skilled archaeologist. "At Kumrahar," he says; "what we see is the first use of dressed stone for building purposes, when stone is still subordinate to wood, and largely restricted to columnar use and use in decorative adjuncts to the structure."

The three different stages in the learned Doctor's imagination are clearly shown in this statement: first, that there was a building of some sort at Kumrahar, the only remains of which are a few fragments of stone pillars; secondly, that this building was mainly of wood; and thirdly, that stone pillars were used in its construction. But one question arises and that is this: what prevented the builders from using stone in the construction of the stylobate, floor and the bases of the pillars? Dr. Spooner is not right, perhaps, in pleading the want of stones as building materials. These builders generally used stones quarried at Chunar or Mirzapur. If they could transport such heavy monoliths from such distant places, of course, at a heavy cost, one cannot at all understand the reason which prevented them from using stone for the floor and the stylobate. At the same time, various sorts of stones are to be found in different parts of Bihar, which could have been easily utilized. In putting forth this remark our learned scholar betrays a regrettable lack of reserve which is an indispensable qualification of an archaeologist. He says that he has discovered the first use of dressed stone for building purposes at Kumrahar, and hence he must be sure of his grounds. He is absolutely sure that no older building made of dressed stone will ever be discovered. He is confident of the fact that Jarasandha's Baithak at Rajgir and the causeways up the Gridhrakuta and Giriek hills are later in date. It pains one to find such statements disfiguring the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

A laboured attempt is perceptible on the part of Dr. Spooner to prove that his imaginary hall at Kumrahar was older in date than Asoka. The ghosts of the Chinese travellers are marshalled in and a curious jumble is made of their statements. Fa Hien* says that the genii had built Asoka's halls and palaces by piling up the stones and thus raising up the walls and gates; therefore the hall at Kumrahar must

* J. R. A. S., p. 72.

† An. Rep., 1913, p. 53.

‡ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 73.

* More correctly: Fa Hsien.

belong to an older order of architecture, because we have neither walls nor gates of piled stones in the case of the building in question. Again, Hsuen Tsang* mentions an old terrace at Pataliputra, which was older than the palace of Asoka. This the learned scholar identifies with the ruins at Kumrahar. "Thus," remarks Dr. Spooner, "both our Chinese authors seem to indicate that our remains were not those of the Asokan palaces. That they are not of later date is obvious from the monuments themselves. We therefore must assign them either to Bindusara or to Chandragupta."†

We have already attempted to point out that our learned explorer had no sufficient ground to state that the so-called hall at Kumrahar was built of bricks and wood and where only pillars of stone were used. His arguments for an older order of architecture as compared with the Asokan remains described by Fa Hsien as made of piles of stones are also vague and insufficient. The second part of his argument is more real and tangible, but with his usual ingenuity he has distorted it to suit his own requirements. Hsuan Tsang saw an old terrace at Pataliputra. He calls it old in order to distinguish it from the Asokan buildings. Well, that is all. But what on earth could lead one to suppose that the terrace in question *must* be attributed either to Chandragupta or to Bindusara? What bar must there be against its being assigned to a king or the kings of an older dynasty, say to Ajatasatru, who is said to have removed the capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra? What is Dr. Spooner's justification for using the word *must* in this connection? The ascription of the buildings to the earliest Mauryan times is altogether baseless and their Persian character is a bit of worthless statement utterly exotic in the domain of history.

Now we come to the last of the arguments of Dr. Spooner. He equates Ahura Mazda to Asura Maya and identifies the Mauryan palaces at Pataliputra with those built by Maya and described in the Mahabharata. The equation Ahura Mazda = Asura Maya is childish and has been rejected by Messrs V. A. Smith § and

A. B. Kieth. * The word "*asura*" may be transformed into "*ahura*," a word already existing in the language, but such transformation would be difficult in the case of the word "*Mazda*". Dr. Thomas is of opinion that its Sanskrit equivalent would be *Medha*. † *Azes* may be *Aya*, but *Mazda* cannot so easily be transformed into "*Maya*." Hence, the identity must be rejected as unproved and we have but to stick to the older explanation of Maya Danava as a foreign architect of undetermined identity. But the Doctor finds in the description of the palaces built by Maya in the Mahabharata a true description of the palaces at Pataliputra.

"Nowhere in ancient India has anything of the type described in the Mahabharata been met with prior to the excavations of Pataliputra."‡

The learned explorer forgets the fact that even in his own province a very few old sites have been explored and hence these pronouncements should not have been made by him. He quotes a few verses from the Sabhaparva and finds his "English quotation from Curtius and Strabo" sounding "curiously like the Mahabharata." On a closer comparison of these two accounts it will be found that both the passages are so vague that it is absolutely impossible to find a parallel between them. There are no details given and the description as it appears was not intended to convey any clear idea. There mention is made of palaces (प्रासादः), of gardens (उद्यानानि) and of artificial lakes (मरारि). This description might apply to any city on the face of the earth. Why then should Dr. Spooner say that nowhere in ancient India anything of this type had been discovered?

Mention is made of caves, it is true; but this comes after the word *nagarani*, and perhaps, the caves in the suburbs, a feature of the ancient Indian towns, were meant. No caves had been found at Pataliputra; and the truth of Hsuan Tsang's statement might be regarded as doubtful. Here again we have to pause over the authority of a statement made by Dr. Spooner's Departmental Chief whom he has quoted. We have to listen to the second hand statement that the men who

* Or more correctly Hsuan Tsang. Also wrongly written Yuan Chwang.

† J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 76.

‡ The italics are ours.

§ J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 802.

* *Ibid*, 1916, p. 138.

† *Ibid*, 1915, p. 78.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 81.

fashioned the Mauryan caves in the Barabar hills near Gaya, betrayed familiarity with the royal rock-cut graves at Persepolis.* The mere fact that the statement has emanated from Sir John Marshall does not heighten its value; unless it is supported by unimpeachable evidence it is incapable of general acceptance. We must wait for the appearance of the original statement over the signature of Dr. Spooner's chief with such corroborative evidences as would make it entertaining. The mere mention of caves makes Dr. Spooner forget himself and carries him altogether into a transport of joy beyond the pale of reasoning. He has found some record of the existence at Pataliputra of each and everything in Maya's list, and some of these, the caves particularly, are known to have been exclusively of Persian character." But if there were caves at Pataliputra, who can say that they exhibited the same characteristics as those at Barabar? The earlier caves might have been differently constructed with peculiarities of their own. Every capital had pavilions, gardens and lakes and was surrounded by walls and moats. Mr. A. Berriedale Kieth rightly points out that "the actual similarity seems to be of utmost vagueness." The language of a critic is altogether different from that used by our learned explorer. In his ecstasy he applies the description of the capital of the

Kurus to Magadha. Any seeming similarity seems to be quite enough for him now.

Coming to the description of the throne-room or the *Sabha*, Dr. Spooner understands it to be the description of a sort of modern Persian throne-room.

"I take the poet," says the learned explorer, "to be referring, in all alike, to a type of throne-room or *sabha* familiar to his contemporaries, but now lost to human memory, in which the actual pillars as merely structural necessities, were lost to the consciousness of the beholder by reason of his absorption in the symbolism of a different and more conspicuous feature. This feature was the literal presence of a number of sculptured representations of divine and semidivine beings so sculptured and disposed as to impress the beholder as literally supporting on their upstretched arms, the various floors of the *Sabha*."

What Dr. Spooner wants is to prove that this throne-room of various floors is actually the *talar* or the Persian throne-room. It has been supposed by some that the hall of hundred pillars was actually such a *talar* or the throne-room; but there is no definite evidence with regard to this point. It is a matter of regret that a sober-minded arthaeologist can be so led away as to construct a house of cards to be pulled down at the slightest push of reason. The parallel between the description of the Pandava capital and that of the Mauryas is purely imaginary, like his discovery at Kumrahar.

Ibid, p. 87.

* *Ibid*, p. 84.

NIMROD.

THE UNNAMED CHILD

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI OF DEBENDRA SEN

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

She is a child of six months, lacking the dignity of a name.
 She is like a dewdrop hanging on the tip of a *Kamini* bud;
 like the peep of the first moon through the tresses of the night;
 like a pearl in the earring of the tiniest little fairy.
 Her elder sister clasps her to her breast, crying,
 "You are sweet as my new pet doll,"—
 and her baby brother likens her to a pink sugar drop.
 Thus while the whole household casts about in vain for a simile to fit her,
 she nods her head opening her eyes wide.

THE GREAT AGE IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE LIVED

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND.

THE three hundredth anniversary of the death of Shakespeare should call public attention, not alone to the poet who shed such luster on his time, but also to the extraordinary age in which he lived, which forms such a splendid background to his life and work, and which did so much to make his achievements possible.

Has England ever seen another age so great as that of Shakespeare? Has the modern world produced any other in which so many great events of so many different kinds transpired, or in which lived so many men, cast in so various molds, who made permanent marks upon their own and succeeding times? Could any age less great than that into which the poet was born, have stimulated his genius to such splendid fruitage as we see in his dramas?

Let us get clearly in mind the two essential dates. Shakespeare lived to the age of 52 years,—his birth occurring in 1564 and his death in 1616.

Notice first a few of his literary contemporaries in England. The brilliancy of his work is so great that it tends to obscure, and sometimes causes us wholly to forget, the work of other writers with whom he was associated. But as a fact, historians would be compelled to rank the literary output of his age as distinguished and as surpassed perhaps only once in English annals, even if there had been no Shakespeare.

England in Shakespeare's day has been very well called a nest of singing birds. There was a June of poetry and song. We must not think of the drama as confined to Shakespeare, or even to Shakespeare and a few others. The old time medieval "Mysteries" had developed into the "Miracle Plays," and they into the "Moralties," and they again into the true drama. The drama had become popular, and an ever-increasing number of adapters of plays, revisers of old plays, re-writers and improvers of plays, and finally creators

of new plays, made their appearance. Shakespeare was one of this large and growing number, and his genius finally lifted him to an eminence far above the rest. But there were other writers who attained distinction, and whose plays were worthy to live and have lived.

Perhaps the greatest of these was Ben Jonson, who was born ten years later than Shakespeare. Jonson possessed much more learning of the schools than did his brother poet. He conformed more closely to the generally accepted rules of the dramatic art. He wrote a large number of plays. In the construction of his plots, he was perhaps superior to Shakespeare. In his own day his fame was nearly or quite as great as Shakespeare's. The two dramatists were warm friends. But Shakespeare had that mysterious something which we call genius, while Jonson had only great talent, or, if genius, a distinctly lower order of genius; and so Shakespeare's plays have lived and grown in fame, while Jonson's are not much known to any one to-day, except to the historian of the drama, or to the special student of literature.

Two very distinguished play-writers who were contemporaries and friends of Shakespeare, and who have sometimes been called rivals and sometimes imitators of him, were Beaumont and Fletcher,—whose work was almost wholly done together, in collaboration with each other. Their plays attained great popularity and the popularity continued long after their death.

In all English literature there are only a very few names, possibly not more than two or three or four, that are more resplendent than that of Edmund Spenser, who was Shakespeare's senior by eleven years. His great poem, the "Faerie Queene," was published just as Shakespeare was discovering himself,—just as he was beginning to launch out as a writer of original plays.

Perhaps there was no finer character

in the England of Shakespeare's day than Sir Philip Sidney. He was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth and was considered the first gentleman of his time. He attained distinction in arms, fighting in the Netherlands to help the Dutch people to preserve their liberties against the encroachments of Philip II. of Spain. But he was a writer of great eminence, as well as a scholar, a courtier and a soldier. His "Arcadia," published when Shakespeare was doing his very best work, was held in high esteem by his age, and his "Sonnets" were thought the finest in the language. Both have permanent places in English literature.

I mention only one other of the writers who gave luster to the age of Shakespeare, namely, Francis Bacon. Bacon wrote essays of much literary value and importance, and near the end of his life some verse of little or no importance. His great writings were scientific and philosophical. His "Advancement of Learning," published when Shakespeare was in his prime, and his "Novum Organum," published shortly after Shakespeare's death, have their place among the great books of the modern world.

Let us now notice a few of the great contemporaries of Shakespeare outside of the field of letters, and some of the great events that transpired during his life or near it. Looking at the world outside of England, we find that America was discovered only 72 years before Shakespeare's birth. Only a little longer had the passage to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope been known. Hudson's Bay was discovered about the time that Shakespeare was making his plans to retire from strenuous London to Stratford, the village of his birth, and there begin to take his ease. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock four years after Shakespeare's death.

Shakespeare's time was the world's greatest age of discovery. The spirit of Columbus had passed into hundreds of daring men of every leading European nation. Numberless explorers were pushing out over unknown seas and through unknown lands to learn more about that wonderful new world which lay hidden beyond the great Western ocean.

It was in the generation immediately preceding Shakespeare's birth that Cortez conquered and devastated Mexico, and

Pizarro conquered and destroyed Peru. Sebastian Cabot, who had pushed his discoveries by sea so far, died only seven years before Shakespeare saw the light. Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to sail around the world, was a contemporary of Shakespeare.

Great things were going on in the world of thought and letters and knowledge in Shakespeare's time. Great schools and universities were springing up. The universities of Milan in Italy, Leyden in Holland, Barcelona and Parma in Spain, Giessen, Groningen and Jena in Germany, and others, were established during Shakespeare's life; not to mention Trinity College, Dublin; Edinburgh University, Scotland; and a number of the great schools and colleges of England.

Painting, sculpture and architecture flourished. Michael Angelo died the year before Shakespeare was born; Titian, when Shakespeare was a school boy. Rembrandt was born when Shakespeare was at work on his great tragedies. The Louvre in Paris was begun when Shakespeare was seven years old; the Escorial in Spain, when he was nine; St. Peter's in Rome was complete two years before he died.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in France, Montaigne the essayist and Rabelais the satirist; in Italy, Tasso, the distinguished poet; in Spain, Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon, the greatest names in Spanish literature.

In science we find Tycho Brahe, the great astronomer; Kepler, the discoverer of Kepler's laws; Galileo, the inventor of the telescope, and the man who was imprisoned for heresy for saying that the earth revolves about the sun.

It is noticeable that the Calendar was reformed in Shakespeare's time,—that is, the Julian Calendar was abolished and our present Gregorian was adopted.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in philosophy Descartes, and in political philosophy, Hugo Grotius, who laid the foundations of international law.

Great political events were going on in Shakespeare's time. Perhaps the most important of these on the Continent was the fierce and cruel war waged by Philip II of Spain against Holland, for the purpose of subjugating that liberty-loving people. There was never a more heroic struggle than that of the Hollanders.

William, Prince of Orange, was their leader. His assassination occurred when Shakespeare was 20, but, although their great leader had fallen, the Dutch people carried on the struggle, and in two years more the Spaniards were driven from the country, and Holland was saved.

Great religious events were transpiring when Shakespeare was living.

Calvin died the year Shakespeare was born. Throughout all Shakespeare's life the terrible Inquisition was flourishing in Spain and elsewhere. The new Protestant Reformation was pushing forward in many countries. The Catholic Church was pushing forward in many countries. The Catholic Church was intensely active endeavoring to stem its progress, and to promote its own counter-reformation. The most tragic event connected with the religious work at that period was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which occurred when Shakespeare was eight years old.

So much for events outside of Great Britain. In Great Britain itself events not less important were transpiring.

The occupant of the British throne when Shakespeare came on the scene was Queen Elizabeth, who had been ruling five years, and who continued for 29 more. She was proud, haughty, domineering, fond of dress and of show, anything but a gentle, winning or loveable woman. But she was intellectually keen, able, and far-sighted. She had a powerful will. She was able to manage men and affairs with great skill. She was a successful and a great ruler, confessedly one of the very greatest that have ever occupied the British throne.

In 1603, thirteen years before Shakespeare's death, Elizabeth died, and James I succeeded her. He was a very different character from Elizabeth. He was good-natured, but weak. His reign was anything but a great one in English history. He was called the "Wisest fool in Christendom." Macaulay said of him: "He was made up of two men,—a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot, who acted."

Perhaps the two most memorable or at least the two most exciting, political events that occurred in England during Shakespeare's life, were the Gun-powder Plot, in the second year of James's reign, and the destruction of the famous Spanish

Armada, which took place under Elizabeth, when the young poet was just beginning his career in London. We can well imagine the tremendous excitement of the English people, when the news came to them of the fitting up of the powerful Armada by Philip. Spain was then the first nation of Europe, her armies were the most formidable, her sea power was the greatest. She had lately been enriched by the vast wealth obtained from Mexico and Peru. And now her stern, wilful and relentless monarch had determined to crush England. This armada was the iron hand with which he was to do it.

The alarm was great everywhere, and increased as the great naval armament neared completion, and finally as it began to move, and drew nearer and nearer to the British shores. But the winds and waves were against the invader, and became the effective allies of the stout and alert British seamen. The great and supposed invincible armada was beaten back, divided, scattered, defeated; its ships were destroyed; the armed forces which it was conveying to British soil were drowned; the pride of Philip and Spain was brought low, and England was saved. We may be sure that such an event could not fail to make a deep impression upon a young man of 24, with the keen mind and the susceptible nature of Shakespeare, as indeed it made a deep and most lasting impression upon the whole English nation.

I have spoken of Shakespeare's age as being the great age of geographical discovery,—the age when the leading nations of Europe were pushing out into the unknown parts of the world, trying to find new lands and to get possession of them. England was not behind other countries in the spirit of adventure manifested among her people, and in the efforts which they put forth to plant the British flag in new lands.

No British name represents that spirit of adventure and discovery better than Sir Walter Raleigh, the scholar, the writer, the brilliant courtier of Queen Elizabeth, the daring admiral and lover of the sea, the traveler and explorer in the new world, and the man who attempted to found the colony of Virginia, which he named after his patroness, the Virgin Queen.

We shall not understand the England of Shakespeare's day if we do not bear in mind the intense religious activity every-

where manifest, and the stirring religious events of far-reaching importance which were taking place.

It was during Shakespeare's early life that the Nonconformists arose, and that Puritanism began to attract attention. In the generation before Shakespeare, under Queen Mary, there had been severe persecutions of Protestants, with much shedding of blood. Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley and Bradford had been cast into prison. When Elizabeth succeeded Mary on the throne, there was still persecution, but now it was of Roman Catholics. During Elizabeth's reign no fewer than 204 Roman Catholics were executed, 90 died in prison, and 105 were banished.

Up in Scotland, during Shakespeare's time, John Knox was doing his powerful work.

It was during Shakespeare's life,—five years before the end,—that the authorized translation of the Bible was made,—what is known as King James's version, which

has kept its place as the standard version up to our own time.

From all these events,—religious, political, military, commercial, literary and scientific,—taking place in England, on the continent of Europe, in all parts of the world, on land and on sea, we may get something of an idea of how stirring, how revolutionary, and how great an age it was in which Shakespeare lived and wrote.

Europe never saw a time when mightier forces were at work in human society, or when changes took place of greater import to nations, institutions and civilization itself.

Is it any wonder that in such an age great men were produced? If a poet with the many-sided, world-compassing genius of Shakespeare was ever to come to mankind, was it not in such an age, and in such a land as England, that he would be likely to appear?

New York, 1 Feb., 1916.

INDIAN FINANCIAL REFORM AND MESSRS. SAMUEL MONTAGU & CO'S ANTI-GOLD CRUSADE

I

IN all his dealings for some years past with Indian currency and finance, the Secretary of State for India has shown an increasing regard for certain British interests and a proportionate disregard for Indian ones. The arrangement by which City financiers are permitted to combine membership of the Secretary of State's Council with directorships of outside companies is highly objectionable and has been the main cause of the gross mismanagement of Indian financial affairs by the India Office. The appearance of Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co., in the role of apologists for existing currency methods in India, the very close and confidential relations between them and the India Office, their persistent campaign against Indian currency reform, and their secret purchases of silver for the India Office in 1912 throw a flood of light on the subject. As the authorities have maintained that the Samuel Montagu silver purchases have

resulted in a handsome saving to the Indian Treasury contrary to facts—and as this transaction furnishes an instructive commentary on the methods of the India Office—manipulated by Lord Inchcape, Sir Felix Schuster and Mr. Lionel Abrahams—I propose to confine my observations to the silver question.

The total amount of the silver for the purchase of which secret instructions were given by the India Office to Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co., between the 4th March, 1912, and the 11th September, 1912, was 5 millions £. Lord Swaythling claimed a great victory for the India Office in circumventing the machinations of a certain speculative syndicate in the Indian silver market. Lord Crewe in the House of Lords (Nov. 14., 1912) said with the utmost confidence that by buying through Messrs. Montagu, many hundreds of thousands of pounds had been saved to the revenues of India. Mr. Harold Baker stated in the House of Commons that there had been a minimum saving of

£175,000. (Many hundreds of thousands had dwindled to a hundred and seventy-five.) Mr. Asquith said that the India Office adopted the course which any wise and prudent man of business dealing with his own affairs or still more acting as a trustee on behalf of his beneficiaries, would have pursued.

On January 8, 1912, Messrs. Montagu in an unofficial letter to Sir Felix Schuster, chairman of the India Office Finance Committee, suggested that the time was not far distant when the Indian government would find it prudent to strengthen their position by coining rupees. The letter further said:

"The net is being spread in the sight of the bird. It, therefore, you postpone your purchases until you are absolutely pressed for currency, the chances are that you will have no other supply available beyond that that is being nursed for you by Indian speculators. The inevitable result being that you will have to pay more or less whatever you are asked by them."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's speech, made after the date of this letter in introducing the Indian Budget in the Legislative Council, (March 1912), spoke of a change in the habits of the Indian people with reference to silver as having

"defeated the calculations of the silver speculators. It has also absolved me from the necessity of undertaking further coinage in spite of very considerable pressure from interested quarters."

Sir Fleetwood Wilson's speech and Messrs. Montagu's letter contradicted one another. The idea that any one could make a corner in silver was absurd. The world's annual output of silver amounts to about 28 millions £. How could the mysterious Indian ring with a stock of about 2 or 3 millions £ corner the world's market? Messrs. Montagu wrote

"We should not in the least disturb the market, because we should make no purchases at fixing."

As a matter of fact, they did disturb the market, and the price did go up. But if it had been true, they were not acting in the best interests of their clients, who had entrusted them with the silver to obtain the best market price that they could. When Messrs. Montagu began purchasing, the price of silver had been 26½ d. per oz., and when they finished, it was 29, and the average price paid was 28¼. Definite offers were made in India from Bombay and Calcutta at 25½ d. and 26 d. per oz. The following evasive answers given by Mr.

Baker in the House of Commons are instructive:—

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Under Secretary of State for India if he was aware that a definite offer of silver to the value of approximately 2 millions £ was made to the Government in Calcutta at 25½ d. per ounce in January last; and if he would explain why this offer was refused, seeing that silver was purchased shortly afterwards in this country through Messrs. Samuel Montagu and Co. at an average price of 28¼ d.

Mr. Harold Baker: The Secretary of State has enquired of the Government of India, who report that they are unable to trace the offer in question.

Mr. Gwynne: Will the hon. gentleman ascertain whether a definite offer was not made on January 5 by the Specie Bank?

Mr. Baker: If the honorable gentleman will give me further information I will inquire. A search has been made, but nothing has been found." (Nov. 12, 1912).

Sir Shapurji Broacha, while examining Sir Felix Schuster before the Indian Famine Commission, made the following remarks:—

11.150.—We have a witness coming who says Bombay is a larger market than London in silver and that the silver should be purchased in Bombay. Lord Inchcape told us yesterday that silver should be purchased always in London.

11.151.—I know that in 1904-5 I got a large amount of silver in Bombay on an order from the Comptroller-General, but the Home Government stopped any such action in future. Therefore India has been deprived of any benefit of the silver market that she has.

11.152.—I know for a fact that 2 or 3 millions could have been bought last year in India at 2d. lower than it was bought in London, in fact I know that 2 millions were offered by a native banker.*

It would now be evident, in spite of official utterances, that the operation of Messrs. Montagu & Co. has resulted in a heavy direct loss to the Indian Exchequer. The average price paid in London was 28¼ d. per oz. In India silver had been offered at 25½ d. and 26 d. In 1911 the London price of silver was about 24 d. per oz. So far from there being a tremendous 'scoop' as the official apologists claim, India has directly lost more than £500,000. If the indirect losses resulting from the sales of council bills and the storage charge paid to the Bank of England for the paper currency gold held in London be taken into account, the total loss from the Samuel Montagu transaction would amount to not less than £750,000. Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co's method of calculation of the so-called profit is original and highly ingenious. They say:

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency. Vol. II, p. 114— [Cd. 7237]

"It was eminently desirable to maintain secrecy to the last moment, especially in view of the fact that a powerful group of speculators whose adroitness was a byword, had been on the pounce for years with appetite sharpened by long waiting. A comparison of the average price of 1907, the level to which the purchases of the Indian Government drove the market—viz., 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.—with 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., the average at which the whole of the first 5 millions £ was acquired by the India Council, indicates the handsome saving which the Indian Government effected by making its purchases with such secrecy."

By comparing the silver price of 1912 with that of say 1885 or 1890 you may as well proclaim a saving of some millions.

II

Apart from the financial loss, the secret contract given to Messrs. Montagu is open to objection on grounds of public policy. Lord Swaythling, the head of the firm, and Mr. Gerard Montagu, a partner, are the brothers of Mr. Edwin Montagu who was then the Under Secretary of State for India with the right to attend the Finance Committee meetings. Sir Stuart Samuel M. P., another partner, is a brother of the Post Master General and cousin of the Under Secretary. Mr. Franklin who was so prominent in carrying on the negotiations, is a brother-in-law not only of the Under-Secretary but of the Post Master General also. Sir Felix Schuster the chairman of the India Office Finance Committee is also the Chairman of Messrs. Samuel Montagu's bankers. It is not a convincing or satisfactory answer to say that Mr. Edwin Montagu was ignorant of the contract when it was entered into, and that Sir Felix Schuster acted in the best interests of India. The deal was initiated in an unofficial letter to Sir Felix Schuster: no record of the verbal arrangement was made and the whole question of brokerage was arranged verbally and was not committed to writing till the completion of the first purchase. The Bank of England believed that under a verbal arrangement with Lord Inchcape, subsequently confirmed in writing, the silver purchases for the India Office were to be exclusively undertaken by them. The note of the terms upon which the Bank of England relied was written on India Office paper in Mr. Abrahams' own handwriting. Sir Felix Schuster in his evidence before the Finance Commission said that the verbal agreement between Lord Inchcape and the governor of the Bank of England giving the Bank

the monopoly of purchasing silver for the India Office for seven years, had not been committed to writing and that no written record confirming that existed in the India Office. What an astounding revelation! What a search-light it throws on the hole-and-corner methods of the triumvirate Lord Inchcape, Sir Felix Schuster, and Mr. Lionel Abrahams, who above all others have been the evil geniuses of the India Office finance department! Lord Morley the Radical was the Secretary of State for India when Lord Inchcape concluded this scandalously unbusinesslike agreement with the Bank of England.

So far as Indian interests are concerned it does not matter whether the Bank of England get the business or any other agency. London is not the proper place to buy silver, for several reasons. (1) The money, the Indian Government remit to England, and to finance the silver purchase, has to be remitted at a loss of exchange. Recently the silver purchase business has been regarded as wholly a matter for the India Office. The officials of the Government of India were not even consulted on what terms they could get silver in Bombay. If silver was purchased in India, there would have been no necessity for the extra sale of Council Bills over and above the Budget amount, the accumulation of cash balances in London and the transfer of the paper currency gold from India to London. That is exactly the reason why the financial autocrats at the India Office insist on purchasing silver when and as they deem fit regardless of the wishes of the Indian Government and the interests of the Indian tax-payer. (2) There are only four firms in London who do business in silver. They are financially very powerful and hold the greatest silver monopoly known to the world. They act not only as brokers but also as dealers and merchants. Everyday they meet and jointly declare the 'fixing price' of silver. (3) This increases the financial patronage of the India Office, which has entered the London money market as a big money lender. The financial duties of the India Office are to make disbursements on behalf of the government of India and to manage the flotation of sterling loans. The India Office should not be permitted to enter into general banking business in London with Indian cash balances.

The Bombay market is broad and natural and there are no combinations or understandings amongst dealers or brokers. The European side is composed of nine powerful exchange banks who employ three firms of brokers. On the Indian side are the principal joint-stock banks, 1000 jobbers and dealers, all of whom do business through some 100 Indian brokers. Besides Bombay there are other silver markets in India. The duty on silver in India is unfair and is resented by merchants, and bankers. It should be abolished entirely as it prevents the outflow of silver from India to the neighbouring silver centres of the Far East and gives the London silver market an unfair advantage over the Indian silver market. For the last 14 years the India Office has disapproved the purchase of silver in India by the Government. No explanation has been forthcoming as to why some 65 millions £ were purchased exclusively in London when on several occasions large blocks could have been secured in the Indian markets easily and more economically. If the India Office does not interfere and if the Indian government empower the Bombay Mint Master to invite tenders every fortnight for stated amounts of silver and give the tenderers the option of delivering the bullion within 45 days from the date of the acceptance of the tender, there would be no corner and the government would be in a position to dictate terms as all the silver markets—the Bombay, Calcutta, London, New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Hongkong, and Shanghai markets—would participate. The present frantic, heavy, and unbusiness-like method of making intermittent purchases should be abolished, and all future purchases should be made in India in strict conformity with Budget estimates.

III

The India Office clique who flouted Indian opinion by investing Indian money (the Indian Gold Standard Reserve) in securities of the colonies against which a deep-seated grievance exists in the minds of the Indian public, have deliberately done their best to check the inflow of gold to India by excessive sales of council bills at below specie point and over and above the budget estimates of the Indian government. In March 1912 Sir Vithaldas Thackersay in the Legislative Council moved a resolution to open the Indian

mints to the free coinage of gold. Responsible leaders like Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Dadabhoy, and others supported the resolution and made it plain that Indians do not want a prodigious coinage of token rupees to be forced upon them. Every heavy coinage of silver means a delay and unobstacle in the introduction of a gold currency in India. That is why the silver speculators of London and the City financiers in the India Office Finance Committee divert Indian gold to London and force millions of debased rupees on the Indian public (a rupee is rated at 16d. but is worth only 9d.).

It is very difficult to understand why Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co. have set themselves up as the unofficial apologists for the India Office's management of Indian financial and currency affairs.

(1) In their 1911 bullion circular they said, "The provision of suitable currency for such a vast and comparatively poor population demands delicate handling." Unfortunately that kind of handling has been conspicuous by its absence. Delicate handling would mean the retention of gold in India in the form of gold coins in the hands of the portion of the Indian public which could hold and use gold without inconvenience, and in reducing the circulation of token coins as in other gold standard countries.

(2) Messrs. Montagu say:

"The natives of India would have had some strenuous things to say if the government had got a heavy premium on silver coin by refusing to supply silver rupees when demanded and thus had checked the exportation of India's super-abundant harvest by forcing down the value of the crops."

This is a direct misrepresentation of the demands for a gold currency. There is no reason why proposals for the restriction of the rupee coinage and for a gold currency should be construed into a demand that government should refuse to supply rupees when required.

(3) The next statement is that "the aspirations of Indian financiers are being met by the importation of gold coined and uncoined in substantial quantities." Indians do not want the import of gold to be controlled by the India Office authorities in any way. What Indians want is the establishment of a gold mint in India the cessation of the India Office manipulation of Indian Exchange and Council Bills, and the holding of India's gold reserves in India.

(4) Messrs. Mantagu say that "it is a known fact that the Indian treasury has never refused to issue either sovereigns or silver rupees on demand and if the people of India require gold for circulation they have but to ask and it will be available." These are inaccurate statements. Sovereigns have been refused on many occasions when they were held in large quantity and not long ago they were not available at all in many treasuries. Government are under no obligation to give gold for rupees. But rupees are unlimited legal tender and people could not refuse them. It is not fair to force the public to take rupees and make them depend on the whims of the executive to give them doles of sovereigns in exchange.

(5) In their annual bullion circular of 1912, Messrs. Mantagu with an aid of superior knowledge say that "The Indian authorities have held before them the practical object of holding exchange steady with the West rather than the establishment of a theoretical single standard." The authorities are not permitted to form policy as they choose. The Indian Government have accepted as part of their policy a gold standard and a gold currency. To maintain exchange without a gold currency has not been the official policy nor is it one acceptable to Indians.

(6) Messrs. Mantagu were the first to make the outrageous suggestion to impose a stiff import duty on gold. Messrs. Mantagu & Co., stop at nothing to compel the public to use silver coins at any cost so that gold reserves may be collected in London to the delectation of 'approved borrowers' and bullion dealers and joint stock bankers.

(7) Messrs. Mantagu add insult to injury by saying that there are only sentimental and no practical reasons for the outcry against present methods. It is interesting to note that Lord Crewe took up a similar line of defence in the House when he prejudiced Indian grievances as sentimental. To say that criticism is sentimental or nothing new is no answer.

(8) Messrs. Montagu say "It must be remembered that silver rupees have been from ancient times the only coins familiar to the varied and populous nations of India." This is historically untrue. For more than fifteen centuries gold mohurs

and gold pagodas were current in India. It was Lord Dalhousie who demonetised India's gold mohur in 1852.

(9) "No demand on the Treasury is made for gold now, for notes are preferred." Absurd again! In 1910-11 more than £7 millions in gold was taken by the public from the treasuries.

(10) In Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co's annual bullion letter dated 1st January 1913, those portions relating to Indian gold imports were served up on every hand under such heads as "India's Hunger for Gold," "Rococo Rajah," "India's Buried Millions," "Sick men who eat gold," and so forth. Indian currency policy is defended thus:

"The increasing volume of India's external trade renders the maintenance of a steady exchange with gold countries rather than the minor detail of currency, vital to its prosperity."

After all currency has become a minor detail, not vital as the maintenance of exchange.

(11) "Out of the total production of gold in 1912 nearly 40 per cent probably remains within territory financially dependent on England, and for that reason the currency laws of the British Empire have great influence on the movements of gold and are of grave import to the world."

The 'minor detail,' of currency has suddenly become a matter of world-wide importance!

(12) Messrs. Montagu's most amazing announcement is this:

"The bulk of hoarded wealth in India is buried so that at the present time nearly all the gold dug from South Africa is by a fresh digging operation deposited again beneath the soil in South Asia."

This is false. The annual output of gold from South Africa now exceeds £40 millions. In 1911-12, the total net imports of sovereigns into India was £18 millions: of which £9 millions was added to the government treasuries, and £9 millions was taken by the public. Messrs. Montagu's fanciful anecdotes of the Indians who make sovereigns into window panes, and swallow gold leaves for medicinal purposes show what an unscrupulous campaign against Indian currency reform, this firm of bullion dealers have been conducting for years. It is an ugly feature of the situation that in their anti-gold crusade, they have been backed up by the India Office under a liberal administration.

S. V. DORAISWAMI.

DANISH PEASANT SCHOOLS

NOW that the question of educating the young rural population of India is before the Government and the public, a short account of Danish Peasant Schools may be interesting to the readers.

Let us for a while go beyond the valley of fear and death where war demons are at present taking heavy tolls of human life, and wander about the smiling villages of Denmark. There we shall meet the simple peasant folks cultivating their own land in an attitude of supreme indifference to the monstrous horror of war.

That little country of Denmark has always been the object lesson to the world as regards the improvement of her rural population. The high standard of intellectual culture of the Danish peasant and the marvellous progress made by their agricultural and economic institutions have always impressed the students of rural economy. The secret of it all lies in the introduction of a rational system of education, and in the efforts of a group of Danish patriots to whom patriotism is almost a part of their religion. I shall briefly summarise the information I could collect with regard to the origin, the development and the results of peasant schools in Denmark through which 47% of the young rural population come out with decent education. These peasant schools are designated as the "High Schools" in Denmark.

The movement of elevating the rural population of Denmark owes its origin to the Danish poet Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig. The fact that imagination has creative power is amply proved by the success of these Danish national institutions, the foundation of which was first laid by a poet. This noble Danish patriot holds a unique position in the literature of his country. His writings have had a great influence over his own countrymen. So, when, in the year 1844, he appealed to his countrymen in the following words, he had sown the germs of his ideals in a fertile soil. He declared thus in a meeting of several thousand citizens :

"It was necessary to elevate the people, and for

that purpose to revive their religious and patriotic sentiment ; that no beauty is too high for them ; that the purest sources of intellectual and moral life must be placed within their reach ; that with the new schools a living, real, and national education should be created."

The Poet's voice woke up the citizens of Copenhagen. They rallied round him to offer their services to the cause of national education. The workers sought his help to build up the organisation with detailed precision in order to be able to give his ideals a practical shape, but the poet only formulated the principles and inspired others with the enthusiasm necessary for their application. Grundtvig must have seen clearly with the vision of a true poet that a too rigid programme would exclude any possibility of variation and thus a power of adaptability as the circumstances change would not be preserved.

This is indeed a lesson to us who are so apt to lay undue stress on the importance of rules and regulations in the educational organisations.

The perusal of the guiding principles of the schools is highly instructive ; as I read them I was struck by the remarkable uniformity of *ideas* among the leaders of thought. How often the same principles as formulated by the Danish poet were declared to be the basis of sound education by our own poet Rabindranath.

The principles of this educational organisation are as follows :—

(1) The instruction must be exclusively oral. The professor must not use any book, any notes ; he must come into relation with his pupils by means of a real familiar conversation. The poet founder of the organisation insisted on this point. The voice alone, he says, "coming from a human breast, can give words strength and wings." He used to argue that if the main object was to communicate with souls, we could only do the work "with the word that is heard, that goes into the unseen to awake the invisible mental life."

(2) As the age of 18 to 25 years is considered to be most susceptible (according to Poet Grundtvig) to lasting impressions,

the young persons of that age should only be admitted to the Schools.

(3) No attempt should be made to impart technical education. The education must be general in character, aiming at opening new horizons in every direction and cultivating the patriotic, religious, aesthetic and moral sentiments. When this is attained, the schools will turn out such men who would be capable of learning agriculture or any other profession with profit.

(4) The teaching of history, specially the national history and national poetry should form an essential part of the instruction. Grundtvig was very keen on the methods of teaching history. He says "History must be related in *poetic* language, as it passed from mouth to mouth in the recitations of the Scalds. He emphatically discouraged the practice of learning a mass of facts, statistical tables, etc., by heart in chronological order.

(5) Instruction should be given in the mother tongue. It is necessary that each student while leaving school, will be able to speak and write Danish *perfectly*. Such a principle is quite easy to follow in a country like Denmark, for the Danish elementary schools keep the child in school until he is 14 or 15 years old. During this period the elementary instructions in various branches of study prepare him for continuing further studies. Grundtvig's idea was to resume instruction in the vernacular language in "the High Schools" and carry it on to a degree of refinement very rare among the peasants. In this, according to the latest report, "The High Schools" have had considerable success.

(6) The fees must be paid by each student; the fees are quite low, but no student is exempted from payment.

(7) The system of education dispenses with all examination and all diplomas. To follow the Grundtvigian principle, there should not be seen even oral examinations. Sometimes the pupils are questioned collectively, never *individually*.

As we have seen, no diploma is given by the High Schools. "To most of us this feature of organisation will not seem to be quite feasible. The Government of Denmark once proposed that the schools should organise examinations, giving a diploma entitling the students to enter the Copenhagen Agricultural School. The

answer to this proposal by the followers of Grundtvig is characteristic:—

"Our object is to awaken the spiritual life, by means of free lectures, to excite patriotism through a right understanding of the language, nature and history of our country. We wish to do for the civic life of the people what the Church is doing for their religious life. The moment in which we succeed in teaching our pupils, in rousing their appreciation for what is high and noble in human life, is more important for us than that in which they acquire a grammatical idea or solve a mathematical problem. We want them to do that also, but as subordinate to the principal work. Our pupils must leave us full of desire to devote themselves to noble ends. What information they lack they will easily acquire later, but it is evident our education cannot adapt itself to an examination programme."

There is another principle laid down by the Poet which is related to the civic instruction. While he realised that the school must not be a "political tribune," he strongly recommended that the pupil must be given a sufficiently clear idea of the existing political conditions.

So much, then, for the principles of "the High Schools." Let us now pass on to the other phases of the system of education. The followers of Grundtvig are the directors of the Schools, and they are called the Grundtvigians.

All the pupils of "The High Schools" are sons or daughters of peasants. There are at present 80 such schools in the county districts of Denmark. But as the fees are to be paid, these schools are not within the reach of the *poor* peasant, and the agricultural labourers. With the increase of small landowners in Denmark, peasants are becoming prosperous, and the Grundtvigians are setting up schools among the poorer peasants.

There are no regular courses, but discussions on such subjects as history, geography, Danish language and literature, social economy and elements of natural history, physics and chemistry are held. The young men come in the winter when the field work leaves them more leisure. During a residence of a few months the pupil could not be taught the large number of subjects mentioned above, and therefore the courses have not a definite programme. The directors are of opinion that discussions are more helpful in getting an idea of certain subjects than by mere following a text book. These discussions in the high schools awake the curiosity of the pupil and his desire to continue, at home, with the assistance of

the excellent public libraries and lectures—another important feature of Denmark's educational activities—the study of that branch of Knowledge which appeals to him most strongly.

The organisers of these schools fully realise the necessity of adapting the principles of education to the prevailing conditions of the village where the school is to be opened. So the details of the school organisations are extremely variable. The personality of the director has a great influence on the tendencies of the school.

There is no strict discipline imposed on the young men. These tillers of the soil enjoy perfect liberty while at school for a few months, but their liberty never degenerates into license. The professors and their families occasionally take one or two of their meals with the pupils and live on the most familiar terms with the whole school. The pupils are always welcome to come to their teachers at all hours, and speak to them. Teachers are very sympathetic and kind to the boys.

"The high schools" or the Danish peasant schools attract educationists from all parts of Europe. I have read with great interest an article written by a French lady who spent a few years in Denmark to study the Danish educational system. I wish to quote from her article a few sentences.

"In July I found 200 young girls at Fredriksborg, for the most part farm or domestic servants. *** The pupils listen, in turn say, to a literary address or a romantic poem by Paludan Møller, then a historical lecture, say on the battle of Fredericia, followed by gymnastic exercises accompanied with singing."

She writes that in another village, she heard a lecture on Michael Angelo and the part Savonarola may have had in the moulding of his genius. And this, my readers, in a village school in Denmark!

I have remarked that the object of the lectures, discussions and recitals in the village schools is to stimulate desire for knowledge. In case a young man wishes to continue his studies in advanced courses, he can go to the University of Askov. This institution has nothing to do with the official universities. It is organised and controlled by the Grundtvigians, and most of the pupils come from the village "high schools." Here some young persons are also prepared as teachers of the high schools.

The courses last two or three seasons.

The education in the natural sciences, geometry and mathematics, is especially advanced. The professors first instruct the pupils in the earliest scientific discoveries, and then relate the lives of men of science and inventors. Biographical sketches of those who contributed to the progress of science appeal to the imagination of the pupil.

Only a general outline of science is taught. The object in teaching science, according to the Grundtvigian principles, is not to make *men* of science, but *minds* capable of understanding the sciences.

It is admitted by those who are acquainted with the Grundtvigian method of education that "the high schools" are blessings to the Danish national life. These schools have undoubtedly stimulated the growth of intellectual development of the Danish peasantry; yet this is not what the Grundtvigians value most. When visitors question about the influence of the high schools on the people, they get such reply as I here quote—

"This certainly cannot be proved by material evidence, since Grundtvig only desire I to act upon what cannot be weighed or measured or valued in money: *the increase in spiritual value*. However, there is evidence to show that our pupils are superior to the peasants who have not passed through our schools. The managers of the Technical Agricultural schools, to which a third part of our youngmen proceed on leaving us, declare that they assimilate instruction much better than the others. In the agricultural world, it is the Grundtvigians who found the Co-operative Societies which constitute our fortune, and any visitor may observe what success our pupils have had in municipal and political life."

I believe no further comment is necessary to impress on the reader that the prosperity of rural Denmark and high standard of intellectual culture of the Danish peasants are due to the facilities given to them for education. Education is like life and health the birth-right of us all. The salvation of the cultivating classes who form the vast majority of our population lies in the spread of education. The provision of educational facilities for our rural population has been left ridiculously inadequate. If our Government really desire to improve rural conditions, if intelligent methods of agriculture are to be introduced, if any success in the Co-operative movement is expected, no village should be without a school. The example of rural Denmark may throw some light

in re-modelling our villages, and it is expected that the educational problem among the rural population of India will

receive the most careful attention of our landlords and patriots.

POONA. NAGENDRA NATH GANGULEE

BROWNING AND BERGSON

THE mission of Browning appears clear in the speech of Fra Lippo Lippi when he says,

It makes me mad to see what men shall do
And we in our graves. This world's no blot for us,
Nor blank—it means immensely, and means good;
To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

He will neither teach nor preach but will reproduce nature and the world as they reflect through his own person, with no other superior object than that of pleasing himself. It is this reflection through the person that constitutes the value of all literary art. Thus, in the words of Walter Pater we may say that

"in proportion as the writer's aim consciously or unconsciously, comes to be the transcribing, not of the world, not of mere fact, but of his sense of it, he becomes an artist, his work fine art; and good art in proportion to the truth of his presentment of that sense. Truth! there can be no merit no craft at all without that. And further, all beauty is in the long run only fineness of truth, or what we call expression, the finer accommodation of speech to that vision within."

Ruskin also seems to speak in a similar strain when he defines Poetry in his "Modern Painters" as "the suggestion by the imagination, of noble grounds for the noble emotions." It is this crowning transfiguration and the manner in which it shines that constitute the true excellence of all art. Both the philosopher and the poet have the facts of this phenomenal world as their data. The former rationalises in never-ending chains of arguments, analyses the concepts of his own mind and the facts of nature that he observes and aims at a synthetic reconstruction out of those diverse elements—the products of his analysis. But probably the same truth would appear to the latter in the soothing freshness of a dream. While the philosopher weaves his net of symbols and tries to catch the bird of truth, lo, it has already begun to sing exquisite notes of glee at the poet's door. While the truth escapes through the meshes of the

intellect, it broods calmly in the poet's nest of joy. It is therefore that in Sanskrit 'Kabi' or poet is called "Krantadarsi" or endowed with the perception which transcends the ken of Philosophy. To find the meaning of the world, to interpret the significance of that reflection of the "outer" on the inner is as much the "meat and drink" of the philosopher as of the poet. The philosopher breaks the reality artificially in diverse parts and records these images in symbols and attempts to construct a system therefrom. But the poet works through suggestion. His joy proceeding from a sense of the beautiful enables him to project the Reality, not as an accumulation of unrelated parts but in its entirety; for Beauty holds within itself the harmony of the inner and the outer, the Microcosm and the Macrocosm. Suggestion through Beauty leads therefore to the projection of an universe, the true creation of Art. The poet with his gentle touch draws up the golden veil from the face of the lady of Truth. The vision comes to him with the force of direct perception. It is, therefore, that we find that sometimes the Poet forestalls Philosophers and solves the problems of human life in quite a different way. The object of our present articles is to illustrate it briefly from the poetry of Robert Browning.

To take for example his Rabbi Ben Ezra. "Grow old with me." The poet feels that he grows. Well, we all feel that we grow, but what grows? Is it not the body that suffers growth or decay? Are we not all familiar with the idea that self never grows. Had any of the philosophers before Browning ever hinted that that our inner self ever grew in time? But it is exactly this that the poet says here. The affairs of life surround him and in the midst of them all he feels that he is neither a passive observer nor a recorder of changes and events. But in a deeper

plunge of vision he finds that with every turn of time, with every tide of worldly events his own inner self is growing. Our popular conception of mathematical time, which Newton describes as "Absolute, true in itself, and from its own nature," flows equally without relation to anything external; and "the flow of absolute time cannot change—Duration—remains the same, whether motions are swift, slow or none at all," is not what Browning conceives of it here. For it is the empty, qualityless, homogeneous medium in which points are distinguished, merely as "now" and "not now." This continuous time that merely flows is merely its objective aspect and as such is not directly in touch with us. But there is the other aspect of it, the aspect in which it is associated with the changes that it produces on us, the form in which it shapes us according to the varying impressions that we receive from the exterior world.

"He fixed thee mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This present, they, forsooth, wouldst thou arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed.

Again,

Ah note that Potter's wheel
That metaphor, and feel
Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay,
Thou to whom fools propound
When the wine makes its round,
"Since life fleets, all, is change; the Past
gone, seize to-day."

Here in fact we see that in one intuitive glance he makes one of the boldest criticisms of the conception of time—a criticism which is altogether original as it was never conceived by any other philosopher before Browning and is only recently being formulated by the French philosopher Bergson. The true significance of time is not in its aspect as mere change, for this would reduce life into a number of fleeting moments only and thus would be directly opposite to what we experience about the nature of our complex philosophical personality. The force of this view is realised when we see that if we are to define time as merely fleeting, it becomes impossible even to account for our notions of succession which forms the fundamental point in all true conceptions of time. For the notion of succession implies that the "before" and "after" are held

simultaneously before the mind. Now if time be essentially fleeting we cannot get the two discrete moments together and hence can have no notions of succession. If we should by exercising our imaginative faculty try to think of "before" and "after" as following each other, it is clear that even then they are no longer apprehended as "before" and "after", but as co-existent i.e., they are spatially conceived. Consequently such knowledge will consist merely in the apprehension of co-existent points projected in space like two mutually external objects. So the very fundamental notion of time requires the presence of such a stage where the "before" and "after" may interpenetrate and thus bring them both before us in one moment of thought. In the fundamental philosophical life there is a constant accumulation of the past conserved in memory; the volume of the self grows. There we find that the present which is generated from the whole of the past inherits it all, while at the same time something entirely new is elaborated. It is just this pushing of the past into the present which constitutes the continuity of the life of the inner self. The past exists in the present, but in virtue of its existence there, it is no longer what it was. This "lived continuity" of our inner life is similar to that of the growing organism or in Browning's metaphor to a pitcher in a state of formation. The poet says that Time is the force, the dynamic which spins this web of our inner life, the wheel that shapes the pitcher of our psychical personality. Our psychical clay lies passive and is moulded into varying shapes with the motion imparted to it by time. It appears in its fleeting aspect to shallow minds. This its objective or spatial character, its aspect wherein the "before" and "after" may at least appear as co-existent points projected in space, which makes our life as vain as itself, is unreal; whereas the true conception of time lies in the movement, the quickening impulse of life which builds our psychical whole by the natural rapid interfusion of states into states. We know that Bergson has tried to prove that our conception of time "grows out of the immediate awareness of our conscious growth." Thus according to him a being devoid of memory would have no conception of time, for he would be confined to "now" ever renewed, and awareness of "now" alone does not

imply consciousness of time. The awareness of spiritual growth is the germ out of which the consciousness of time develops. He identifies time with spiritual or psychological growth. It is "pure duration." It is the very "stuff" of life. It is the "continuous progress of the past, gnawing at the future and increasing in bulk as it advances."

Thus we see that in Browning's eyes time is the very wheel, the movement, the activity by which our inner self is being shaped and shaped, to fulfil the unknown destinies of our lives. He is not afraid that the time that has passed is lost for us, for he knows for certain that it has been conserved in the very development of our being. The fleeting moments may come and go, what is that to us, the time that has passed lives within us in our very moulds.

"Fool, all that is, at all
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops; potter and
clay endure.

Earth may change any way, but the impressions that have been produced in us live in our very growth—the present is being assimilated with the past, and the future as it comes will be taken up in the present, and it is through their assimilation in one "pure duration" in one organic whole that we can have the notions of "was" "is" or "shall be." In the single act of growth, the present, past and future are all associated; and it is through the projection from the phenomena of our psychical growth that we have the notions of time.

But now another question creeps in. Whence does this dynamic of time come in? "Our times are in His hand." The source of all movement is God; it is by Him that the wheel of time has been set in motion which is daily shaping our inner self to some unknown form that exists in his mind. Bergson also holds the same view, for according to him God "is that creative activity which is the fundamental basis of all life, and which is not exhausted in the finite impetus which constitutes the life of our solar system." But Browning being a master artist is not satisfied in conceiving God merely in an abstract way as the mere unity of all activity, he therefore speaks of Him as the Absolute Person who has the

plan of our growth ready in his mind and has according to that set our clay in motion in the great potter wheel of time.

But what is that clay or "clod" which bears the impressions of progress and with every turn of time grows and grows? Here we see no other self than that which is being shaped and shaped. Here of course we do not find any definite and clear statement, but it seems that there are dim suggestions here of a double personality. Thus in the very opening line we find that the poet addressing to his other self says "Grow old with me." In another place referring to this self he says "a God though in germ." Later on fourteen years after, the poet remembers this position with reference to this double personality, when he says in his *La Sasiaz* :—

Only grant, my soul may carry high through
death her cup unspilled,
Brimming though it be with knowledge, life's
loss drop by drop distilled.

Thus we see that in addition to the cup which was formed here by the potter's wheel, there is also a cup-bearer. This cup-bearer, this soul, this God in germ, is the supra-individual, round which our psychical personality grows in an organic interfusion of one mental state into another. In speaking of this psychical reality, Browning always describes it as growing and never analyses it into the different states.

"What though the earlier grooves
Which ran the laughing loves
Around thy base no longer pause and press?
What though about thy rim,
Skull things in order grim
Grow out, in graver mood, obey the sterner press?"

It is the psychical life where the boundaries of states gradually melt away, the multiplicity of the definitely outlined feelings, volitions, images, become less definite, less a multiplicity. No longer a multiplicity of juxtaposed states; there is rather a growing organism, in which all the tendencies are perfectly unified in a forward movement. This psychical body should be distinguished from the other supra-individual psychical reality in this that the latter does not grow, but being like a god in germ is probably the direct source from which the dynamic of time flows and forms its psychical flesh and rind.

Next to this we are confronted with the question of the place of our physical body in this system, and we see that Browning is ready with the answer that our body

and soul are connected in such a way that each helps the other. The ordinary impression that body retards our spiritual progress is erroneous, and the body may be said to have realised its end to the greatest extent when it can best project our soul on its onward march.

"Let us not always say
 'Spite of this flesh to-day
 I strove, made head, gained upon the whole,'
 As the bird wings and sings
 Let us cry 'All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now than
 flesh help soul.'

"What is he but a brute
 Whose flesh hath soul to suit,
 Whose spirit works lest arms and legs want play?
 To man propose this test
 Thy body at its best
 How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?"

The body holds our soul as if in a rose-mesh and establishes its connection with the external world. The body therefore with its various cognitive faculties acts directly in unison with the stimuli received from without and the inner self of gradually growing and interpenetrating tendencies and thus helps us in our onward process of development and to understand the unity of the purpose of our being and development with that of God in terms of feeling. Through the beatings of our heart we can reconcile our being with the being of God as "power" and perceive in our relation a connecting bond of love.

Yet gifts should prove their use:
 I own the past profuse
 Of power each side, perfection every turn;
 Eyes, ears, took in their dole,
 Brain treasured up the whole;
 Should not the heart beat once, "How good
 to live and learn?"

Not Once beat "Praise be thine,
 I see the whole design,
 I who saw Power, see now Love perfect too."

Next to this we come to the question of the value of the growth of our "self". Every action, thought, instinct or tendency of man marks his gradual development and growth. But how are we to distinguish good from bad. What is the standard by which we should pass judgments upon our conduct; if we are growing at every turn how to find the ulterior end to which our actions must all conform in order to be right; how are we to criticise our own conduct and those of other men; there is no settledness of opinion about this. People having the same intellectual gifts often possess quite different views. Whose view shall we accept?

"Now who shall arbitrate?
 Ten men love what I hate,
 Shun what I follow, slight what I receive.
 Ten, who in ears and eyes
 Match me: we all surmise,
 They, this thing, and I, that: whom shall my
 soul believe?"

The worth of a man's development can not also be judged by the "vulgar mass called, work," though the common people are dazzled by its seeming greatness and want to gauge everything by it. For it is not only these tendencies which have been actualised and thus crystallised into "work" that go in making up the main account, but

"All instincts immature,
 All purposes unsure,
 That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the
 man's amount."

It comes therefore, that it is not possible to judge the life of man, by any of his external actions, for these cannot be separately considered, but have to be taken up along with the phenomenon of his growth: for the hidden tendencies, desires, likes, dislikes, and many other things associated with his actions are not open to our view; but in the organic growth of his life, all the observed and unobserved data of his conduct and character form one system and cannot be separated from the place in which it stands in the growing whole. My thoughts, fancies, baffled aspirations, every one of them has its proper place in the development of my life purpose. Whenever we pass any judgment on any seeming failure, sorrow or agony, we overlook the fact that our psychical life is an organically growing whole, each of those which we may happen to disapprove at any particular moment has its proper place in the moulding of our psychical essence and that if any judgment is possible it must be on the life considered as a whole, and not on any part of it. We have never a view of the life as a whole, we only analyse and dissect what is unanalysable and can have access by our intelligence to disconnected parts only, and consequently are not in a position to pass any valid judgment on it. It is only God, the supreme source of all our life-force, who can have a complete view of our life as a complete whole.

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
 Into a narrow act,

Fancies that broke through language and escaped ;
All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me
This I was worth to God, whose wheel the
pitcher shaped.

It is his purpose that runs through us at every stage of our development, and he alone can have a view of our whole life at a single glance and the purpose which it has to fulfil. Spiritual conflict is appropriate to youth and it often happens that youth sighs for the impossible and commits blunders in the endeavour to improve what it is. But we should remember that each rebuff, each passing sting that we deplore, the excess of sorrows over our joys, which makes us often so gloomy, each mishap that tramples the most cherished ambition of our hearts, in short everything that apparently appears discouraging and offensive are in the right place and are gradually shaping and moulding our life for its final fulfilment. This fulfilment, therefore, is accomplished gradually as life advances from childhood to youth, from youth to old age and the most important finishing stroke is given at death. On none of these parts, therefore, can we pass any judgment, for the life must be taken in its entirety as one organic whole. Youth shows only but half and therefore only the side of our elemental strife is visible there; so it is that

"Youth ended I shall try
My gain or loss thereby :
Be the fire ashes, what survives is gold :
And I shall weigh the same,
Give life its praise or blame :
Young, all lay in dispute ; I shall know, being old."

But even old age does not represent the whole, for the last is yet to be, and the finishing touch is given by death which completes the final purpose of our life. From day to day the experiences of our life accumulate and interpenetrate one another and every day the purpose of God is running through us is being accomplish-

ed ; the perfection of the plan is in the whole and any judgment which is not based upon the consideration of the life as a whole from birth to death must be partial, imperfect and erroneous. All students of Bergson will, I think, now be able to understand to what an extent even in details the great penetrating vision of Browning has forestalled the modern French philosopher. But the superiority of the poet will appear when we think that in conceiving our relation with God, he has not conceived Him as a mere power, the abstract unity of all activities or "Pure Duration," but as a Person united intimately with us by the spiritual bond of love. The effect of Browning's vision does not, therefore, end in dry philosophy but in unflinching faith that even in our worst moments, we can never go astray from the purpose which runs through us and is shaping our psychical reality. Let us not be discouraged if at any sad moment of our failure the Hydra-headed public calumny should bite us with its fangs, for we know that all the world's coarse thumb and finger fail to plumb all that is passing in me in making up the main account, for all that I could never be, all that men ignore in me, I may be worth to God. It is only in death's stern alembic that the elixir of life shows itself. He is waiting there in Heaven to taste the wine of our soul in the pitcher of our psychical personality finished and accomplished by the last touch of death. Let us never be disappointed and despondent in any condition of our life, that this or that failure has thwarted my end and be ever hopeful and sure that the final realisation is awaiting us in the other world in the hand of God.—

But I need, now as then,
Thee, God, who moulded men ;
And since, not even while the whirl was worst,
Did I, to the wheel of life
With shapes and colours rife,
Bound dizzily—mistake my end, to slake thy thirst.

SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA.

REPORT ON INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI

By C. F. ANDREWS & W. W. PEARSON.

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IT may be well before going further to give a very brief summary of the outstanding facts concerning suicide and crime among indentured Indians in Fiji.

In India itself, which is predominantly Hindu by religion, suicide is a very rare occurrence. The Hindu has a deep religious and moral objection to taking life, regard-

ing it as a sin. For this reason, the Indian suicide rate is probably the lowest in the world. Only one in every twenty thousand commits suicide in India, or 50 per million per annum. Among the indentured Indians in Fiji one in every 950 has committed suicide in each year, or over one thousand per million per annum. This is the average taken for the last eight years. To put it in other words, the suicide rate is twenty times as great as that of India. These figures remain the same if only the two recruiting provinces of India are taken.

With regard to the crime of murder, the facts are even more startling. In the United Provinces and Madras there is only one conviction for murder in every 250,000 people each year, or four per million per annum. In Fiji among the indentured coolies, there has been one conviction for murder each year in every 3,000 persons, or 333 per million per annum. That is to say, the murder rate in Fiji is eighty times as high as that of India. It is noticeable that the greater portion of people murdered are women. On the other hand, almost all the suicides in Fiji are those of men. In India, what few suicides exist are generally those of women.

If we make every possible allowance for minor inaccuracies, these figures for suicide and murder remain very disconcerting. They are not the figures for a single year, but an average for a considerable number of years, and it is significant that the last years are the worst.

To take, for instance, the last recorded year, that of 1914: out of 15,603 indentured coolies in Fiji, eleven committed suicide, seven attempted to commit suicide, ten were convicted of committing murder, seven were murdered, twenty-seven were convicted of the violent crime of wounding, thirteen were wounded, two were convicted of man-slaughter and three were killed by man-slaughter. The number of coolies actually charged in Court for committing these crimes, together with those who suffered under them, amounted to nearly one hundred persons. This means that one in every 140 of the adult indentured coolies in Fiji, during the year 1914, were involved in violent crime, ending in murder, man-slaughter, suicide, or violent bodily assault.

Sadly enough, it is not possible to obtain a complete record even with such authenticated figures as these. For in spite

of the evident desire on the part of Government to give accurate returns, it is practically impossible to do so in the present condition of Fiji. Magistrates are very few in number, and plantations are often far away from any centre. Hospitals, also, belong to the employers, not to Government. It is all to the interest of the Planter to hush up serious crime on his estate; and in recent years, when the indenture system itself has been known by every planter to be in danger, the temptation to hide facts, which might tell against the system, must have been very great indeed. That these statistics are as accurate as they are, must be put down to the credit of the Planters as well as to Government. But to give one example of the minimising tendency at work, which came under our own observation, a Planter told one of us in the course of ordinary talk, the story of an attempted suicide on his estate, and when we asked him if he had informed Government, he said he had not. One actual suicide, also, was reported to us both, when we were in different parts of Fiji, long before any news of it had reached the Immigration office. We were ourselves the first to give them the report.

Very often a cutting from a newspaper gives the true situation more clearly to an outsider than statistics. For it adds the atmosphere of the place, and is not a bare record of figures. The following is taken from the "Western Pacific Herald."

"News has just reached Suva of another of those 'cutting up' incidents, so common amongst Indians in Fiji, which occurred on the Waudoi Estate. In this case the motive is the usual one of jealousy, a woman being the victim and a man the aggressor. Although badly lacerated the woman is expected to recover. We understand that the owners of the estate were aware that trouble was brewing, but were prevented by the regulations from removing the man to another plantation, which action would have prevented the crime. Another aspect of the case is that if the assailant is sentenced to more than six months, his employers suffer by losing the time, as the indentures cannot be extended for a longer period than six months. The law as it stands has an undoubted tendency to encourage the employer to hush up any such cases which may occur amongst his laborers."

It is clear from this cutting, that however anxious the Immigration department may be to get at the true facts, their difficulties in Fiji are exceptional. It will be made abundantly clear in this report how scrupulously just and fair this Department itself was. Nevertheless allowance will have to be made for the carelessness and neglect on the part of Planters to

send to the office every case of crime which occurred on their estate.

When we came to examine further the reasons for the almost complete breakdown of moral sanctions in Fiji, which had resulted in such criminal records, we found ourselves more and more bewildered about the causes, though more certain than ever about the facts.

We were wholly unable to agree with one explanation, which was most frequently put before us, namely, that the Indians recruited for Fiji, were the criminal class of India. We have already expressed our opinion concerning the Indian women. From them, indeed, we did undoubtedly gain an impression that the number of prostitutes recruited must have been large, perhaps in excess of Natal, or elsewhere. It also appeared to us, that this number was increasing, rather than diminishing. If so, that might itself account for a great deal.

But the men recruited were rather above, than below, the type we saw in Natal. The Hindustanis represented a class of villager whom we knew well in India; and these certainly did not come, in any large proportion, from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. Those whom we saw in the Calcutta Depot were villagers of a good class. The coolies also in the Madras Depot appeared to be an average village type. It is interesting to note how the Fiji newspapers have spoken of the recent shiploads of recruits 'as an exceptionally fine set' or 'as above the average.' Yet it is these very Hindutanis and Madrasis who so quickly go to pieces, and even in their first and second years begin committing suicide and stabbing and murdering their fellows.

We were told again and again by barristers who practised in the Law Courts, by Government officials, and by merchants, that the Indian had become 'the criminal of Fiji'; that it would be no exaggeration to say that over 90 per cent of the violent crime in the Islands was 'Indian crime'; that there was a real danger that this disease of 'Indian crime' would spread to the aborigines. We found also that the Indians had got the reputation of being 'the greatest gamblers in the Colony' and from what we saw in the coolie 'lines,' there can be little doubt that this reputation was not unfounded.

But by far the most terrible fact, which

met us on every side, like a great blight or devastation, was the loss of any idea of the sanctity of marriage and the consequent sexual immorality that was rampant on every side. The evil had spread in wider and wider circles from the coolie 'lines,' till it had infected nearly the whole Indian population. Some one has described the condition of the Fiji as the 'morals of the poultry yard', and the phrase sticks in the mind: it is so painfully accurate of much that we were obliged to see and hear.

We had at first supposed that these corrupt morals of the 'lines' would be thrown off, in a great measure, by a healthy reaction, as soon as the Indian became a free man. In Natal this had been the case, and we had seen with our own eyes fairly healthy family life springing up in the numerous tiny fruit-farms around Durban, where free Indians lived. But we found things far more unsatisfactory in Fiji. There, the morals of the coolie 'lines' had become ingrained in the free population. As one Indian explained the matter to us: "Sahib," he said, "our women have lost all shamee they change their husbands as they change their dress." An abominable trafficking in young girls was prevalent, which the law seemed unable to check. It was a common thing for a father to sell his daughter to one man, allowing the betrothal ceremony to be performed, and then to sell her to another. Divorces were equally common. Women left their husbands for the sake of jewellery and went to live with other men. They seemed to do just what they pleased, and to live just as they liked. Castes and religions were mixed together in a common jumble. Hindu girls were sold in marriage to Muhammadans and vice versa: sweepers' children were sometimes married to Brahmans. If this admixture had been due to enlightened motives of humanity and in accordance with conscience, all might have been well. But it was just the reverse,—a matter of greed and lust. As if to make the evil more deep-seated Government had done its best to banish Hindu and Muhammadan religious marriage altogether from the land. Indian Christian marriage shared the same fate in the eyes of the law. A Christian minister of religion, Mr. Bavin, who performed the ceremony of marriage for two Indian

Christians in Church, was prosecuted for committing an illegal act. The only valid marriage was said to be that drawn up in the office of the Immigration Department, and this was a mere matter of payment and registration. An Indian had merely to go to the Immigration office and register his name and that of his intended wife, and pay five shillings. Then if no objection was lodged, after three weeks he received a certificate from the office declaring that he had been married. There was no ceremony: no solemn declaration: no mutual promise in the presence of witnesses. These Immigration Department marriages are called by the Indians "marit": and it was always necessary in Fiji to ask a man, or woman, if they had a "marit": for nothing else was legal. In the prosecution referred to above, the insecurity and the degradation to the whole Indian community of this system was exposed in open court. A new marriage ordinance is now in the making, which recognises the religious ceremony of each Indian religion and gives to it the respect that is due. But the harm that has been done during the last thirty-two years by this neglect of the State authorities to give any sanction at all to Hindu, Mahammadan and Indian Christian religious marriage can hardly be overestimated.

The following story was told to us by a missionary, who knew the two brothers concerned, and tried to get their sentences commuted. Two brothers of a respectable Hindu family were guardians of their younger sister. They caused her to be married by Hindu religious rites to a husband whom they regarded as suitable. The Hindu religious ceremony was fully and duly performed. Then another man intervened and induced the sister to be married to him by means of a "marit" at the Immigration office. This "marit" was legal. The Hindu marriage was illegal. There was no redress. When the brothers knew that there was no other remedy, they went and killed their sister and gave themselves into custody. They declared at the trial that they had done it for the honour of their family and their religion. They had done it, they said, to preserve Dharma. They were condemned to be hanged.

The following documents may serve to illustrate the confusion which has been reached in the Indian marriage relations in Fiji.

(1) Memorandum of Agreement for Separation.

Made this eighteenth day of April 1913 between Jammu ex Fultala III and Parbati ex Fazilka IV husband and wife.

(a) That in consideration of the sum of £ 10-0-0 this day paid to Jammu by Parbati the former relinquishes all his rights over Parbati as wife and gives her permission to go wherever she pleases and live with whomsoever she likes. He will not sue her for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against her.

(b) That Parbati relinquishes all rights over Jammu as her husband and gives him permission to go wherever he pleases and live with whomsoever he likes. She will not sue him for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against him.

Thumb mark
of Jammu

Government
Stamp

Thumb mark
of Parbati

[These agreements are, in the actual practice of the Islands, equivalent to a divorce; at least they are so regarded by all indentured coolies. They are drawn up by certain Barristers-at-law practising in Suva and are signed in their presence. The paraphernalia of the Government stamp and the legal form, in which they are inscribed, make the illiterate Indians believe that they are valid in a court of law. We have been told by lawyers since, that they are not worth the paper on which they are written. Yet the "marit" is made to the coolies for them.]

(2) A letter to the Agent-General of Immigration, Sir,

There is a man called Assu, ex Fultala I, intending to leave for India. His daughter Jagwanti has been married to my son, Nathu, according to Hindu rites, and this marriage will have to be registered according to law of this Colony.

I have spent £ 30-0-0 for this marriage and as I apprehend that the girl's mother, Jammu, is likely to sell her to someone else than my son, I request you to be so kind as to help me by taking steps to secure an undertaking by Assu that during his absence nothing will happen to defraud me of my lawful rights.

I beg to suggest that he should be made to give me a written acknowledgment of the expense incurred by the said marriage.

(3) Letter threatening legal proceedings.

To Lakshmi ex Fazilka III.

You are my married wife. You have deserted me without any reason or excuse. I hereby notify to you that you must return and co-habit with me within one week of delivery of this notice; otherwise you must return me the jewellery, valued £ 20-0-0, which you had from me for wear, also the sum of £ 30-0-0 in cash taken away by you from our home, also our daughter Sunderbasia, aged 7 years, with jewellery valued £ 10-0-0 which she wears.

(Sd.) Indrua, his mark.

(4) Memorandum of Agreement.

Between Idn 36,193 and his wife Raiwantia 36,987 and Lachman ex Sangola A.

That in consideration of the sum of £ 5-0-0 paid this day to Idu by Lachman and of the jewellery returned to Idu by Rajwantia, Idu gives up all his rights over Rajwantia, as his wife, etc., etc.

(5) Charge or complaint.

Fiji to wit.

The charge of Assu in the district of Suva taken this twenty-seventh day of March in the year of our Lord 1913 before me, who saith that Bhikari, ex Clyde I, now residing with a man called Dargan, did on or about the 26th day of March instant steal, or convert, to her own use one shikri valued 10 shillings, one pair of jhumka worth 7 shillings, etc., belonging to one Idu.

(This is one of the very common charges for return of jewellery made by a husband, when his wife leaves him.)

(6) The case of a Sardar

Letter No. 1.

To the Agent General of Immigration 22nd June, 1914.

Sir,

The bearers Lachman, ex Ganges II and Putan ex Ganges I, say as follow:

That Lachmania has been excused from work since her arrival in the Colony. At first she was told to live with the man called Debi Singh, who was given up at the instance of the Sardar in favour of the bearer Putan who paid £2-10-0 as the price of the woman's exemption from work for one year.

The said Sardar now desires the woman to give up Putan, with the intention of keeping the woman for himself.

The woman does not want to give up Putan.

Letter No. 2.

From Immigration Department. 25th June, 1914

Sir,

I have to state that Putan had previously complained to this Department regarding the Sardar's treatment of the woman Lachmania, and his complaint was inquired into, with result that his allegations against the Sardar were proved to be false.

Letter No. 3.

From the Manager, 18th November, 1914.

(Concerning another woman named Jagwanti and the same Sardar)

I am in receipt of your letter, which seems to have been written by you under the misapprehension that Bhola and Jagwanti were husband and wife at the time the Sardar made overtures to the woman to live with him. Bhola has informed me that these overtures were made with his consent. Since Bhola and Jagwanti are now married, the Sardar will have nothing further to do with the woman.

Letter No. 4.

From the same Sardar, 29th March, 1915

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that Bhola came to me this morning and asked me for the money, but I told him to go to you. I asked Jagwanti to come with me to court for the marriage, but she told me that she will see about it by and by. By this I understand that she wants to live with Madho, after being paid the sum. About the money I have nothing to say. Do please, as you like. Will you please put this condition more in the agreement between me and Bhola and Jagwanti, that, after having been paid the sum by me, if anybody will keep the woman, he will have to pay me £ 50 0 0

[We wish to draw no inferences as to the rights and wrongs in this case, but

simply to show from it the utterly abandoned morals of the 'lines.' We heard of more than one case in which the Sardar sold the women, under his charge, first to one man and then to another.]

It would be impossible to explain in detail, how all these evils connected with marriage have penetrated the home-life of the free Indian population, as well as the coolie 'lines.' We had opportunities of studying in Suva these strange marriage relations in that centre of free-Indians. We also went carefully through files of correspondence, agreements and settlements, by which Indians were struggling, either to strengthen or else to relax these complicated marriage ties. We examined, besides, a large volume of evidence given in the Police courts. We were thus able to see in detail how sexual jealousy had brought about all kinds of misery and crime.

It would be scarcely too much to say, that these marriage evils have almost obliterated the ideal of the married life from the memory of Hindus in Fiji. They spoke to us of marriage and of women in a way that would be revolting to Hindus in India. The tragedy of it all was this, that the whole Hindu fabric had gone to wreck on this one rock of marriage, and there were no leaders to bring the people back into the right paths. The best Hindus we met were in despair about it.

One other aspect of this same deterioration may be described. The Hindu woman in the coolie 'lines', having no semblance, even, of a separate home of her own, which she can cherish, and divorced from all her old home ties, has abandoned religion itself. The moral ruin is most pitiful on this side. Though there are beautiful and stately rivers in Fiji, no women are seen making their morning offerings: no temples rise on their banks: there is no household shrine. The outward life which the Hindu women in the 'lines' lead in Fiji, appears to be without love and without worship,—a sordid round of mean and joyless occupations. The contrast with India is seen in its saddest form during some so-called Hindu religious festival in Fiji. Everything that could be recognized as Hindu has departed, and with this, the religious spirit has departed also. The yearly round of the sacred festivals, which form so much of the brightness of a Hindu woman's life in India, is confined in Fiji to a couple of days, of which

the greatest is no Hindu festival at all. The impoverishment of life, which has taken place, can hardly be understood, in all its pathos, except by Hindus themselves. One who had recently come out to Fiji from Madras, a man of education, wrote as follows:—

"These festivities are meaningless in Fiji, with no object but to partake in sweetmeats and rowdy cries. Indian women are present with no intent to worship, but to a great degree as a spectacle to the white population, who view with an inborn hateful laugh the coolie Indians and their so called religion. Hindu degradation could not go lower."

Yet, as we went further in our enquiries, we met with hopeful signs of another kind, which showed us that there was still present, below the surface, the instinct and the memory of better things. We saw many lives of Hindu women, which were true to Hindu traditions, winning reverent respect.

A high caste widow and her little daughter, who had passed through the normal dangers of the coolie 'lines' unharmed, were revered by all the Hindus of the district. When misfortune came upon this widow while we were in Fiji, her Hindu neighbours came to us, offering monetary help up to 4,500 rupees. They wished to purchase for her the small portion of land, which her husband and her father had possessed. A Madras Hindu mother, in the north of the main Island, had gathered round her, in an out-building, a group of Hindu boys, to teach them their religion, together with a little English.

Among the men, a Swamy, loosely attached to the Arya Samaj in India, and now dwelling in Suva, had gained instant respect from the Hindus, and had helped in founding schools, where religion could be taught. On every hand we found a longing for instruction to be given in religion, and this clearly proceeded from a pure desire, that the children of Hindu parents in Fiji should not lose all knowledge of their ancestral faith. It was touching to see what emphasis was laid upon religion in their own education schemes.

Two phrases were constantly used in Fiji, when thoughtful Indians talked over the whole matter intimately with us. The one implied that all their religion had gone to pieces. The other implied that they had not lost their inner appreciation of their old Hindu life.

The Muhammadans were very slightly represented in the main Island of Fiji. We

should have seen them in much greater strength, if we had been able to go to the smaller Islands; but time would not allow this. In the main Island, as far as we could observe, the religious decline had not been so rapid with them as amongst Hindus. They held together more, and even though they did not observe, to any great extent, the stated hours of prayer, yet they were proud of the fact that they were Musalmans, and this gave them a dignity of their own. There were very few leaders among them. They seemed capable of getting on by themselves and of keeping some idea of religion. They were equally eager, with the Hindus, to obtain religious education for their children.

The Indian Christians were fewer still in number. Some of them held too much aloof from the main Indian body and were inclined to lean upon European support. But one feature was outstanding. Their home life was good. Some of our happiest recollections were those of Indian Christian homes.

The Parsis, to our regret, were entirely absent from the Island. We could not help remembering Parsi Rustomji, in Durban, and wishing that there might be such a kindly Parsi home as his, in Suva, to give us welcome.

The brightest side of Indian life in Fiji (which, in a measure compensated for its sorrows and gave hope for the future) was the love of India itself, which was still kept warm within every heart. There was practically no religious bitterness; Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians lived amicably together side by side, because the one tie of India itself bound them together in one. This love for India kept their lives sweet, even in the midst of so much that was corrupt and diseased.

In so far as it is possible to shorten the passage to India by direct Steamer service, and thus give opportunity to the younger generation of Indians to see their motherland, it will be all to the good. For there is no sentiment, at the present time, that is doing more to uphold the self-respect of Indians in Fiji than this affection for India. With many whom we met,—men who have lost for a time all the sanctions of religion, this sentiment itself has become a religion and a worship. Things can never be hopeless with Indians in Fiji, so long as this remains.

There was another aspect of affairs in

Fiji, which corrected our earlier unfavourable impression in an important way, and gave us encouragement and hope. We noticed that, whenever those who had come out of indenture were given opportunities to settle on the land, holding it as their own and leading their own free life upon it, the powers of recuperation very soon began to have their effect. We were more and more impressed with this fact, the longer we stayed in Fiji. It made us feel quite convinced, that if only the fatal mistakes of the present indenture system could be rectified, the Indian immigrants might then recover themselves and become a healthy population. We were equally convinced by what we saw that this life of settlement on the land could never be made really wholesome, if it were connected with the present coolie 'lines.' For the evils of 'lines' extended outwards, and brought degradation to the free Indians who were near at hand. It also made many of the free Indians the mere hawkers and hangers-on of the coolie 'lines.'

[It may be well to mention here, in a parenthesis, one of the most marked and painful features of Indian life in Fiji, which immediately attracted our attention. The whole Indian population is divided up into two classes, an inferior and a superior, called "indentured" and "free",—"grimit-wala" and "khalas"—to give them their local names. One does not need to labour the point, that to have people of one race in a small island, some of whom are free and some of whom are the reverse, is to countenance a most injurious class distinction.

Though we found abundant sympathy among the free Indians with their less fortunate countrymen, and though we came across noble instances of self-sacrifice on their behalf, yet it was almost inevitable that such an unnatural division should tell, in time, upon them, and should give to the indentured Indians a sense of degradation, and to the free Indians a sense of pride. It was often noticeable to us, how an Indian would bristle up, if ever we made the mistake of asking him if he was "grimit-wala" when he was really "khalas"; or how, on the other hand, a man would hang his head, if we said to him "Tum khalas ho?" when he had not yet obtained his freedom. There would be shame and dejection expressed in the very

shake of his head, as he sadly confessed to us that he was still under indenture. Few things told us more truly than this what was actually going on beneath the surface of people's minds.

Far deeper evils still were connected with this class division, which can only be mentioned very briefly. It brought out too often in the free Indians, not those noble qualities of sympathy and sacrifice which have been referred to, but those meaner qualities of avarice and greed,—the readiness, for the sake of money, to exploit and trade upon the weak and depressed. There is always something very dangerous in the close juxtaposition of a privileged and an unprivileged class, a servile and a free population; and it is not to be wondered at, if Indians, with their morals already corrupted by five years' indenture, should not be able to resist the dangers of their new position when they became free.

But where the contact with the coolie 'lines' was not especially marked, the healthy life of settlement on the soil soon began to have its effect on Indians, who had finished their indenture. This was especially noticeable in certain out-of-the-way settlements, away from the coast, on the north side of the island. Nature has wonderful healing powers, and we witnessed them at work. The difficulties concerning the marriage of children were still serious, on account of the complete disproportion of men to women, in Fiji, among free, as well as among indentured, Indians. But as life settled down, and more and more children were born, even these difficulties became successfully surmounted; and a new life of hopefulness began to spring up in these new Indian settlements far away from anywhere. It was one of the greatest pleasures of our visit to come across some such Indian settlement cleared out of the very jungle. It recalled to our minds many of the best features of village life in India itself.

It was very interesting and instructive to watch the difference between these Indians settled, far away from anywhere, on the land, and those Indians who hung about the outskirts of the coolie 'lines.' Among the free Indians, at the coolie centres, there had been little or no purging out the moral evils, of the coolie 'lines.' The bad atmosphere of the 'lines' still clung round about them. But face to face with nature, and close to mother earth,

the free Indians, while they tilled their own land and built their own villages, in their own way, recovered a healthier and cleaner moral life. The aspect of joy came back into the women's faces and into the looks of the children at their play. The impression of servitude and moral degradation was lost, and a new found happiness and pleasure in life had clearly taken its place. In one part of the country we found that a little temple had been built in the middle of such a Hindu village. This showed us that religion itself had begun, once more to take its true place in Hindu homes.

A few examples may be given of the state of affairs here generally described.

1. A small cultivator on the north side of the main Island had a small holding of his own, purchased by promissory notes. He was a sweeper, and did work in a store as well as on his own land. He had been eleven years in Fiji and had received 800 rupees for his last crop. He spoke of further transactions in land to the extent of 1500 rupees. He was very happy and prosperous, and his wife and daughter seemed equally happy as they were seen by us on the day of the Muharram festival.

2. A village settlement, five miles from Navua, which had originally been formed by a small syndicate of four Indians who were now Zamindars. The ground was all free-hold property and the crops looked very flourishing indeed. There had been unfortunately some quarrel between the Indians about the land. Though there was outward prosperity, there was clearly inward discontent. Probably the settlement was too near to the large coolie 'lines' to be completely independent, and Navua, as a district, bore an evil reputation.

3. A small settlement of Indians completely isolated and independent, far in the interior of the Island. There was an air of quiet peace and happiness about this village which touched us very deeply, after what we had seen for so long in the coolie 'lines'. The men and women spoke with freedom, and the children were evidently happy.

4. The following are typical cases of prosperous growers of sugarcane among the Indians in the north of the Island:—

Lachman has been three years out of indenture and was able to sell his cane last year for Rs. 1,635.

Nathu, who has been five years out of indenture, has grown 531 tons of sugarcane on twenty-three acres of land. He received for his crop Rs. 7,200. This man sold out his interest in the land and its standing crops for Rs. 13,500.

Ram Singh told us, that he had received Rs. 12,000 for his last year's crop. This sum however does not represent net profit. An encouraging fact in his case was that he was following the example of the large European planters in his cane cultivation by an extensive use of green manure. The small Indian holders, we were told, had not made sufficient use of scientific cultivation, with the inevitable result that their crops are inferior in quality, and the soil is gradually becoming impoverished.

[In 1914 independent Indian growers of cane supplied to the Company's mills at Lautoka, on the north side of the Island, a total of 32,328 tons of cane, which realised 2,85,000 rupees, at an average of eleven shillings and eight pence per ton. In 1915 from the same source the estimate was 47,000 tons of cane which would realise 5,40,500 rupees at an average of fifteen shillings and four pence per ton. In this Lautoka district 34 per cent of the total sugar-cane land is already in Indian hands, and all along the north coast the percentage is ever increasing. In the district of Nadi alone there is a population of 5,000 free Indians and the monthly average applications for leases of land at the Magistrate's court was fifty. There are thus a large number of free Indians who are now growing sugar-cane, quite independently, on holdings varying from five to three hundred acres in extent.

The large Indian cultivators employ numbers of free Indians to carry on the ploughing, manuring, weeding and cutting of the cane.]

5. A settlement of free Indians on the border of a small European plantation. These have recently come out of indenture and settled near their old employer. The planter gave to them, at a very low rate, during the last year of their indenture, a piece of ground for growing cane. He now uses their free labour, at the heavy seasons of the year, paying them full wages. In this way, he has been able to reduce the number of coolies under indenture on his estate. The Indians seemed prosperous and contented. The planter was evidently

their friend, and they were some distance away from any large coolie 'lines.'

[The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has for some years past introduced this system of settling indentured Indians on the land, near to their own estates, during the last year of their indenture. They pick out carefully those coolies who show capacity for work among the canes. In Lautoka 2,200 acres are thus leased out to 180 Indians under the Company's settlement scheme].

From all this it will be clear that every year the interest of the Indian free settler will have to be taken into consideration in an increasing measure. For in the long run, if the present rate of progress continues, they will be the chief growers and producers of cane in the Islands. Indeed, the time may be not far distant, when the European cane grower will give place to the Indian altogether, the organising work at the centres alone remaining in the Europeans' hands. If the new offer of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to place £100,000 at a low rate of interest at the disposal of the Fiji Government for Indians' settlement be accepted and the settlement carried out, this predominance of the Indian cultivator as a grower of sugarcane for the Company's Mills will be practically assured.

While, on the whole, with many drawbacks and difficulties, the land settlement of Indians has gone forward, the same cannot be said with regard to Indian education. Indeed it would be hardly an exaggeration to state that the policy of the Government of Fiji with regard to Indian education has been, up till quite recently, one of almost complete neglect. Even with reference to the public school education of European children, Fiji is far behind every other colony in the Empire. With regard to Indian children, in spite of strong warnings from the Indian Government and the Home authorities, the expenditure has hitherto been nil. We have been told further, on reliable authority, that for many years there was the strongest opposition on the part of the Sugar Companies to any education being given to Indians at all. It was said that such education would tend to take the Indian coolie away from the soil, and thus make him 'spoilt' for labour purposes. If the European sentiment with regard to Indian education has somewhat changed to-day in Fiji, it

is due to two chief causes,—first, the brave struggle which the missionaries made against unenlightened opposition, and, secondly, the strong external pressure which has been brought to bear upon the Fiji Government by the Colonial Office in London. We may well believe, also, that the criminal statistics of the Indian population have at last begun to make people think. When we were asked to explain the suicide and crime among Indians in Fiji, compared with other colonies, we used to point to the education statistics. The absence of school life means the absence also of educated teachers as well as of the school house. The teacher and his wife are apt to set the standard to other families round them. Their home is often a centre of great good in an illiterate community.

In the Fiji Blue Book for 1914 two pages only are given for education. From the figures it appears that there are only two aided Public schools and one Government school in the colony. The rest of the education is left entirely to private enterprise.

Out of a total revenue of £279,844 in 1914, the sum of only £3,312 was devoted to education, or less than 1.2 percent of the total revenue; and none of this was for Indian education. In Suva itself, the capital of the Islands, the anomaly occurred not long ago of rates being actually collected from Indian rate-payers for public school purposes, without permission being given to the children of such rate-payers to enter a public school. On an appeal being made, the Indian rate-payers were informed that they would not be required to pay rates any longer. But admission to the public school was persistently refused on racial grounds, and there is still no Government school for Indian children in Suva, though the majority of the inhabitants are Indians. This Municipal policy of Suva is unfortunately in keeping with other forms of discrimination against the Indian, which have reduced him to a mere cipher in Municipal affairs. Not only has the Indian been refused educational facilities for his children but at the same time he has been practically disfranchised.

If Fiji is to come into line with the standard set by the other Colonies she ought to be spending at least £10,000 or £12,000 a year on education. At present the

Government of Fiji is throwing almost the whole of its responsibility for education on the Missionary Societies.

It is indeed pathetic to see the attempt made by the Indians themselves to supply the educational need which ought to be supplied by Government. On the North side of the main Island and elsewhere there are many instances which show how keen is the desire of the free Indian settler for education.

1. At Nadli, a small school was discovered which was being held in a stable behind a small store, with about a dozen small boys learning English from a Hindu woman. This woman had learned English at a Mission School in the Madras Presidency before coming out to Fiji, under indenture, some 12 years ago.

2. Near Ba there is a small school with about 20 boys on the roll who are taught English by an aged Maulvi. At Ba itself, near one of the few mosques we saw in Fiji, two or three boys are daily taught from the Quran.

3. At the same centre, Ba, the Indians themselves (both Hindu and Musalman) subscribed and built a school-house a year ago. This unfortunately has been empty ever since, for want of a suitable teacher, although the Indians are willing to contribute liberally towards the support of a qualified man.

4. At another Indian settlement in the interior of the Island, on the bank of the Rewa River, a similar School-house has been built by voluntary contributions. But this too is almost useless for want of a suitable teacher.

5. We were told of an attempt to start a school in a country district in the South of the main island. After a short time, however, the funds gave out and the school was closed. The head teacher was then paid by the Mission and the school was re-opened by them.

6. An enthusiastic effort was made in Suva to found a school in which Hindus and Muhammadans should be taught together. A two-storied building was given for the purpose by a leading Musalman, on the understanding that the upper storey should be used for a mosque. We attended many discussions with regard to this school. The opinion we found was, that though there were good intentions in abundance, yet there was very little practical leadership.

The Fiji Government is at last beginning to awake to its responsibility for educating the increasing Indian population; for it sees more clearly than before that an unenlightened people is a danger to the well-being of the Colony. But so far it has been unable to secure properly qualified men, on account of the low salaries offered. Certainly there could be no finer opportunity for young men of education and ideals who are anxious to serve their fellow-countrymen, than to go out in educational service to Fiji. For, there, they would have the chance of helping to shape a new country's development, which may eventually become an Indian Colony. Not only Government, but also the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, has begun to take up the matter with some feeble interest. The Company has just offered £3000 and a site to each of the missionary institutions in order to relieve itself of the responsibility of running schools of its own. The Vancouver Mill at Navua also gives a small contribution to the mission school there.

But the subject of education needs to be taken up much more thoroughly and seriously if the need is adequately to be met. For the whole future of Fiji depends largely upon such a system of education being built up, amongst the Indian population, as will render it a useful and stable element in the life of the Colony.

When we were asked by the Fiji authorities what system and method of education would be best suited for Indian needs, we expressed very strongly the opinion, that it would be a mistake for Government to place everything in the hands of the missionaries, and merely give grants-in-aid to them. We had abundant opportunities of reaching the real opinion of the Indian community in Fiji, and we were certain that such a policy would be looked upon as a very serious infringement of the principle of religious neutrality. The Indians in Fiji are for the most part quite illiterate. It is not to be expected that they will be able to organise and collect funds for their own schools on the scale of the European missionaries. For a very long time to come, therefore, it would not be possible for them to meet the active missionary propaganda on equal terms of activity. If the Fiji Government were simply to stand aside and distribute grants-in-aid, the missionary societies would be certain

to step in and reap all the financial benefits. This would give the whole Indian education of the Islands a predominantly Christian colour, even though the Indian parents might wish their children to be educated in their own Hindu and Musalman religious precepts.

At the same time, we found no wish, on the part of Indians, to exclude the missionaries from education altogether, or to ask for purely secular schools. They had a great and natural respect for the work that the missionaries had done. They recognised that the missionaries had been their friends and had made known their grievances at a time when they themselves were mute and helpless. The mission schools, also, had struggled on without any help from Government, at a critical period when European sentiment in the colony was set against Indian education altogether. The Indian community in Fiji, however ignorant and illiterate, was generous and liberal in its appreciation of those who had helped in the hour of need. There were no two English names more frequently on their lips than those of Miss Dudley and Mr. Burton. They spoke of these two friends and helpers with an affection amounting to reverence. It was the work of missionaries like these, struggling against overwhelming odds, that had saved the whole Indian community from falling to the lowest level of ignorance and vice.

We can both of us recall vividly the scene we saw one afternoon in a Christian orphan home in Fiji, the only Indian orphanage in the Islands. The house was beautifully situated on a slightly rising ground near the banks of the broad Rewa River opposite some crowded Coolie 'lines.' We had just come from the indentured Coolie quarters, and had seen the condition of the little children living in the midst of sights and sounds which innocent children ought never to see and hear. Then, in this home across the river, we watched a group of tiny children at their play. One baby was pointed out to us, whose mother had been murdered in a quarrel in the 'lines', and whose putative father had been hanged for the murder. There were other children in the home who had a somewhat similar history. We could not help contrasting the happiness and innocence of these little ones with the evil and impurity of their

former surroundings, and we were only too thankful for this haven of pure childhood, which had been offered to them for shelter.

While, therefore, the Indian community gave all due respect to the missionaries for what they had done and were doing, they were convinced that it would be harmful to allow the whole Indian education of the Island to come into missionary hands. They wished rather to have Government schools side by side with missionary schools. Our own decided opinion was in favour of this policy also. Apart from the question of religious neutrality, which missionary institutions, by their very character cannot observe, mission schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally inefficient. False economies are often made and unqualified teachers, taken from the ranks of catechists, are put in charge. On the other hand, Government schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally extravagant. Useless expense is not seldom incurred according to the whim of some new Director, or Inspector. But when the two systems exist side by side—the Government and the Missionary,—they are able to counteract one another. The weakness of the one system is the strength of the other. Liberty of conscience is also in a far greater measure preserved by such a combination.

If such a combined system were adopted in Fiji, two further things would be necessary. There should be the right of entry into every school for accredited ministers of religion. There should, also, be especially liberal grants allowed to any educational venture, Hindu, Musalman or Christian that proceeded direct from the Indian community itself and was financed by Indian money.

We have been obliged to go somewhat further in offering advice on this subject of Indian Education than might possibly be regarded as fitting in a Report of this kind. Our reason for doing so has been, that we were specially asked by the Indian community to put forward their views, because they had such great difficulty in doing so themselves. There was no subject on which they were more unanimously anxious, and on which they laid greater emphasis. They were wont, in a very touching manner, to look forward with

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confidence and hope to the removal of all their moral evils, if only education could be given to their children on right lines. After what we heard, in the Pacific, of the beneficent results of liberal education in the Philippines, during recent years, we felt that there was much to be said for their point of view.

It seemed more and more clear to us, the longer we stayed in the Island, that there was no side of Indian life in Fiji, where the Government and the people of India might offer more practical help, at this juncture, than by pressing forward the

urgency of a comprehensive educational policy with regard to Indians in Fiji,—a policy large and wide enough to cover the whole of the Islands. We hoped also that it might be possible to offer any initial aid that might be required. We have reason to believe, that a representative from India sent out to assist in such a greatly needed reform would be welcomed by the authorities in Fiji. He would also receive from every section of the resident Indian community the warmest possible welcome and support.

(To be concluded.)

INDIA IN AMERICA

By LALA LAJPAT RAI

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FOR long I had cherished a desire to visit all those parts of the world where there were a large number of Indians either settled or temporarily congregated for purposes of study or labor. When I actually left my home in April 1914, I had no intention of staying out longer than six months. England and parts of Europe were the only places I proposed to visit. On reaching England, however, and after the Komagata Maru incident, the desire to visit the British dominions and colonies grew stronger. When I met Mr. Henry Baurassa, the Canadian statesman, in London on the suggestion of Mr. Charles Roberts, the Under Secretary of State for India, I spoke to him of my desire to visit Canada and received encouraging promises of help from him. About the same time I received an invitation from one of the Sikh leaders in Canada. My desires and intentions were beginning to take more definite shape when the war broke out and I considered it expedient to postpone my visit to Canada and other parts of the British Empire.

In November, however, after I had finished my book on the Arya Samaj, I decided to pay my second visit to the United States. The object was to know more of that fascinating land, to study the social and political conditions that prevail there,

to cultivate acquaintance with a few at least of its intellectual leaders, to get first hand knowledge of its system of education and to find out what opportunities we had of training our young men there. Along with it went a strong desire of knowing as intimately as possible the conditions of the Indians that had settled in America, and also why the American prejudice against Hindu immigration had developed so strongly in recent years.

The very first day I landed at New York, I saw several Indian faces. They were Bengalee gentlemen who had come to receive our distinguished countryman Prof. J. C. Bose and his wife. During my stay in New York I came across about two scores or more of my countrymen, Bengalees, Panjabees, Mahrattas, belonging to almost all the great communities of India. I also had the pleasure of meeting two of my countrywomen, one a Baroda State scholar studying at one of the women's colleges, and the other a Parsi lady. Then at Boston I met about a dozen Indians coming from different provinces and belonging to different religions. Most of them were studying at Harvard. Here also I met a Parsi lady who had been there for several years with her husband. At Chicago I met about a dozen or more Indian students coming from all provinces and belonging to

all communities. At the Illinois University, Champaign, there were about fourteen or fifteen students, mostly from Bengal and the Panjab, including one Mahomedan gentleman. There are a number of Indians at the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Cornell, from whom I received invitations which for want of time and for other reasons I could not accept.

More or less, Indians are spread over all the United States—or for the matter of that, all over the continent of America. They are to be found as far North as Alaska and as far South as Brazil, Argentine, and Chili. There are large numbers of them in Mexico, in Central America, and in British Guiana. In North America, the area where they are located in largest numbers, is the Pacific Coast from Vancouver in British Columbia, Canada, in the North, to Panama in the South. The bulk of them are Panjabees and Sikhs; there are a few U. P. men and a few Bombayites, a few Bengalee students and a very few Madras students. It is impossible to fix their exact numerical strength, but it runs into thousands and in all probability their number exceeds ten thousand on the Pacific Coast alone. By religion they are Hindus or Sikhs, with a fair sprinkling of Mahomedans. Your readers will thus see that so far as numbers are concerned, India is better represented in America than in Europe.

Now I will classify the

(1) Intellectually or educationally at the top, among those who are not actually studying at some university, are the religious preachers, most of whom belong to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission. They are called Swamis. There are some Swamis, however, who are not connected with the Vivekananda Mission. There are some religious preachers who are neither connected with the Vivekananda Mission, nor are they Swamis, but their number is exceedingly small. Vedanta centres are connected with the Vivekananda Mission in almost all the most important cities of America. I know of such centers in New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco. I think there are some at other places also. At New York, Boston, and San Francisco they have buildings of their own. Every center has its own organization and its own funds. With the exception that they are all Vedanta centers, there is apparently no other link

connecting them with one another. The great majority of their constituents are women. Except at New York, all the centers are reputed to be well off financially. The center at New York is financially in straitened circumstances, due to no fault of the Swami who is just now in charge of the center. The Swamis do not form a large class, but in spite of their limited numbers they are a very important group.

(2) The class next in importance, though larger in size, is that of the students. The students may be divided into three classes:

(a) those who receive money from home or from some public organization or from some State. Their number is exceedingly small;

(b) those who receive some help from home and are partially supporting themselves by work. They also are few;

(c) those who depend entirely upon their own work. Their number is the largest.

The Indian student in America is a prodigy of enterprise and industry and resourcefulness. The story of his struggle against adverse circumstances reads like romance. It makes one proud of the coming generation of one's countrymen. A good many of these students left their homes without the permission or against the will of their parents. Some of them perhaps had no parents or other relatives to advise them. Some had no funds in their pockets when they left home, or just sufficient to bring them to some seaport out of India, where they could find work and earn enough to take them to the next seaport, until they reached one of the American ports with at least 150 or more Rupees in their pockets.

I know of one young man, a Panjabee, who walked on foot from New York to Chicago (a distance of 1200 miles) without a single penny in his pocket. He slept on roadsides and earned his food by whatever work he could pick up in the course of his journey. This young man had studied in an Anglo-Sanskrit School in the Panjab up to the Entrance Standard. I know another young man, also a Panjabee, who did not know a word of English when he reached this country about eight years ago and who is now in the highest class at the University of California in the Engineering Department. His knowledge of English is still very poor, but in his

class he is among the best students and the University honors him by appointing him to mark the answer papers of the Junior students in mathematics.

Some of those who left their homes with the object of prosecuting their studies in America, gave up all idea of university education when they reached here, and joined the ranks of their countrymen to work on farms or ranches or wherever they could get work. I found one such (an old student of the High Department of the Anglo-Sanskrit School, Hoshiarpur) working in an asparagus field in the State of California. I found another (a vernacular middle passed) doing the same work in another neighborhood. I know of two Agarwal youths of fairly well-to-do families of a Panjab District, who left their homes with very little money in their pockets, worked their way to America and are now in a fairly good position from a financial point of view. One of them has graduated from a business college; the other is a domestic servant in an American family near Los Angeles and hopes to join a university after he has saved sufficient to put him through the university. In the Panama Pacific Exposition there are a number of Indians rolling wheel chairs. In some cases the stories of their struggles are heart-rending. Picture to yourself an Agarwal young man of U. P., coming from a respectable family, working on a railroad track under construction, either cutting stones or doing other hard work, sleeping on the ground at night and cooking his food in tin cans thrown on the road by way-farers! Some of the most brilliant university students have to work as waiters or domestic servants or fruit pickers or farm hands, or otherwise to earn money in order to follow their course when the university is in session. Others work for a year and then read for a year and so on.

Among them, of course, are some black sheep who occasionally cheat or defraud their own countrymen or earn money in ways not quite honorable. For example, some give lectures under Christian auspices and draw revolting pictures of the conditions of things in their own country. They caricature their people and thus win the sympathy of the public for the various missions that employ them. Some pose in photoplays and thus help the companies living on sensational shows to caricature

conditions in their country. A few become the tools of that army of adventurers who trade under the name of spiritualists, clairvoyants, mind readers, professors of psychic knowledge, astrologers, palmists, and so on. I have heard that some even go to the length of fomenting quarrels among their own countrymen so as to get the chance of serving as interpreters when their cases go to court. It is possible that



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some of these stories are exaggerated or are the outcome of malice or jealousy, but in any case the number of such black sheep is very small and the motherland has every reason to be proud of the hundreds of Indians who have within the last fifteen years been educated in America.

What pleases me most is their spirit of enterprise and their industry. Here they are in a country thousands of miles distant from their home, amid strange people, with strange customs and manners, with absolutely no organisation * to encourage them, to help them in case of need, to watch their interests, or to befriend them in any way whatsoever. Add to this the

* It is true that the Hindu students in America have organised themselves into the Hindusthance Students' Association of America, but as it is, for lack of financial support the Association can not be of much practical use to them. The Association keeps clear of politics and can be very useful if properly financed. I think it is only due to the younger generation of Indians struggling for education against heavy odds in this country, that some philanthropist should come to their rescue and make some provision for the proper support of this Association and for enabling the latter to help students in crisis. At times, as I have said above, our students get stranded and find themselves in an awful situation.

volume of prejudice against which they have to battle to get work. First there is the color prejudice; secondly, there is the race prejudice; thirdly, there is the prejudice of religion; fourthly, they have the powerful force of organized white labor against them. Last but not least, they are absolutely new to the work. At home they could not even think of ever doing such work. In school, they received no training for it. What little education they received in Indian schools was purely literary and had unfitted them to use their hands in manual labor. Yet they struggle against all these forces and in the majority of cases come out successful. At times perhaps they have to starve or to live only on bread and water; at times some among them have to pass a night under the shadow of a tree or by concealing themselves in a railway car. They do all this and cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence which they lacked so much when they were at home.

In the university centers I have visited, I heard university professors praising their industry and sobriety. For some, the professors have genuine praise, and as a class they have nothing against them. At every university I found some in the professorial staff who take special interest in Hindu students, who welcome them to their homes and take pleasure in befriending them in such ways as they can. At every center there are some women either among the wives of the professors or outside the university who take motherly or sisterly interest in Hindu students and give them every kind of encouragement. Now this could not be if the "Hindu"* students in America were as a class undesirable.

On the whole I am proud of the "Hindu" students in America, and the country of their birth has no reason to be ashamed of them. My complaint against them is that on their return home they do not display that spirit or that respect for labor which pulled them through in this country.

(3) The third and the largest class of Indians to be found in America are the laborers who have been attracted by the high rates of wages that prevail in this country. This is not the place to discuss or to give a detailed account of the economic values of the country, but this much may be stated that the wages for unskilled

labor range from one dollar (three rupees) to three dollars a day. Two dollars a day, i.e. six rupees, may be considered to be a fair average for a working day of nine to ten hours. Consequently the cost of living, too, is very high, but the Indian coolie, or peasant or farmer, is a proverbially frugal person and can live on very little. As a rule the Hindu laborer on the Pacific Coast cooks his own food. Those who work in the fields or on farms or on ranches can get any amount of vegetables or fruits in the fruit season for nothing. For the rest, wheat flour does not cost more here than in India. Milk, butter, and oils are as cheap or as dear as at home. Meat no doubt costs more, but not so eggs. The Indian laborer cares little for meat; he does not smoke; nor does he spend much money on coffee or tea. He however drinks liquor and many a hard earned dollar goes into the cash register of the saloon keeper. Yet every one does not drink and those who do not drink save considerable sums. Even those who indulge in strong drinks save something for the rainy day.

As a worker, the Indian laborer is very conscientious and efficient, particularly on farms and ranches. Judged from the output or from the standard of efficiency, he is very much sought after, particularly by the employers of agricultural labor. But for his race and color, he would never be out of employment and there would be room enough for hundreds and thousands more. Ten or fifteen years ago, there was no prejudice against him, but during this period the volume of prejudice has grown thick and fast. The reasons for this are various. I propose to examine them one by one.

First, he is in most cases illiterate; but so are a fair proportion of immigrants from Europe. On page 81 of his book "America in Ferment," Paul Leland Haworth says: "Most of the immigrants are poor and, much more serious, most of them are ignorant. Of the 838,172 who came in 1912, over 177,000 were unable either to read or write and comparatively few were well educated."

Secondly, he can live very cheaply and his surroundings are unclean, and his moral and civil standards are low. Now so far as moral standards are concerned, it is ridiculous to say that the moral standard of the Indian is in any way inferior to that of an average American or

* The word "Hindu" synonymous with Indian in America.

European of the same class. It is in no way worse, if not better. As for cheap living and unclean habits, here again I do not think there is much difference between the poor European immigrant and the Hindu laborer. Speaking of the Slovaks from Hungary, Mr. Haworth, an American writer already quoted, remarks that "their (i.e., the Slovaks') standard of living is almost as low as that of the Chinese. They herd promiscuously in any room, shed or cellar, with little regard to sex or sanitation. Their demand for water is but very limited for the use of the outer body as well as the inner. They drink "Slivovitz," a sort of brandy made from potatoes or prunes. They wear sandals and caps and clothes of sheepskin, which latter also serve as their bed. They are excessively ignorant."

With a view to having a first hand knowledge about these matters, I have been to a few places where the Sikh laborer on the Pacific Coast works and lives. I have also been to places where the European laborer works and lives. To me there seems to be very little difference between the two, except that the Sikh on account of his head dress and color can be easily distinguished from the rest of the laboring population, whether American or foreign; while the different nationalities among the white foreign laborer cannot be so easily made out. In the matter of living and personal habits of cleanliness, I am afraid there is hardly anything to choose between the two; but if at all, the contrast would be favourable to the Sikh in fifty cases out of a hundred. The non-American white laborer cannot be easily made out from his American fellow laborer and he mixes with the latter on terms of equality. The Sikhs who have removed their hair and put on hats can easily pass as Spaniards or Mexicans or South Americans. Similarly, in the matter of drinking and kicking up rows when drunk, the Sikh has the disadvantage of being immediately identified as such—a disadvantage which the white laborer does not share with him even if he is not American.

It would be thus easily seen that these objections have nothing serious in them. The real objection lies in a prejudice which has been accentuated by economic considerations. The Hindu is a formidable rival in the field of labor as well as trade. So is the Jew. The Jew however has a white skin

and has adopted the habits and manners of the European. He has been accepted to be as good as a European. So neither the racial nor the color prejudice stands in his way. The Hindu is also Caucasian by race, it is true, but then his color and his habits and manners are so different that the Europeans are not prepared to acknowledge that his racial origin is the same as theirs. So the consideration shown to the Jew is not extended to the Hindu. More or less all Asiatics share the prejudice which is shown against the Hindu, but the political status of the Japanese and the Chinese being higher at home gives them advantage over the Hindu. The Jap has to be tolerated because he is "a citizen of a country which recently whipped one of the great powers."* Against the Chinese, the Americans do not feel the same bitterness as they display against the Jap or the Hindu. The former they hate; the latter they hold in scorn; but the Chinese they pity. China is America's protege and the Chinaman in the United States, though dreaded as a competitor in the labor market and therefore now absolutely shut out by law, is otherwise petted. The Sikh has intensified the prejudice against him by his *pagri* (turban) and by his long hair.

Personally I have nothing but praise for this trait of his character. Go wherever he may, he maintains his Indian character; he keeps his distinctive dress and cooks his own food. A vast majority of them preserve their national prejudices and sentiments. The uneducated Hindu and Sikh laborer does not eat beef. I met a Brahmin of Hushiarpur at Los Angeles, who, during the five years he has been in this country, has never tasted the American bread and has never even for once eaten at any of the American restaurants. He is a strict vegetarian as many others are. On the other hand, it is hard to come across a Hindu student who does not take beef. I have so far met only two Mahommedan students. One of them was strict in his religious prejudices; the other partook as freely of pork as the Hindus do of beef. The uneducated Mahommedans, however, are strict in the matter of diet. They do not take pork nor do they touch fat. I had the honor of being entertained by them at a strictly Indian dinner cooked by themselves.†

* "America in Ferment", by Haworth, page 116.

† Some people are not disposed to attach much

Those Mahomedans who can pass as Persians or Turks or even as Egyptians, are better treated. The Indians (called Hindus regardless of their creed) are however universally despised in other than learned or cultured circles, but from what I have seen of my Hindu, Sikh, or Mahomedan countrymen of this coast, I have nothing but respect for them. They are as a rule warm and generous patriots, hospitable and courteous.

Among the Sikhs and Hindus liquor creates havoc. The reason is obvious; they have no other diversion. In the absence of female society, in the absence of leaders to whom to look for guidance or example or precept, in the absence of a superior social strata to mix with even occasionally, in the absence of any real recreation and amusement to forget the hard toil of the day, they see no harm in burying their fatigue and in purchasing temporary forgetfulness of the cares of the world in a draught of beer or in a peg of whisky. Once in a saloon and once having started, some of them forget where to leave off and have to be carried away to their rooms by their comrades or shut up in the lock-up by the police.

The Sikh in America, whether in Canada or in the United States, must have donated hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Panth, but the Panth has done precious little for them. There are Sikh Gurdwaras in both countries, where Sikh Scriptures are kept and where Granthis are stationed and maintained; but no class of human beings can live on credal religion alone. Religion cannot fill all their life outside work. The religious leaders have by overzeal added to their difficulties. For example, they brought nothing but ridicule on themselves by insisting on singing Bhajans and Kir-tans to the accompaniment of Sikh instruments of music, like the Khartal, Dholki, etc., in the streets of Stockton. I have not so far heard of any attempts having been made to educate them, to create and encourage a habit of reading among them, to establish social and recreative centres for them and otherwise to cater to their social and physical desires on wholesome lines.

The Sikh and the Hindu laborer on this coast have been exploited in turns by the

religious and the political fanatic, but neither of them has done anything for him in the way of supplying him intellectual or social food or creating for him a healthy social and mental atmosphere.

Oh! how I wish that some worthy Indians were to consecrate their lives to the service of these men, cater to their intellectual and social wants and guide them out of harm's way. Any one attempting to do that, will have a tough battle to fight and can only succeed if in addition to disinterested devotion to duty and love of his countrymen, he gives not only his time free, but also finds funds for his cause outside of America, for these people have become extremely suspicious of those who ask them to contribute. They have so often been cheated and imposed upon, that they now strongly resent being asked to pay either in the name of patriotism or philanthropy or religion; yet both the religious and the political movements are financed by them.

Besides, for want of the organization to look after their material interests, in the absence of intellectual and business leaders, with none of their class in the banking or trading circles, they do not get the full value of their labour and are oftener than not deceived and defrauded. Both Indian and American sharpers victimize them. They are a fine, good-looking, hard-working, simple-minded, honest warmhearted set of people, these "Hindu" laborers (including Sikhs and Mahomedans) on the Pacific Coast, and my heart goes forth to them in love and sympathy. Except in one or two instances, I have seen and studied them without disclosing my identity. I have partaken of their Prasada (their bread and vegetable and meat) without their knowing exactly who I was and whence I had come and why I was there. Of course they have their own hotels and eating places as the American hotels and restaurants would not receive them. The Chinese and some of the Japanese hotels and restaurants are, however, open to them and such of them as wear hats may even go to American hotels and restaurants. In the South and in the West of America, the position of the Hindu is rather curious. In the South he is confounded with the Negro and the only way to escape the indignities that are heaped on the Negro there, is to put on a turban. In the West a turban has to be

importance to the question of what they eat, but I do. In my view the question is one of stamina and character.

scrupulously tabooed, because with a turban you stand the chance of being excluded from hotels, restaurants and theaters and of being looked down upon.

I am of opinion that public bodies in India should find out some means of improving the lot of the Hindu laborers on this coast. The immigration department admits no more Hindus into the United States. There is no law forbidding their entrance as such, but the laws and regulations are so administered as to shut out and effectively exclude the Hindu from entering America, unless he comes on a short visit or for purposes of trade with plenty of money in his pockets, or as a student with sufficient evidence that he would be supported from home. Those, however, who are already here, have no intention of leaving the country soon. It would be a good thing if some way could be found to let them send for their women-folk.

The orthodox Christians of America and the churches do not like the Hindu Swami or the Hindu lecturer. They not only encroach upon their preserves, and are considered as poachers, but they help in disillusioning the people of America as to the civil and religious conditions of that "heathen" country. With the exception of a few high class Hindu teachers of the class of Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ram Tirtha, the general run of Swamis that come to this country are not above criticism. Their style of living, their lack of experience of the world and other things create enemies for them. I am afraid they are by no means the best representatives of Hinduism. In spite of misrepresentation and misstatements made by missionaries, Hinduism in the best circles of this country stands for high spirituality, high ethics, mysticism, purity of life and high morality. I have no reason to say that the Swamis that come to this country are anything but good men, but surely they are not the best representatives of Hinduism. Oftener than not, their knowledge of their own scriptures is poor; their age subjects them to temptations which are fatal to their mission; their pretensions of high spirituality or yogic or psychic powers places them on a level with American dabblers in occultism and with professional clairvoyants. The fact that they depend for their

maintenance and wants and also for the maintenance of their organization upon the support of Americans, also brings in a spirit of greed and commercialism, which is alien to the true spirit of Hinduism and tends to bring discredit sometime. In fixing prices for admission to lectures or classes and in asking for offerings at the end of lectures they adopt the American spirit of commercialism which jars on Hindu ears and drags them down to the level of professional men. At times in their eagerness to manage their affairs well, and efficiently, they take lodgers in their buildings and deal with them on strictly business lines. All this takes away from their character of places of worship or places of Dharma and stamps upon them the trade mark of American commercialism. To me it seems absurd and quite opposed to the spirit of Hindu Shastras that a young man of 20 or 25 or 30 years of age should assume the position of a religious teacher or preacher, especially when he has not passed through the three Ashrams and has not undergone the discipline that is necessary for the conquest of the senses and without which one does not acquire the experience of human nature and human weaknesses, which is so essential for a successful preacher. It is bad that modern religious movements in India should have to act in opposition to the spirit of Hindu Shastras in this respect; but it is worse that we should send mere heedless youths to interpret Hinduism to the world at large. I am afraid poor Hinduism has to suffer a great deal from this mistake. Yet it is marvellous to what a great extent Hinduism has influenced the religious thought of America. Re-incarnation and the previous and future lives of the soul are accepted almost as an axiomatic truth. Karma is a very common word in religious phraseology. The Bible is being very laboriously overhauled to bring it into conformity with modern religious thought and many a Hindu idea is being given out to the world in Biblical language and Christian phraseology. A true Hindu has reason to be mighty glad of it without cavilling at the use which the Christian world is making of Hindu thought without acknowledging the debt. In the learned circles there is nothing but respect for India's past and India's culture. Tagore also has helped India considerably in that line. Among the modern writers widely read and appreciated in really cultured

circles in this country, Rabindranath Tagore is always to be found.

With all this, I think, India needs to be better represented in the United States than it is at present. The Ramakrishna Mission should depute some of its senior men to interpret Vedanta to the Americans. The men who come out as teachers should have nothing to do with the business side of the mission. The Vedanta centers should moreover be open to poor Hindus or to new arrivals from India in the country for twenty-four to forty-eight hours without any charge. It is un-Hindu to insist on the payment of rent by everyone, even if he cannot afford to pay it and does not know where else to go for shelter. The teaching of religion should be absolutely separated from the financial or the business side of the organization. I am of opinion that wealthy Indian potentates like the Maharajas of India should endow lectureships for foreign countries. Competent Hindu lecturers should be sent abroad to give lectures on Indian subjects.

Of India, Americans generally know very little; perhaps not more than what they read in Kipling's books or in the writings of their own missionaries. A Hindu girl told me a story. She is a high school pupil and the course of history prescribed for her class includes Indian history. One day she asked her teacher why the latter ignored that part of the subject. The teacher's reply was because the Indians had done nothing to have a history; they were a backward people having nothing to their credit. The Hindu girl of course did **not** accept the reason given by the teacher and

gave a bit of her mind in reply, but such is the colossal ignorance of educated foreigners about India. Your readers would laugh if I were to recount the stories that I know of the ignorance of even Englishmen about the geography and history of India.

Here again, the Indians themselves are responsible for this ignorance and if they and their country suffer thereby in the estimation of the world, the fault is theirs. How many Indians are there who feel that they owe a duty to their country to bring it into the open forum of the world, so that it may find its due recognition there by learning other people's point of view and giving its own for the benefit of others?

Some friends connected with the University of California have constituted themselves into an India Society for the purpose of studying Indian literature and Indian questions and creating interest in India among Americans. Professor Pope of the University of California has been elected its first President and Dr. David Starr Jordan, the great scientist and scholar, Chancellor of Stanford University, Mr. Edwin Markham, the poet, Mr. Winston Churchill, the great novelist, have consented to be its Vice-Presidents. It is hoped that the society may stimulate interest in Indian matters in America and be a source of friendly exchange of ideas between these two great countries of the East and the West. Indian publishers and Indian publicists would do well to send them their publications for notice and study.

GLEANINGS

The Art of Mimicry in War.

Protective Mimicry is one of nature's commonest methods of equipping living creatures to put up a good fight in the struggle for existence. Thus, some animals imitate their surroundings in color or in the dappling or striping on their skins so as to blend with the landscape at a little distance. Others, themselves quite inoffensive in character, borrow the aspect of neighbor who are actually dangerous or unpleasant because of the possession of poison-fangs, scent-glands, or sharp claws and teeth. Others again

closely resemble some inanimate object, such as a leaf or stick or stone, so that they may escape their enemies on the one hand, or have their victims within reach on the other. An ingenious German writer, Dr. Hanns Gunther, contributes to a recent number of *Die Umschau* (Berlin) an article in which he thus sets forth the theory that in the fiercest of all struggles for existence—human warfare—the subterfuges practised to deceive the enemy are closely analogous to those practised by animals:

"In the first place, we have protective coloring by which the aspect of troops and implements of war

imitates their surroundings. In the second group belong the imitations of clumps of trees, bushes, hedges, downs, meadows, turnip-fields, haystacks, etc. behind which are hidden wagon trains, big guns, trenches, and observers' stations. The third group, which is essentially smaller, embraces a number of measures for lending to harmless objects a dangerous appearance, so as to deceive the enemy by suggesting dangers actually absent.

"A splendid example of the first group is the field-gray uniform of an army. Troops thus equipped elude the eye of the enemy almost entirely, even at short distances. Chosen by long practical tests from every possible similar color, this field-gray chimes in with the dust of the streets and the pale hue of the fog, as well as with the summer gray-green of the fields and meadows, so that a troop can scarcely be distinguished from its surroundings."

Dr. Gunther asserts that no other uniform is comparably effective, not the English khaki, the gray-green of the Russians, nor the blue-gray of the new French uniform—the latter, in fact, he says, stands out almost as clearly from the landscape as the red of the old uniforms. It is only against a



"SNOW BATTALION" IN THE VOSGES.

Their snow-white uniforms make them an indistinguishable part of the colorless winter landscape.

suits the monotonous gray of the North Sea. England has chosen a somewhat darker gray, also used by the Russian Baltic fleet. The torpedo-boats of all three countries are an exception; they must be as obscure as possible because they fight by night. In England and Germany they are black; Russia employs a dark green, by which, also, she protects her submarines and their convoys. In the Russian Black Sea fleet the battle-ships and cruisers are light gray, the torpedo-boats dark gray, the submarines light gray-green. France's fleet, whose natural fighting territory is mainly in the Atlantic, is painted bluish gray to suit the color-tone of the high seas. The French torpedo-boats are dark gray, but the U-boats are bottle-green, just the color often seen in the sea on a clear, still day when looking over the side of a ship."

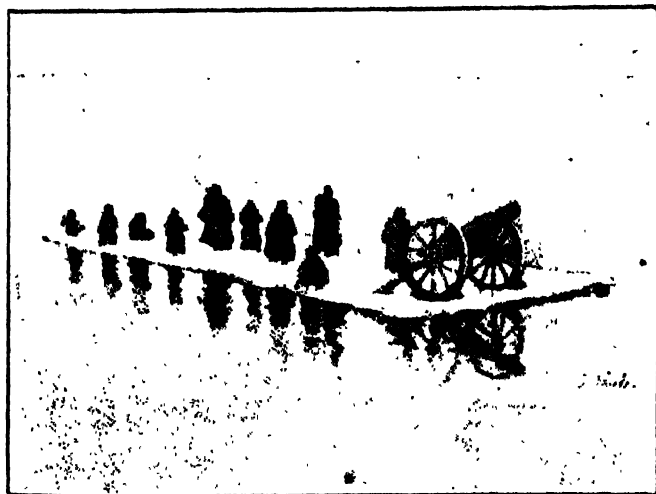
All these color-schemes are determined by the changing and frequently overcast sky of the temperate latitudes, but in the tropics where a silver sea reflects a cloudless sky, ships are painted dazzling white. Even the torpedo-boats are not black, but either light gray or slate gray, to suit the brighter tropic nights.

The same tactics are employed in land warfare—guns, wagons, pontoons, etc., being painted to resemble the color of their immediate surroundings. Even so, their distinctive shape may reveal them to the "eye of the army," i.e., the observer in the aeroplane:

"For this reason the guns are buried as deep as possible in the ground, boards are laid over the top of the hole, and these are covered with the excavated earth. Then this is covered with a layer of sand or turf, or planted with bushes or branches, according to the character of the surroundings. . . .

Only the muzzles of the guns are then visible, and these can be only seen a short way off, and usually not at all from above. If the guns are in or near a village, sheds or cottages are made out of boards and old shingles. And in wooded neighbourhoods entire miniature forests are planted out of chopped-down trees to hide men and guns from the eyes of the airmen.

"Naturally there is also an aircraft mimicry, which commonly consists in a coat of paint the color of the cloudy skies. But this seldom suffices, since in our latitude the sky is extremely changeable. The new

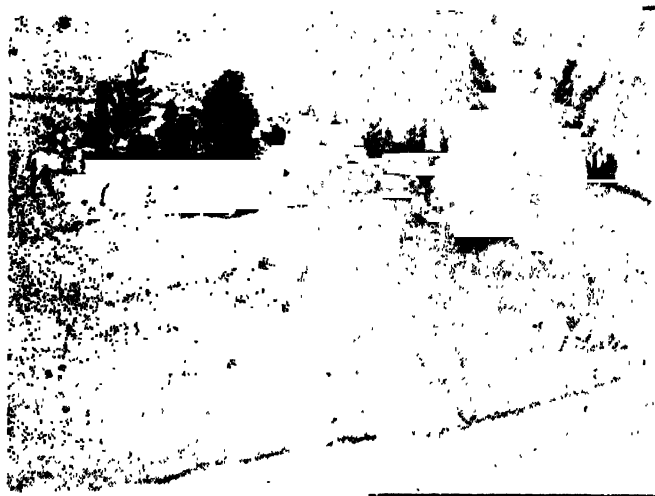


A RIVER-SCENE ON THE EASTERN FRONT.

Decoy soldiers are sent down the river on rafts to draw the enemy's fire and thus betray the location of batteries.

background of snow that the field-gray is visible, and the new uniforms recently provided for the Russian campaign are white. These white uniforms have already been successfully used in the Vosges and the Carpathian Mountains. Not only troops, but artillery, wagons and other munitions and implements of war are shielded by protective color:

"War-ships afford the best example of this sort, their color corresponding to that of the seas in which they are particularly active and to the tone of the sky. Thus the light gray paint of the German fleet



Deceiving the omnipresent hostile aviator by covering a moving battery with branches.

method of covering the planes with glassy transparent fabric . . . seems preferable, therefore. Machines fitted with such planes are visible from earth merely as a delicate framework, so they are generally hard to hit."

The use of branches and twigs of trees mentioned above is an ancient device in war, as attested by the famous lines of the prophecy in "Macbeth" anent the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane. This comes under Dr. Gunther's second division, and in modern warfare the device is generally employed to protect supplies, wagons, batteries, repair wagons, etc. These are covered with leafy branches of trees. If the sound of an aeroplane is heard, the train of cars or batteries instantly stops moving, so as to look like a leaf-embowered lane or a hedge.

"In the third group belongs the well-known trick in maneuvers of putting soldiers' caps or helmets on turnips, stones, etc., to deceive lines of troops and thus draw the enemy's fire and mislead his leaders. This trick is used in war as well as in maneuvers; the London *Sketch* showed recently a turnip-field which was violently shelled by German artillery because of the French caps mounted on its stalks. But the Germans are not inferior to their enemies in this respect, and any one who looks over our soldiers' letters will be astonished at the lively inventions shown in each mimicry. Thus straw-cutters, raised slantingly, resemble siege guns. Then one may come across whole batteries made of earthen pipes laid across logs, with now and then even the gunners imitated by stuffed coats.

"Or again, in a charge, the men may stick helmets and cloaks on top of their bayonets, so that the enemy thinks he has giants before him, and aims higher than usual, naturally without hitting. In short, inexhaustible inventiveness is displayed to be-fool the enemy, and certainly with some success, else would such mimicry not be constantly revived. In this group belongs the trick attempted by Russians wishing to ascertain the position of our field-watch on the Memel. They sent adrift down-stream a raft

manned by men of straw, and with a stove-pipe gun, hoping the field-watch would fire at it, and thus betray position and strength. This piece of craft, however, was discovered in time."

Finally, the writer mentions what he calls a fourth group. Under this head he places the use by the late commerce-destroyer *Emden* of a fourth smoke-stack, which caused her to resemble her prey. This enabled her, for instance, to creep up in the twilight to the Russian cruiser *Zhemchug*, lying in the harbor of Pulo Penang, and send her and the French torpedo-destroyer *Mosquet* to the bottom with a few well directed shots. However:

"The mimicry of war is not confined to visible effects alone. The deception of the enemy by calls or signals must be included also. The patrol of a Prussian *Jagesbataillon* recently came near falling victims to such an order given by Captain Koschutsky. They were approaching a stretch of thick woods and had nearly reached it when a sentinel cried 'Halt! Wer da?' Unsuspectingly the prescribed answer was given: 'A patrol, 3rd Company, reconnoitering to the front.'

But instead of the expected 'Pass' they heard a signal-whistle followed by a clatter of shots. Russian troops had made use of the German challenge to ascertain the position and strength of the enemy."

For another example of an ingenious deception of this kind Dr. Gunther goes back to an incident of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. A trick much



Infantrymen hiding behind sheaves of grain and wearing straw wreaths to complete the deception.

like that of Captain Koschutsky, he says, was employed by the Prussian general von Pape after the battle of Sedan to capture some French soldiers who had fled into a wood. He made a captured French trumpeter blow the signal 'Rendezvous,' which brought a thousand or so French soldiers rushing out of the woods, who were no little surprised to find themselves suddenly facing the enemy they thought they had happily escaped, instead of their comrades. —*The Literary Digest*.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE BARODA EXHIBITION OF PERIODICALS

BY CHANDULAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, B.A., LL.B., VAKIL HIGH COURT, BARODA.

A JOURNALISTIC Exhibition was held in Baroda by the Central Library Department of the State in the latter half of the month of February to commemorate the arrival of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, who arrived in this city on the 14th of that month. It exhibited mainly Western periodicals, the most noticeable feature of which was their varied character, which could not but strike any passing visitor. Side by side were also to be seen Western newspapers, Japanese periodicals and the newspapers and periodicals of the Baroda State. But we shall silently pass them over, as there was nothing peculiarly striking about them.

In the March number of the *Modern Review* reference is made to the holding of such an exhibition and very striking though frank remarks are added half seriously and sarcastically and half humourously concerning the same. The purpose of the Exhibition is there described to be "to serve as a stimulant to those responsible for the production of periodicals in India." I, for my part, failed to perceive such an intention* on the part of the organizers. For, to be sure, few editors of periodicals published in the different parts of India must have been expected to come to receive inspiration from the Exhibition! If the organizers had any such mission to fulfil, viz., to improve and raise the standard of Indian periodicals, it can be better achieved by publishing in some of the most widely circulated Indian periodicals articles which may serve as guiding lights indicating the lines on which and the methods by which Indian journalism may be improved. This, I think, is the only sure way by which the idea of raising the

standard of Indian periodicals may be brought to the door of every journalist.

The purpose of the exhibition which I or any other visitor could gather seems simply to be to give to the public an idea of what Western journalism in its most developed forms is like, as also to show, at the same time, what an amount of interest the public generally there must be taking in journalistic literature and what encouragement and support from readers and advertisers the journals there must be receiving. Journalistic literature is no exception to the universal law of supply and demand. If there is a demand there is a supply, but if supply is offered without



A Charging Regiment of Scarecrows : intended to make the enemy shoot too high.

the demand, the supplier may come to grief. Therefore, if we find in the West periodical literature in different forms of development and in various kinds, it needs no saying that it is all due to public support or demand. Thus in the select list of periodicals given below will be observed periodicals such as "The Badminton," "The Play Ground," "The Bakers' Review," "The Brewers' Review,"

* A Note in the "Bombay Chronicle" was our authority for ascribing such intention to the promoters. Editor, *M R.*

&c, which at once go to show that there the thirst for reading is so great that different classes of people want magazines which particularly deal with subjects in which they take special interest. Try the experiment in India and start a "Badminton" or a "Bakers' Review" and see if you can secure subscribers. We do not believe in charms in these days by which Western journalists can produce money necessary for conducting magazines. It is also money that can procure articles of any kind required. Without dilating more I may state in a word that I fully agree with the spirit in which the comments were made in this Review. Numerous are the Indian journalist's difficulties. But at the same time I hope not to be misunderstood if I suggest that periodicals in India, though some of them really maintain a high standard, would do well to publish articles of different types calculated to interest different classes of people, as, there are not in this country periodicals to satisfy the tastes of classes. Thus the student world specially and the young generally would find it more to their taste to read purely literary articles, such as dramatic pieces, anecdotes, tales, allegories, essays, satires, poems, pithy sayings, humorous writings, &c. I do not know whether I am right in holding that magazines are read in larger numbers and more attentively by students than by others. Then there are some persons who have a taste for history, some for philosophy, some for sociology, some for politics, some for economics, some for statistics only, some for scientific research, some for archaeology, and so forth. As, however, there are not proper special magazines in India to satisfy such special wants the general magazines should undertake to occasionally satisfy such cravings. Special magazines may fail to secure subscribers sufficient in number to pay the expenses of conducting them. The task may be, therefore, performed by the general magazines. Therefore I believe it to be a good principle to adopt to secure and publish articles which interest a sufficiently large class of readers. If we cannot manage to conduct a "Boys' Own" or a "Badminton" owing to want of proper public support, let our more stately and dignified magazines undertake occasionally to satisfy the juvenile taste. And if I may be allowed to indulge in a little pleasantry, I ask,

where is the harm in publishing an article on "Scientific Haircutting" or on "Fashion in Hair", if an editor finds on the list of his subscribers fifty or a hundred managers or proprietors of Haircutting Saloons? While those immediately concerned will be instructed, others may be agreeably amused.

As a matter of fact some of our magazines do show a varied character and do take into account the different tastes of different classes of people.* Still, however, as nothing can be beyond suggestion my suggestions may be taken at what they are worth.

I shall now give a select list of periodicals exhibited which will go to show to what extent the specialising process has gone in journalism in the West.

There was first the Literature Section in which were observed the "Harper's Magazine," the "Metropolitan", the "Windsor Magazine," the "Pall Mall Magazine", etc. Akin to this section but removed from it was the "Literary Section" in which were seen the "Academy and Literature," the "Literary World," the "Dial" the "Literary Digest", etc.

From the Literature Section we jumped at once to the International Section where were found the "Pan-American Magazine", the "International", the "Near East", the "Journal of the American Asiatic Association", "Dun's International Review", etc.,

Then there were the Italian, Arabic and Japanese periodicals, which were unintelligible and seemed to have been placed in the Exhibition probably because they were collected by the organizer in his tour.

Then we come to the richly furnished and attractive section of Fine Arts. Here we found the "International Studio", the "Art Studio", "Art Decoratif", the "Journal of the Royal Society of Arts", the "Art Decorator", "L'Art Et Les Artistes", the "Art et Decoration", "Fine Arts Journal", and also the "Journal of

* Thus taking the very issue of the magazine in which appeared the comments which have evoked this article we find materials to suit different tastes. Thus there is art in the frontispiece and other blocks. There are notes which tread almost every sort of ground; there is an imaginative literary piece by Sir Rabindranath, then there is the scholar in Kalidasa; then there is a socio-legal article "Inter-marriage between Hindu castes and sub-castes". Then follows an economic article, then comes one on science, next is a story, next is an essay, etc., etc.

Indian Art and Industry" (published in London!), &c. In this Section were also included the "Amateur Photographer" and the "Photographic Times".

Next was the group of periodicals on Architecture, where there were about five or six of them.

From Architecture we passed on to Engineering. Here we found such magazines as the "Engineering & Mining Journal", the "American Machinist", "Popular Mechanics Magazine", the "Concrete Cement Age", &c.

There were again sub-groups in Engineering such as the "Railway Engineer", the "Locomotive World", the "Automobile World." Then there was the "Water and Water Engineer", then there was the "Valve World." The specialising process in this branch is noteworthy.

We then turned to the group of Industrial Magazines. Here also we found separate magazines for separate kinds of industry. Thus there was the "Timberman", the "Lumber World Review", the "Metal Worker", the "Foundry Trade Journal", the "Hardware Age", &c. There were also the "Mining World", the "Mining and Scientific Pressing", the "Mining Magazine", and the "Mining Journal", on the mining industry. Then there were miscellaneous ones, like the "Coal Age," the "American Industries", the "Fireman's Herald", the "Industrious Hen", the "Brick and Pottery Trades Journal", the "Soap Gazette". There were also some magazines on Textile.

There was one magazine the "Business Equipment Journal" on that subject.

There were some periodicals dealing with agriculture and some with hide and leather and shoe industries.

Next to call our attention was the Foods and Drinks Section where were observed the "Baker's Review", the "International Confectioner", the "National Food Magazine", the "National Provisioner", and the "Brewer's Review".

In the section of Visual Mechanisms were seen the "Photoplay", the "Moving Play", the "Moving Picture Stories", the "Motion Pictures", and the "Bioscope".

Having been entertained by the light amusement afforded by the "Motion Pictures" the "Photoplay" &c, we came to a more serious part of the Exhibition, viz., Commerce. In this group were found many Magazines among which were the

"Exporter's Review", the "American Exporter", "Commercial America", and "Kelly's Monthly Trade Review".

We now peeped into Science. On Electricity we found the "Electrical World", the "Popular Electricity", the "Wireless Age". There were also the "Scientific American", the "Physical Review", the "Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry", the "Analyst", the "Man (a Monthly record of Anthropological Science)".

Next came the Printing Section where were found the "Linotype and Machinery", the "Inland Printer," the "Pacific Printer," the "Caxton Magazine", etc.

There were also Magazines on Libraries. Thus there was the "Library", the "Library Journal", and the "Public Libraries".

We then came to a more serious part of journalism, viz, the section of Magazines on Religion. Here were found the "Unitarian Advance," the "Hibbert Journal", the "Open Court (devoted to Religion of Science, Science of Religion and the extension of the Religious Parliament Idea)."

There was one Magazine on Astrology, viz, "Modern Astrology".

We are now prepared to dabble in Philosophy. In this section were noted "Mind", the "Theosophical Path", "Free Thinker", etc.

Next were arranged periodicals on Eugenics, among which were the "Eugenics Review". the "Child", "Child Life". On Sociology there was one Magazine called the "Sociological Review".

Next were the Medical and then the Legal Magazines. Then came the general reviews, which are too well-known; then the American dailies, next the annuals and then the Christmas numbers. After passing over the heavier part of journalism we are at once relieved when we light upon the lighter part of it viz., the Fashion Section. Here were seen the "Ladies, World", the "Gentle-woman", "Vanity Fair", the "Ladies' Home Journal", the "Ladies' Realm". These magazines dealt more with trifling and ephemeral things such as dress, fashion, etc., than with anything else.

We are next invited to the theatre. Our eye is here feasted by the photographs in the "Stage Quarterly", the "Modern Dance Magazine", the "Theatre", etc., which were copiously illustrated.

Let us now grow buoyant and turn to the Juvenile Group, which comprised the

"Children's Companion", the "Boys' Own", the "Children's Friend", etc.,

Then there were one or two Magazines on health.

After regaining our health we run to the field of sports and amusements. Here were found "Fry's Magazine of Outdoor Life", the "Badminton", the "Play Ground", etc.

Next in store for us is mental entertainment of a sprightly kind. We now enter the realm of joy, viz., the Humorous Section, in which were the "Judge", "London Opinion", the "Comic Cuts", "Tit-Bits", "Punch", "Cartoons", "Life" and "Puck".

The weeklies finally bid good bye to the visitor.

The above magazines will clearly show the varied taste of the reading public in the west. The most noteworthy feature of the western periodicals is their specialising for particular classes or topics or tastes. We have got something of the sort in India in our vernaculars, but certainly not to the extent above shown. Science, owing to peculiar conditions, is almost unknown in India. How then can we have magazines on the subject? We have little love for sports: who would then support periodicals on

Sports? Among reviews, however, we can say without exaggeration that there are some in India which can fairly compete with those of the West. There is one thing very remarkable about the western periodicals in that they have invariably a fine get-up. But underneath such get-up there is sometimes very ephemeral and worthless matter. Some of the western periodicals serve like an old man's gossip, others serve the purposes of a buffoon, while there are some which please momentary fancies. But while there are such, there are also others which rise very high. If there are magazines in the West which please the fancy and satisfy the vain curiosity of women and children and the unprofitable passing tastes of men generally, there are also stately magazines there which deal with serious and very grave questions, such as those of philosophy, religion, sociology, politics, etc. There is no doubt, however, that Indians have as good brains as their Western brothers and they are capable of producing the best kinds of magazines in the different fields only if they have sufficient opportunities.

* We know of
Editor, *M. R.*

Bengali and one in Hindi.

CIVICS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

THERE has been in recent years a recognition of the importance of including in school curricula, instruction in the facts and principles of existing governments and social studies, called Civics. But except teaching the boys of elementary classes to answer a few set questions from Inspectors and other distinguished visitors, as the boys progress in the secondary classes, very little systematic instruction in this branch of knowledge is attempted. Surely the lessons learnt from Indian and English History in the Secondary School would be better impressed if supplemented by a study of existing institutions. Perhaps, it is feared that civics touch many controversial subjects dangerous to teachers and boys at that stage of development.

The study of History can never come to

full life, unless civic interest, public spirit, and patriotism are awakened. Then it is that the judicious teacher can so teach History that even if the chronologies of History and the details are forgotten, as they generally are, the spirit of the forgotten details will remain in the mind of the citizen.

Civics has to be taught one way in countries where the citizens carry on their own government; in a different way in countries where the people have yet to get that natural right. In these countries the future citizen has to devote much of his work, time, and resources, to measures to obtain that right in all its phases. The training of boys to become future citizens of the State involves in India not only, as in England, training them for the public and

private offices which they may be expected to fill, but to do that important additional function of the citizen of progressive India, namely, to be a real and active force for bringing about reform in Government institutions.

India is different from other countries not only in this respect, but in another important matter, which has to be kept in view in this connection. Not only are there many Government institutions which the educated citizen has to attack and reform, but many social and religious institutions and evils which he has to work strenuously to modify and destroy, if the nation should grow united, strong and prosperous.

To a certain extent, then, if Indian teachers should do their duty properly by the Nation, they cannot teach Civics and lay a proper foundation of principles, and adopt right methods of teaching the subject, without introducing matters unacceptable to the more conservative officers of Government and to the more bigoted and reactionary sections of Indian Society. In steering his instruction along the path of national duty avoiding these two impediments to progress, lies the skill of the successful teacher.

The above considerations point out the

need for and the lines which we should adopt for the special work of Institutions devoted to "National" education. These institutions may with freedom show much further activity in matters excluded from institutions controlled by Government and pledged to a neutral unprogressive attitude in social and religious questions.

Still, to every teacher in whatever institution, it may be said, Remember to insist on the duties of the individual not only to Government, but to the Nation to which he belongs. In advanced countries, the duties of the citizen to the State would be covered by an exposition of the claims of Government on a portion of his time and resources. But in India, the Government is not identified with the Nation. The public-spirited citizen ought to be trained, when still young, to learn to give out of his time and resources not only to the existing government of his country, but over and above that, to the Nation, so that he may help to build the future State.

The vexed question of religious education need not be solved if Civics could be taught as it ought to be. The honour and the prosperity of our nation may be made the basis of all individual moralities like honesty, industry, chivalry, and sacrifice.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR.

DABHOI OR THE CITY OF THE DARBHA GRASS

IN the modern state of Baroda, as if to call to its remembrance its roots in the past, have been placed some of the more considerable remains of ancient Gujarat. Pattan, Siddhapur, Modhera, in northern Gujarat; Dabhoi, Chandode in southern, are the trustees, so far indeed as Time and Man, the arch enemies of everything old, have allowed them to be, of the glory and splendour of Hindu and Muhammadan Gujarat. But of all the archaeological treasures of this province none can surpass in their good fortune and in their intrinsic value the antiquities of Dabhoi.

This ancient city is situated in the Baroda prant of the Baroda state, 22°8'N and 73°28'E about 20 miles to the south-

east of the capital of that Raj. Although very remote, its origins are lost in obscurity. The Romaka Siddhanta, one of the five principal astronomical treatises in use in the sixth century A.D (according to Dr Bhau Dhaji, who places it in A.D 505) mentions Dabhoi in the Sanskrit form Darbhavati, from Darbha, the sacrificial grass. But this date of the first source for the history of Dabhoi is disputed, and we must wait for the revelations of further discovery to know more about the early days of our city. Whatever the date of the birth of Dabhoi, it soon grew in importance, on account of various reasons. It lies on the route from Northern Gujarat to the ancient shrines of Chandode and Karnali,

It must have been a fair resting place for the pious travellers to and from these places of pilgrimage. The original of the superb tank situated in the centre of the city and around which Dabhoi must have grown, perhaps, decided its foundation. It was also on the frontier of the Gujerat of the Chalukyas or Solankis (961-1242 A D), and the fort of Dabhoi was, perhaps, built by one or more of these Solankis, as part of their scheme of defence against the predatory tribes in the east, the Kolis and the Bhils, just as Charlemagne used Worms in his campaigns against the Saxons. The origin of Dabhoi may be traced to one or other of these circumstances, possibly, as is often the case, to a combination of all of these.



Kalika Mata Temple, Dabhoi.

and many others without that palliation, he had many wives and a right royal number of concubines. The first in rank and his greatest favourite among these was Ratnavali (the Lustre of Jewels) fair in name and fairer of form. No favourite's

reign is complete without a host of discomfited rivals and Ratnavali became the object of the jealousy of the other wives and women of Jai Singh. This jealousy reached its climax when the favoured queen showed promise of presenting her lord and master with a child. Anxious to escape the charms and spells of her rivals whom she had offended past all forgiveness, she left Pattan to go and offer sacrifices at a celebrated temple on the banks of the Narbadda, probably Chandode. After a long and weary journey she arrived

late in the evening at a sacred grove and lake about ten miles from that river. There she was advised by a Goswami to stay some while, and there in the fulness of time she gave birth to a son. Grateful for the



Baroda or Western Gate, Dabhoi

That is the probability of history; but the certainty of tradition is infinitely more interesting. Many centuries ago Sadara Jai Singh, the lion of victories, was King of Pattan. Like Solomon, the wisest of men,

safe birth of her child she entreated her king to allow her to stay in that place which had brought her such luck. The Rajah readily gave in to her wishes. Not only that, he resolved to do handsomely by the place which had taken his wife's fancy.

throne of Pattan, he remained there for some time, and the pageant of a royal court was vouchsafed to the people of that place. Visaladeva acceded to the request of the principal architect and builder of the city that it should be called

after his name, D h u b h o v e y. Thus it came to pass that this city was known ever since as Dabhoi.

Such is the romantic story of the foundation of Dabhoi gathered from the Bards and Charans of the place by Forbes. The iconoclasm of scientific history has laid its stern hands on an account which we would fain believe in. Burgess dismisses the derivation

of Visaladeva and the origin of Dabhoi as quite imaginary, for Dabhoi was old long before Visaladeva's times, the thirteenth century. And the sad fate of the eponymous origins of other

cities, like the well-known one of Rome from Romulus, is hardly favourable to belief in this particular account. As if that were not enough, the contradictions of tradition come to the aid of scepticism. Another story relates that Visaladeva, anxious that the architect of Dabhoi should not be able to sell his



Champaner or Northern Gate, Dabhoi.

He enlarged the tank, extended the groves, and built a fair city as a permanent record of his love. His son Visaladeva (child of twenty months) also honoured the choice of his mother. Even after ascending the

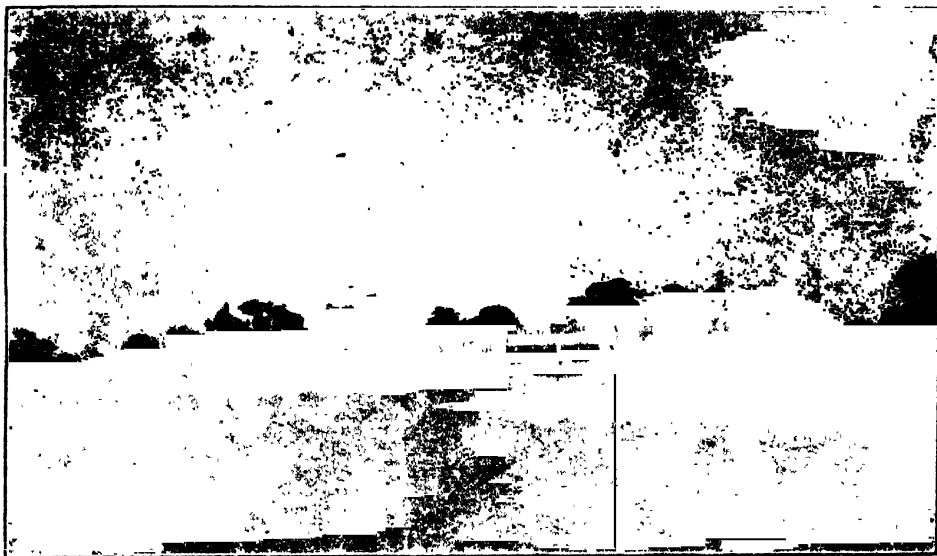


Temple of Siva on the tongue of land projecting into the Dabhoi Tank.

art to other kings, his rivals, had him immured in a recess below the Kalika Mata temple near the Hira Gate. The villagers still point out the place of his incarceration and recount to the sympathetic visitor the story of his faithful wife, who at the peril of losing her head carried food to her husband for a whole year and thereby kept him alive. After a time the king felt the need of

the artist's services and regretted his death, when he was duly produced before Visaladeva. The latter entrusted him with some more architectural designs, which he lived to carry out.

The scepticism of history, having demolished the beliefs of tradition, has not put anything in its place, definite or decided, as to the exact antiquity of Dabhoi. We



The Dabhoi Tank. On the island projecting into the tank half-buried little temple of Siva.

are to rest satisfied with suppositions. It is doubtful whether the rule of the Chaudas or Chapotkatas (746-941 A.D.) extended as far south as Dabhoi. It most probably formed part of the dominions of the Rashtrakutas who held the south of continental Gujerat (807-888 A.D.). The Solankis or Chalukyas (941-1243 A.D.) probably erected the fortress of Dabhoi.

To Siddharaja Jaisingh (1093-1143), the greatest of the Chalukyas, are ascribed the gateways and fortifications. But Siddharaj, like Cadmus of Thebes and Theseus of Athens, bears this honour, it must be confessed, vicariously. He, like other popular heroes, has the credit of good works which were not his but of those who went before him or who came after him. Still, it may be safely asserted that the defences of Dabhoi, a frontier city, were the especial care of that excellent king, in view particularly of the peremptory injunctions of Manu and the Hitopadesa on this matter of forts and fortifications.

After the death of Siddharaj and Kumarapala,



The Hira or the Eastern Gate. The Muhammadan arch has ousted the Hindu brackets still to be seen in the Baroda and Champauer Gates

the Chalukyas fell one evil day, and the throne of Anhilvad was usurped by Visaladeva, son of Viradhavala, Rana of Dholka, and of the Vaghela family. Visaladeva (1243-1261) is said to have been born at Dabhoi and to have performed a Yajna or sacrifice there. In the inscriptions in the temple at Girnar (1231 A.D.) of the Jaina brothers Tejahpala and Vastupala, famous in their day as



The Tomb of Mamah Dokre, the lady who is said to have brought the Musalmans into Dabhoi. Near it is an upright slab of stone with a hole in the middle, used in trials by ordeal. The man who could not get his body through the hole was pronounced guilty. The last time it was used the man got stuck and the stone had to be broken to get him out.

builders of temples, mention is made of the pious care which Vastupala bestowed on some temples at Dabhoi. To Visaladeva tradition correctly, as Burgess allows it, ascribes the restoration, if not the entire erection, of the Hira Gate and the adjoining temples. According to the Vastupalacharitra (A.D. 1308), Tejahpala, minister of Visaladeva, after capturing Gogol, king of Godhra, whom he carried about in a cage to teach a much-needed lesson to him and other troublesome chiefs, proceeded to Dabhoi whose people were in constant dread of the predatory tribes all around, and where business was well-nigh suspended on that account. Tejahpala after reaching Dabhoi, and allaying the fears of the inhabitants ordered the construction of the fort-walls, the building of the temple of Parasnath, and the temple of Vaidyanath.

When in 1298 Gujarat fell into Muhammadan hands, Dabhoi accepted the inevitable. How, in what manner, with what grace, she quitted the stage of Hindu history, we cannot know for certain. A picturesque and plausible story of the coming of the Muhammadans into Dabhoi has come down to us. Dabhoi, for a long time, ever since the days when it found favor in the eyes of a queen, continued to be a purely Hindu city, no Mussalman being allowed to reside within its walls, or on any pretence

to bathe or wash in the tank. But one day a young Mahometan stranger, Sciad Bullah, by name, halted at Dabhoi on his pilgrim's journey to Mecca with his aged mother Mamah Dokre. Impelled by the curiosity of a stranger, he airily walked in to look round the city; and one tank in his eyes being as good as another, he took off his clothes and bathed in it. Unwittingly he had committed the unpardonable sin; he was immediately punished by having his hands cut off. The mother, who had doted upon this son as the joy of her old age, took a quiet oath that she would not rest till she made the people of Dabhoi pay in blood for the blow they had brought upon her grey hairs. She went back to her country and prevailed upon her sovereign to march on Dabhoi and avenge the foul murder of a Mussalman. The proud Hindu city was besieged, sacked and laid in ruins. After the destruction of Dabhoi, Mamah Dokre, who had died during the siege, was buried outside the eastern Gate where her tomb is still to be seen.

Dabhoi survived its sack, if indeed there was one, and lived on as part of the territories of the early Delhi kings (1297-1403), of the Ahmedabad kings (1403-1573) and lastly of the Mughal Empire (1573-1760). In the Mirat-i-Ahmedi



Vaidyanath Temple, Dabhoi

Dabhoi appears as a Parganah in the Sarkar of Baroda with one mahal, 41 villages and a revenue of 8,00,000 Changezis in or about the year 1571 A. D. Dabhoi has the distinction of being mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. In a tabular form the great statistician of the Mughal Empire gives the following particulars of this Mahal of the Sarkar of Baroda. Dabhoi, he tells us, has a stone fort, 167,090 bighas of land, 6,252,550 dams of revenue, a Suyurghal of 4562 dams, 500 cavalry and 500 infantry. We do not hear of Dabhoi again till 1725 A.D., when Senapati Trimbakrav Dabhade, the commander of Pilaji Gaekwad's army, fixed his headquarters there. Udaji Pawar, a protege of the jealous Peshwa, ousted Dabhade from Dabhoi and occupied it for some time. But it was soon retaken by Pilaji in 1727, who established his son Damaji in it. The latter held Dabhoi even in 1732 when his father was murdered and Baroda itself was lost for a time to his family. Ever since then, except for a very brief interval, Dabhoi has been faithful to the house of the Gaekwads. Time has its own revenges, and this pre-eminently Hindu city is once more in Hindu hands.

It is a strange welcome with which the ancient city of Darbhavati greets her modern visitor. As the diminutive narrow-gauge Railway train from Baroda curves into Dabhoi station, the traveller is presented with the spectacle of a number of

ginning-factory chimneys belching forth smoke and modernism. For Dabhoi, like most of us in these latter days, suffers from progress. It is one of the centres of the cotton trade in the Baroda state. As soon as one leaves the station compound, one comes up right against old Dabhoi.

The walls, or rather what remains of the old walls on the west, are only a

few yards from the railway lines, and the traveller enters the city not by one of the regular gateways of ancient Dabhoi, but by a sort of illegitimate entrance, pierced into the walls in modern times. The walls are seen to be built of fine large hewn stone, and one does not wonder that they have stood the test of centuries of siege and neglect. Turning to the right, as soon as we pass the entrance, and proceeding a few yards in that direction, we arrive at the western or Baroda Gate. It is in an excellent state of preservation. It would be a perfect specimen of the old Dabhoi Gate but for the letting in of a Muhammadan arch in the Middle. The arch is, no doubt, a great step forward in architecture and is a thing of beauty. But the Dabhoi architect has shown how it is possible to build a beautiful gate with only bracketed supports springing from pilasters. The brackets have been so well put in that one does not feel the absence of the arch which one considers so essential to the beauty of every portal. Each of the brackets as well as the Muhammadan arch supports an architrave surmounted by the slabs of the roof.

Dabhoi is a city of gates, the three others being the Hira Gate on the east, the Champanir gate on the north, the Nandod or Chandod gate on the south. Of these, the Chandod is not well preserved, the Champanir is not so large as the Baroda Gate, while the

Hira is completely transformed out of its Hindu origin. In a line with the Hira Gate are the two temples of Kalika Mata on the north side and of Vaidyanath or Mahadev on the south. The Mahadev temple is now in ruins, while the Kalika-Mata still stands in all its glory and wealth of carving. It is still a place of living worship; but alas! the Dabhoi artist of to-day has been allowed to practise his atrocities in chalk and daub within the sacred precincts of the temple. It is a narrow structure displacing the city-walls for a few yards and obtruding into the city not more than about 25 feet, and could not have accommodated more than a hundred devotees at a time. Architecturally and physically, it is too intimately connected with the Gate and the walls to be independent of or prior in origin to them. It looks as if it were indeed the fort-chapel of Dabhoi.

After the Gates, and the temple the great attraction of Dabhoi is the superb tank in the centre. It is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, lined with hewn stone, and with a flight of steps all around. Forbes was told its original cost exceeded five lacs of rupees; nor is this an extravagant estimate. It is the centre of Dabhoi life, of that which is still simple and unconventional. It is the baths, the boulevards, the rendezvous, all in one, of the town. Towards the east is a tiny little island projecting into the tank, on which stands a small temple half covered in by earth. The floor of the temple being under ground, it is a problem which came first, the temple or the tank. Behind the temple is a pretty little garden in which was situated the residence of the old Mussalman governors of Dabhoi. The artistic possibilities of the tank are great.

Beautiful houses adorning its sides would have made it a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. But the cynical visitor will note with grim satisfaction that it is only on the side which is not faced by houses that the aspect of the tank charms and delights the eye.

Dabhoi must have been an attractive place in the eighteenth century, if we are to believe Forbes who lived here almost continuously from 1780 to 1783 as Collector during the temporary occupation of the town by the British. The beautiful tank, the shady groves in the neighbourhood, the narrow quiet lanes, the substantial houses of the well-to-do, the rural scenes visible from the old governor's residence, which was also his, pleased the fastidious taste of that great Anglo-Indian traveller. He fell in love with the place, and like other love-lorn men, torn from the object of their love, wrote poetry when forced to leave it. "Dhuboy, farewell," he began, but it is not fair to quote a man's poetry against him.

Dabhoi, it is sad to say, has fallen low from its ancient high estate. Ill-kept streets, of loose sand half a foot deep, ugly houses, storey upon storey, like Ossa upon Pelion, with corrugated iron sheets for roofs and walls, miserable troglodyte huts in sickening frequency—that is the way in which the people of Dabhoi have kept their trust. The Government with their dispensary, school, and library, have done what they could to justify their inheritance. But modern Dabhoi is unworthy of its splendid ancestry.

The illustrations are from photographs by M. Kothari-swami.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

A short article contributed to the *Hindustan Review* for March by "Indo-Britisher" under the heading

Indian Journalism : Then and Now

offers interesting reading. We are told that half a century ago there were only two or

three English-written newspapers in the whole of India.

Of English-written newspapers there were I think only two or three in the whole of India half a century ago. There are comparatively few large towns now without one or more English newspapers conducted by Indians. There used to be amusement caused in the early days at the tendency displayed by Indians

to take Dr. Samuel Johnson as their model, and to use high sounding and sonorous words in describing very ordinary occurrences. Sometimes the effect was very ludicrous, and calculated to excite one's laughter. But I have often thought when laughing, how few Englishmen there were in the land who could express themselves with equal intelligence in any Indian vernacular, excepting perhaps some of the officials who have to learn the language used in the district in which they are serving. Many of these even would find themselves stumped if they had to write an original paragraph, or an editorial of half a column on any of the events of the day in an Indian language in which they might have obtained a "pass" some years previously. Their attempts would probably not be comprehended by a majority of Indian editors, whilst the baboo's English of fifty years ago, though often ludicrously high flown and bombastic, could at least be understood. The Indian English edited paper of to-day is often "managed" as well as edited by one man. He also canvasses and looks after advertisements and is his own "reader." The number of printer's errors is amazing. Advertisers do not seem to complain. In one paper last year there was a notice of silver bowls for sale, and for three months the word bowls was printed "bowels." Even in long established English newspapers with what in India is thought a good circulation, the reading is very inefficiently conducted, though there are a few exceptions, and in the English papers a mistake in an advertisement is generally corrected after it has appeared two or three times. What is very much worse is the way that articles from some papers are cordily annexed without the smallest attempt at acknowledgment. In the town I happen to be living in, I have seen articles taken from the London *Globe* appearing in an English local newspaper as original editorials!

Tibetan Literature.

A short article dealing with the origin and growth of Tibetan Literature is published in the *Calcutta University Magazine* which is full of interesting information about the great part played by India in the literary uplift of Tibet. The article under notice forms the substance of a lecture delivered by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan some time ago.

Dr. Vidyabhusan tells us:

With the rise of Mahayana Buddhism under the patronage of Kanishka there was opened some intercourse between Tibet and India in the 1st century A.D. and in the following centuries many students from Tibet visited India to learn Sanskrit and Buddhism. They composed many books which still exist in the Chinese language. In the year 331 A.D. a Sanskrit book, called in Tibetan 'Zamatog' containing the formula of "om-mani-padme-hum," is said to have fallen from heaven into the court of King Lha-tho-tho ri. King Strong-Tsan-Gam-Po introduced Buddhism and the elements of a written literature into Tibet.

In 747 A.D. the Tantrik form of Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by a sage named Padma-sambhava who was a native of Lahore. This new teacher produced a succession of teachers and a

plentiful crop of ritualistic literature which has exercised the greatest influence on the daily life of the Tibetans. The monastery of Some ye built in 749 A.D. on the model of Achintya Vihara of Magadha was the first of its kind, which contains even now a vast collection of books. The Indian system of astronomy and medicine entered Tibet in 804 A.D. giving an impetus to the growth of a vast mathematical and medical literature.

The highest development in the literature of Tibet was attained during the time of King Rat-pa chan in the 9th century A.D. During the 500 years from the 7th to the 12th century A.D., innumerable Sanskrit scholars from India went to Tibet at the invitation of her Kings, and with the help of Tibetan interpreters, translated into the Tibetan language all the Buddhist Sanskrit works that were available. At the same time there were translations of some Chinese works into Tibetan. In the 12th century A.D. all such translations, specially those from Sanskrit, were collected together into two gigantic volumes which constitute the two monumental Tibetan encyclopaedias called respectively the Kangyur and Tangyur. Besides these translations there is a vast Tibetan literature of indigenous origin embracing works on grammar, rhetoric, history, geography, philosophy, religion, etc. Among these the work named "one hundred thousand songs of venerable Mi-la-re-pa" deserves special notice. Another work named "Gling-Kesar" is a book of great merit conveying much historical information.

In no country in the world is so much veneration paid to books as is done in Tibet. The whole country is interspersed with monasteries each of which contains what may be practically called a "library."

The Tibetan language belongs to the Turanian family. The Tibetan alphabet consists of 30 letters which are all consonants each possessing an inherent "a" sound. In writing, however, four vowel signs are used. The Tibetan language is strictly monosyllabic.

Indian Trade during the War.

Mr. Alfred Chatterton contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* an article which deals with the "41st Annual Review of the Trade of India recently issued by the Department of Statistics."

We are told:

During the eight months of the war covered by this review, the exports, as compared with those of the preceding year, decreased by 43 per cent, and the imports by 34 per cent. During the eight months of the current year, for which statistics have been published, that is to say up to the end of November 1915, the exports of Indian merchandise were valued at 123 crores of rupees, which may be compared with 115 crores of rupees, the average value for the same period during the preceding four years, whilst the imports for the same period amounted to 89 crores of rupees against a similar average of 103 crores of rupees. The percentages of decrease are for exports 15, for imports 14.

The following statistics would be found interesting:

The import of matches during 1914-15 amounted to nearly 15½ million gross boxes, valued at 113 lakhs of rupees. Of this trade, the Japanese secured 61 per

cent notwithstanding the fact that their imports are notoriously inferior in quality.

The total consumption of paper in India is estimated at over 75,000 tons per annum, of which quantity about 29,000 tons are locally manufactured. There are said to be eleven Paper Mills in India, of which three have been shut down.

The imports of soap in 1914-15 amounted to 104,185 cwt., valued at over 83 lakhs of rupees.

Lord Curzon's War Poems.

Lord Curzon has written a book of *War Poems*. A short notice of the book has appeared in the *Indian Review* for March penned by Mr. Stanley P. Rice.

We read that

There is hardly anything original in his book of *War Poems* (War Poems and other translations by Lord Curzon of Kedleston : John Lane, London), but there are many admirable translations. If the main impression left upon the reader is that, here is the work of the scholar and not of the poet, yet the renderings are for the most part both elegant and faithful. And their impression of scholarship is enhanced by the inclusion of several classical pieces—not only translations from Greek and Latin into English but also experiments in lyric and elegiac Latin verse.

Here is a stanza from the *Song of the Belgians* by Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet. The rendering is very pretty :

Come with flaming beechen branches
And the music of the drum ;
Come and strew them on the earth-heaps
When our dead lie buried, come !
Choose a day like this, my brothers,
When the wind a pattern weaves
'Mid the shivering poplar tree tops,
When the scent of fallen leaves
Floats like perfume through the woodland,
As it doth to-day, that so
Some sweet odour of our good land
May be with them down below.

How well Lord Curzon has succeeded in his efforts at translation may be seen from the following :

Give me your hands ; give me your eyes,
Your eyes that sparkle in my dream ;
My troubled heart to exorcise
Give me your hands ; give me your eyes,
Stars that beguile me as they gleam,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands with their magician's spell ;
To guide me through the unknown lands,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands, Princess, in mine to dwell.

Eugenics and the New Social Consciousness

is the title of a thoughtful article penned by Mr. Samuel G. Smith and published in the *Indian Emigrant* for March.

Says the writer :

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Merely biological theories are staggered by the facts of history. It is time to have done with regarding man as simply the highest of the mammals whose breed can be improved by the methods of the stock farm. The problems of race are at once deeper and vaster.

Eugenics must follow the path of sociology and give larger room for psychological forces.

The greatest events in history have no corresponding changes in human physique. Japan won against Russia, not because of a larger brain, for physically the Japanese remains as he has been for a thousand years, but because of the impulse of a new passion and the dominance of a new idea. The Moslem did not take sword in hand because of the invention of a new breakfast food or a fresh system of ventilation, but because the dull eyes of the sons of Ishmael had found their own Moses.

It is important that children should be well born. There are certain conclusions which are not sentimental, but on the contrary are essentially economic :

- (a) Hard labour must be forbidden to the expectant mother. In some communities this has found expression in maternity pensions. I am not here, however, as the advocate of any pension system.
- (b) A woman should have nourishing food both before and after motherhood.
- (c) The physical surroundings must be wholesome.

It would seem to be the duty of the municipal state to secure the proper physical environment for the home ; because that is a problem too large to be solved in any municipality by the individual. It is a part of the problem of public health. The new social conscience asserts that every child born into the world should have an adequate physical, intellectual and industrial opportunity.

The writer tries to refute some of the pet theories of Engenists by means of concrete examples. We read :

Very little progress has been made, and very little dependable data secured pointing to an improvement of the race by conscious choice.

It is idle to say that the children of persons of talent are more likely to show ability than children from the average home. Parents of talent are able to give exceptional advantages to their children, and ought to show a greater number of successes. There is not the slightest evidence that talent of any particular form is ever inherited. Neither Luther nor Napoleon, nor Abraham Lincoln were anything less than biological surprises. Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner could no more have been predicted than William Shakespeare or Michael Angelo.

The surprises of sainthood are no less remarkable than those of genius. St. Francis D'Assisi, Catherine of Siena, and Florence Nightingale had no ancestry for their character and their work.

With regard to "Social efficiency and physical fitness" the writer says :—

Some of the most efficient individuals have been born with bad bodies and have been doomed to poor health. When Emmanuel Kant went to study philosophy in a German university, it is said that he was advised not to attempt the task because of his weak chest. He replied he would ignore his chest, and became the great teacher of the modern intellect. Herbert Spencer was so delicate as a child that he was not given a regular education, but no

Englishman had a more marked influence upon his generation. Charles Kingsley was the prophet of muscular Christianity, but Robertson of Brighton, was the greater preacher. There was a boy born in the Midlands so small and frail that even an English nurse did not think it worth while to keep him alive; but the little chap lived, grew to see an apple fall, and became Sir Isaac Newton. We cannot afford to adopt the Greek plan of throwing away unpromising infants.

In the pages of the *Century Review* Mr. N. Mitter draws our attention to

Pauperism in Bengal

which is undoubtedly a serious problem and which has unfortunately escaped the attention of our educated countrymen.

Touring round Bengal one will be amazed at the surprisingly large number of beggars prowling about the streets in search of alms.

The beggars may be classified as (1) able-bodied, male and female, (2) the physically incapable, and (3) child beggars.

The first class contains a large number of people of different religions and castes. The majority of them put on the veil of religion and thereby hoodwink the people, religiously bent as they are. The 'Bairagis', a religious class of Hindu beggars, profess to have dedicated their lives to god Vishnu and thereby claim the uncommon privilege of living an idle life at the cost of society at large. Physically they are very stout and have help-mates who are cheerful, gay and muscularly built.

Among the Muhammadans, there are no 'Bairagis' or beggars of that prototype in the Mofussil, leaving out of consideration the stalwart figures which we find in Calcutta with beads in hand and rags round the body, always murmuring benedictions or maledictions on passers-by according as they give them a pice or not. There is a newly-risen class of beggars who style themselves 'Sayels' and profess to be of respectable origin, come to distress by the ebb of fortune. Respectable as they are, they cannot persuade themselves to do manual work. Hence they resort to the respectable profession of begging!

There is a third class of people who are gradually rising in importance. They are of sound health, capable of herculean tasks, but alas! they feel insulted to work, as their forefathers never worked under anybody. These people claim the right of beggary as hereditary, honouring themselves on the respectability of their profession.

We are at one with the writer when he says:

No able-bodied man has the right to demand help from society without rendering a productive addition to the national dividend. It is a plain economic truth that society is not responsible for any healthy man, unless he adds to the productivity of the social organisation.

Over and above, such indiscriminate alms-giving, like flattery, corrupts both the giver and the receiver. It depraves human character and drags one down from the high pedestal of self-respect and virtue to

the lower pit of degradation. It kills in one all idea of self-respect, and one falls away from the virtue of manliness.

Already the moral conscience of these people has been dulled, nay, killed, as is evident from the description given above. To pride on the respectability of beggary is a dangerous fall from all ideas of manliness. It shows a moral depravation, the many evil consequences of which cannot too adequately be expressed. A society with such ideas of self-respect cannot but find an early path to dissolution.

The writer proposes the following remedy for this deplorable state of affairs:

A great effort should be made to eradicate this evil, these respectable beggars should be made to learn that respectability consists not in begging, but in standing on one's own legs, that self-exertion is a better way of rising than dependence on other's petty doles. The meanness and despicability of a beggar's life ought to be brought home to them in a clear and definite way. The system of child-beggars should be entirely discouraged.

The condition of the physically incapable deserves every consideration and society should be prolific in its gifts for the maintenance of these unfortunates. The system of private help which is in vogue among us is not quite commensurate with our needs. I am of opinion that the time is now come to introduce a central organisation for the relief of the poor on the plans suggested by the success of European experiments.

Mysore Economic Activities.

In the course of an article in the *Mysore Economic Journal* Mr. Alfred Chatterton informs us that a new factory is in course of construction in Bangalore for distilling sandalwood oil on a commercial scale.

The disposal of sandalwood in Mysore is a State monopoly which in recent years has produced a large net revenue. In 1913-14 just previous to the outbreak of war this revenue amounted to 19.87 lakhs of rupees produced by the sale of 1,862 tons of wood.

It is only the heart wood of the sandal tree that is of great commercial value. In a small way it is used for wood carving, but the high price which the wood fetches are due to the fact that it yields an oil very largely used for medicinal purposes and in the preparation of perfumery. The extraction of the oil from sandalwood is not permitted to private persons in the Mysore State, but the industry is to some extent, carried on round the borders of the State, especially in the South Canara district.

In the *Indian Education* a writer deplores the "unfortunate position of

Tamil Literature

which is one of the most ancient and vigorous literatures of the world and which, unfortunately, is fast slipping into senility with the unwelcome prospect of dying in a few centuries."

Mentioning Telugu, Malayalam and Bengalee the writer says:

They manage to flourish without official help. This is because they keep awake the popular mind. They produce literature every day and they foster their literature thus produced with solicitous care. Popular literature is a reality among them—a respected reality. This popular literature not only gives the necessary impetus required to energize the means of expression of the popular mind, but it bridges the distance between you and the ancient classics. The songs of the people are the *points de repère* in the national history, the milestones which mark the progress of the national mind. They give you the comfortable backbone of a continuous tradition. The glorious past is rendered more of a reality.

The writer accuses the *Tamil Sangam* of stifling Tamil literature. He goes on to say:

The Sangam is a freemasonry of scholars. It is a pity that scholars have mistaken starched primness for purity. They have forgotten that all organic growths like a national literature must be perpetually vitalized by fresh additions—additions which have the fragrant aroma of adolescence. They have rigorously barred their gates on the popular literature. So the academic and the popular literature have strayed farther and farther apart—to the great detriment of both. Popular literature has become disreputable, plebeian, in the eyes of the cultured few. It is not literature but ribaldry.

We further read:

In Southern India, there is little distinction made between poetry and music in the popular literature. There is no poetry composed but to be sung. This passing of poetry into music is the characteristic of great poetry and the distinctive trait of all real popular poetry.

The intrinsic value of many of these songs is in their truth to real life. If they are religious in trend, their religion is not vague, ethereal, unsatisfying, but of the nature of food to the hungry human soul. The suffering of Nanda, the yearning of the Korathi to follow her lover to the ends of the world with her baby strapped on her back, the valour, the contagious enthusiasm and the lofty fatalism of Prince Tej Singh, the sacrifice of the self at the altar of idealism in "Harischandra"—each of these is invested with a poignant human interest which makes you cry, "Here is life at last." All the varied experiences of life find exact representation here.

The expectation of

The passing of War

is one of the many illusions to which mankind is subject from time to time—this is what we read in an ably-written article in the *Arya* for April.

This grand event in human progress is always being confidently expected and since we are now all scientific minds and rational beings, we no longer expect it by a divine intervention, but assign sound physical and economical reasons for the faith that is in us. The first form taken by this new gospel was the expectation and the prophecy that the extension of commerce would be the extinction of war. Commercialism was the natural enemy of militarism and would drive it from the face of the earth. The growing

and universal lust of gold and the habit of comfort and the necessities of increased production and intricate interchange would crush out the lust of power and dominion and glory and battle. Gold-hunger or commodity-hunger would drive out earth-hunger, the dharma of the Vaishya would set its foot on the dharma of the Kshatriya and give it its painless quietus. The ironic reply of the gods has not been long in coming. Actually this very reign of commercialism, this increase of production and interchange, this desire for commodities and markets and this piling up of a huge burden of unnecessary necessities has been the cause of half the wars that have since afflicted the human race.

Another illusion was that the growth of democracy would mean the growth of pacifism and the end of war. It was fondly thought wars are in their nature dynastic and aristocratic; greedy kings and martial nobles driven by earth-hunger and battle-hunger, diplomatists playing at chess with the lives of men and the fortunes of nations, these were the guilty causes of war who drove the unfortunate peoples to the battle-field like sheep to the shambles. These proletariates, mere food for powder, who had no interest, no desire, no battle-hunger driving them to armed conflict, had only to become instructed and dominant to embrace each other and all the world in a free and fraternal amity.

Another recent illusion was the power of Courts of Arbitration and Concerts of Europe to prevent war. There again the course that events immediately took was sufficiently ironic; for the institution of the great Court of international arbitration was followed up by a series of little and great wars which led by an inexorable logical chain to the long-dreaded European conflict and the monarch who had first conceived the idea, was also the first to unsheath his sword in a conflict dictated on both sides by the most unrighteous greed and aggression. In fact this series of wars, whether fought in Northern or Southern Africa, in Manchuria or the Balkans, were marked most prominently by the spirit which disregards cynically that very idea of inherent and existing rights, that balance of law and equity upon which alone arbitration can be founded.

The following views regarding the passing of war appear to be perfectly sane.

Because man is himself not a machine nor a device, but a being and a most complex one at that, therefore he cannot be saved by machinery; only by an entire change which shall affect all the members of his being can he be liberated from his discords and imperfections.

So long as war does not become psychologically impossible, it will remain or, it banished for a while, return. War itself, it is hoped, will end war; the expense, the horror, the butchery, the disturbance of tranquil life, the whole confused sanguinary madness of the thing has reached or will reach such colossal proportions that the human race will fling the monstrosity behind it in weariness and disgust. But weariness and disgust, horror and pity, even the opening of the eyes to reason by the practical fact of the waste of human life and energy and the harm and extravagance are not permanent factors; they last only while the lesson is fresh. Afterwards, there is forgetfulness; human nature recuperates itself and recovers the instincts that were temporarily dominated. A long peace, even a certain organisation of peace may conceivably result, but so long as the heart of man remains what it is, the peace will come to an

end, the organisation will break down under the stress of human passions. War is no longer, perhaps, a biological necessity, but it is still a psychological necessity; what is within us, must manifest itself outside.

Only when man has developed not merely a fellow-feeling with all men, but a dominant sense of unity

and commonalty, only when he is aware of them not merely as brothers,—that is a fragile bond,—but as parts of himself, only when he has learned to live not in his separate personal and communal ego-sense, but in a larger universal consciousness, can the phenomenon of war, with whatever weapons, pass out of his life without the possibility of return.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Stephen Phillips.

John Palmer contributes to the *Saturday Review* a short notice of Stephen Phillips, poet and dramatist, who recently passed away. In Mr. Palmer's opinion Stephen Phillips was not what he could have been and for this he holds the critics and admirers of the poet responsible. "There was often more sound than sense, more fervor of style than reality of feeling, in *Paolo*. But the London Press went completely off its head in regard to this book."

Here was a young author who, above all things, required to be warned and delicately handled—an author whose salvation depended on his growing out of things like "*venturing through forests towards her face*;" and the critics, almost in a chorus, instead of suggesting a chastening of such alliterative music, burst into a chorus of the most extravagant acclamation. This young disciple of the Muses was actually described as writing like Sophocles! Instead of being urged along his improving way, he was received as a finished master and encouraged to remain forever where he was. Is it wonderful that Stephen Phillips, instead of eliminating the faults of his youth, actually set about to improve upon them?

The writer goes on to say:

All that is needed for a man's health and success in the pursuit of his art Stephen Phillips seemed to have won almost at a blow—backers who encouraged him, a publisher who believed in him, leading managers who produced his plays, one or two critics who protested that he was not yet greater than Shakespeare, a public which actually bought his books.

Stephen Phillips was not, like a Milton, a recluse and a man devoted; nor was he, like Pope, a coxcomb. He was an honestly human being—anxious to do good work, a little too sensitive to criticism, and a little carried away by a disproportionate publicity and fame at the start of his career. He was richly gifted, and possibly a third of his gifts got themselves expressed in his work. The other two-thirds, owing, among other things, to an amazing worldly success at the start of his career, never had a chance.

Stephen Phillips, we are told, had a ten-

dency to substitute 'sounding rhetoric for significant sense.'

Women and Fear.

In a significant article in the *Spectator* a writer discusses the susceptibility of women to fear. Before the present war many people held that

there was a fundamental and ineradicable difference as regards fear because it was a difference based on permanent physical inequality. No doubt there might be, and were, remarkable exceptions, but in a general way, they said, the timidity of women was the natural quality of physical weakness. Women were protected by men just because they were weak, and they were more timid than men just because their strength was incapable of self-protection. There may have been some confusion between nervousness, personal timidity, and such fear as is provoked by apprehension of a national catastrophe or of the death of some one else. These are different things, and probably they were confused. At all events, it was too widely thought that in the event of such a terrific war as is now proceeding the resolution of women could not be expected to endure long enough. Women might go into a war for a right cause as gallantly as men; they might have just as firm a grasp of the principle at issue; but what if the war should be prolonged and horrible utterly beyond experience? The very fact that she had not the habit of public affairs would bring it about that her attachment to persons would be more powerful than her attachment to the cause.

But people who thought so have been sadly disillusioned.

Their tenacity of purpose seems sufficient to outlast that of the men. When they are called upon for fresh sacrifices—for other members of the family to depart—do they grudge them? Do they repine? We have not in our experience come across any such case, at least not among women well enough educated to appreciate the meaning of the war. Their readiness for any loss that fate may decree is absolutely unquestioning. It is as though they never contemplated the possibility of holding back whatever they most cherish.

The writer goes on to say:

Women as a rule may be nervous for themselves in odd ways—in crossing crowded streets, in open boats,

in hearing gun fire, and in countless other minute fashions which are not much more than superficial emotions. Such fears fly forth when sensitive nerves that lie near the surface are touched. But the exceptions to the rule are rather drastic exceptions. Some "fearless" women seem to be without fear in anything they do, and have often been found embarrassing and humiliating companions by unadventurous men. As regards the great fears of the body, women are less easily moved than men, and in some respects much less easily moved. They are more patient in bearing pain; on the whole, we think they are less frequently cowed by it.

Thousands of girls who had led easy and cloistered lives, remote from everything that was not pretty and agreeable and smooth, have been pitchforked, after only a few weeks' hurried training, into hospitals full of men maimed and disfigured by terrible and repulsive wounds. They have not quailed; they have gone about their work calmly, steadily, and efficiently. Their grandmothers at their age would no doubt have "swooned"; for that, according to the romances, was the proper thing for every polite and well-bred woman to do on encountering a crisis or any disconcerting episode. Happily, swooning has gone out of fashion.

French Literature and the War.

Ernest Dimnet writing in the *Saturday Review* says that there has been no artistic life proper in France since July 1914.

The atmosphere in towns full of people in mourning and expecting more bereavements, in a country in which everybody awakes with the thought of the German at Noyon, as the phrase now goes, fifty miles from Paris, is too uncongenial.

Between January and December, 1915, eight hundred instead of an average eighteen thousand volumes were published; that is to say, the literary output of France has suffered a depletion of more than nineteen-twentieths, or, to put it differently, about four volumes have come out in 1915 to ninety in the preceding years.

The writer points out only two exceptions.

"Gaspard" a short novel by M. René Benjamin, is a military story, written by a young writer who saw the war, was wounded and came back from the front just in time to secure the Prix Goncourt; but it is not an autobiography, like most other military stories; it is a picture of the war as seen by a person as remote from literary aspirations as a snail vendor in the rue de la Gaîté may be. "Corona Benignitatis Anni Tui," by M. Paul Claudel, is a collection of liturgical poems, a serene monument rising like the pillar of light in our darkness, and it may be the author's masterpiece.

Science in England.

The scanty respect showed to Science in England and the consequent effect have been very pathetically brought home to the English public by the great European War that is now raging. In an article in *Nature* is clearly shown in what disregard

Science used to be held in the past and is being held even at the present day in England. We read:

The creation by Parliament, half a century back, of a Science and Art Department, suggested at least an amelioration of the old bad state of things; and efforts were made—hopeful efforts and not unsuccessful in a way—to foster the teaching of science in the older universities and build up newer institutions on a basis of its full recognition. These efforts, though they have by no means failed, have not, however, brought about public recognition to a degree commensurate with the national need, or comparable with the recognition accorded to science in Continental nations, including the central European empires with which we are now in armed conflict.

It is unfortunately only too well known to scientific men that for more than a generation past the trend of public opinion, at least as represented by politicians, statesmen, departmental officials, municipal authorities, and including even the heads of many great industrial and commercial undertakings, has been to ignore the position of science in the fabric of civilization, and to treat the development of science as though it were a matter of little moment to the national welfare. The public which purchases every morning and evening the halfpenny journals, and swallows the pabulum which they provide, is the same public which elects our Parliamentary representatives and rules most of our national institutions. Occasionally the daily papers deign to insert a paragraph of what they think to be scientific news. If the public prefers its sensational titbit of science-gossip, culled from the pamphlet of some pseudo-scientific charlatan and served up hot by an anonymous paragraphist, to more sober and informing articles written by men whose authority is indisputable, the public has itself to thank. Editors and sub-editors do not know enough science to surpass the twaddle; and, consequently, blunders which would be thought amazing if perpetrated in a like fashion in the domains of literature or art or history are put into gratuitous and harmful circulation.

In political circles the same indifference to science prevails. Apart from the handful of university members, which includes Sir Joseph Larmor and Sir Philip Magnus as the sole representatives of the most neglected branch of human activities, there is not one scientific man in the roll of the House of Commons. In the House of Lords science is indeed represented by two hereditary peers, Lord Rayleigh and Lord Berkeley; but there have been no scientific men called to the peerage since the deaths of Lord Kelvin, Lord Lister, and Lord Avebury. The esteem in which science is held may be measured by the suggestion in Lord Dunsen's scheme for the reform of the House of Lords, that in the future it should consist of 400 members, whereof two should represent art, literature, and science! When this amazing proposition was put forward not one voice cried out in protest against this insult to science.

The pitiable state of things brought about by the neglect of Science is thus enumerated:

We now suddenly discover in the cataclysm of a terrible war, not only that science has been at a discount in the organisation of the army, but that our industrial and commercial life is disorganised and crippled by the same elementary disregard. Nearly half a century ago Disraeli warned us that the coun-

mercial prosperity of a nation might be measured by the prosperity of its chemical manufactures. He was laughed at as though his dictum had been a joke. But it ceases to be a matter for joking when the neglect of science leads to the disappearance of whole branches of those trades that are concerned with the technical applications of chemistry or physics or metallurgy. The loss of the dyestuff industry; the decay of several branches of the glass industry; the ever increasing pressure in the metal industries, in the varnish industry, in the watch and clock industry, in innumerable branches of the engineering industries, are serious indications. They are symptoms that something has been rotten in the administration of the State.

The Poetic Spirit.

Claude C. H. Williamson contributes to the *Poetry Review* a very readable article which seeks to define and interpret Poetry. We make the following cullings for the benefit of our readers:

The particular mood of the poet is independent of the power that he wields by the beauty he disseminates. Poetry is, therefore, the outcome not only of an effort of will but also of a rare and an imaginative impulse, and, like every other art, it needs some clear peace and quietness of mind, however momentary, for its creation. The soul of poetry is feeling. When we have grasped this fact, half the problem of form disappears. For we see that the greater part of poetry lies in the thought, not the form; that, feeling deeply, as a poet feels, his expression will shape itself, and that all which is mechanical in the art is the polishing and correction of the expression till it approaches as closely as possible to the thought, and combines with clearness of utterance all the available charms of style.

Poetry, of course, can never be the popular form of literary expression; it is, in its essence, an aristocratic

art, and it does well to set up its bulwarks against the advance of democracy. For whenever given over to the service of a purely popular movement it has always failed to preserve its dignity. It is the privilege of poetry, though its phases are poignantly affected by main currents, to recover very quickly from purely temporary influences, and that there is never wanting a reaction against any tendency in a perilous direction. The desire of a poet is to invoke in his reader a certain mood or tone of mind which is neither active thought nor active emotion, but quiescent, sympathetic resignation to a sense of beauty remote but permeating.

It is important to realize the dependence of form on ideas. Apart from the philosophy we learn from poetry, we can get illimitable benefit from the reading of the poets. Poetry needs intellect, of course, and rots without it. The highest work which poetry can do is to glorify what is the most natural and simple in the whole of loving human nature, and to show the exceeding beauty, not so much as the stranger and wilder doings of the natural world, but of its everyday doings and their common changes. Poetry is a fine art and shares the characteristics of fine arts generally. Accordingly, its end is pleasure as distinguished from utility, and the kind of pleasure which it aims at producing, is aesthetic pleasure, such pleasure, that is to say, as is associated with the emotions of the Beautiful. Fascination is and should be the chief power of the poet. "Poetry," a laureate wrote, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science."

In the vivid phrases of Carlyle, it is a man's sincerity and depth of vision that make him a poet. The qualification of a poet should consist of a flawless form of plastic imagination, matured by beauty, portrayed in beautiful verses of a luminous and tranquil kind, free from commentaries and theories. The vision should be childlike, yet combined with the scholar's understanding, and to estimate from the flying vapor of language of life the image of perfection. The progress of poetry, with its tremendous power, is immortal.

ROUND THE WORLD WITH MY MASTER.

BY A DISCIPLE OF DR. J. C. BOSE.

CAMBRIDGE

PERHAPS no University in England has done so much for the advancement of science as that of Cambridge. In physical science it has taken a leading position under a succession of such great men as Clerk Maxwell, Rayleigh and J. J. Thompson. Chemistry has been enriched by Dewar. Physiology claims such great authorities as Michael Foster and Langley. Some of the most important discoveries in embryological science were made here by

J. Balfour, the brother of the ex-premier. The great Darwin was also a member of the university, being a graduate of Christ College and received his inspiration from the Botanist Hensley. His two sons made their connection with the University illustrious by their contributions in science, George Darwin in Astronomy and Francis Darwin in Physiological Botany. In fact Sir Francis collaborated with his father in various investigations on plants. Vines,

the eminent Botanist, was also here for many years till called away to Oxford to organise the botanical laboratory there.

Thus no scientific appreciation could be higher than recognition from Cambridge. The University of Cambridge was also my Master's alma mater, when he sojourned in England as a student. He was perhaps the first Indian student who entered Cambridge for the study of science. As there was no one to give him advice as regards the choice of subjects, he solved the problem by the very simple process of attending all the lectures that were going on! Thus besides Physics and Chemistry, he attended the courses of lectures on Zoology under Sedgwick, Embryology under Ballour, Physiology under Michael Foster and Botany under Vines. Saturdays he utilised in going out on geological excursions with Prof. Hughes.

This could not last long and after a year of this he fell ill. He was then compelled to specialise in certain groups of subjects. But his first year of groping proved later of the greatest value, for it gave him that many-sided interest in science which strengthened him for the great synthetic work for which his mind had a natural aptitude.

The Cambridge scientists have followed with great interest my Master's researches: at first in Physics in the realm of Electric waves, an account of which was contributed to the Encyclopedia Britannica by J. J. Thompson. Physiologists and Botanists were equally interested later in his Biological work. So great was the interest taken in my Master's work that hearing of the possibility of his visit to England, the Botanical Department took the special trouble to import soil from India to raise the special plant for his experiments. A very cordial invitation was received by the Master on his arrival to give an address before the University and his lecture was announced for the 2nd of June, 1914.

Though we knew that the plant specimens were being specially raised in the hot house of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens we took the precaution of carrying our faithful Indian plant to Cambridge. This proved to be a very wise precaution. One would think that June was the middle of summer, when the plants would be at their best. In reality, however, we reached shivering with cold, and when we visited the Botanic Gardens we found the speci-

mens there to be very puny and sickly looking, quite unsuitable for our experiments. So we took our plants to the Botanical Laboratory, to be kept in the hot house for the next day's lecture. We met here the same attendant who was in the Botanical Laboratory when my Master worked there thirty years ago. There was at that time a unique botanical collection even in the staff. Vines was the professor, Oak was the demonstrator, and, to complete the trinity, Shrub was the attendant. The Zoological Department, not to be outdone, had one Lamb, two Peacocks and a couple of Foxes! The Master was very pleased to meet old Mr. Shrub, whom he found still flourishing. He was very helpful in looking after our plants.

The day of the lecture turned out to be the very worst for our experiments. It was cold and dark and there was a drizzling rain. The lecture table at the large Botanical Hall was at the basement, the gallery tiers reaching up to the second storey. One of our principal experiments was to exhibit the automatic record of the pulsation of the Desmodium plant and its reaction under drugs. Two hours before the lecture I arranged the apparatus with the plant, which was then pulsating vigorously. But in the course of half an hour, owing to the intensity of cold and misty weather, its activity ceased and the plant became paralysed. Nothing could exceed our despondency at the untoward result. The Master at the last moment had to think quickly how to modify the subject of his discourse. Just before the lecture, as a desperate expedient, he applied to the paralysed plant a stimulant and about the middle of his lecture, I was to signal to him if it at all took effect.

Fortunately we got an unexpected ten minutes' respite. For such was the great interest roused that not only was the Hall crowded with dons and advanced scholars but the students who were sitting for the Tripos sent an earnest request that the lecture might be postponed for ten minutes to enable them to run directly from the Examination Hall to the Botanical Theatre. Sir Francis Darwin, Prof. Seward, and Prof. Blackman and many others were in the front seat, eagerly watching. At the beginning the Master had to explain the principle of the apparatus he had

invented, the main parts of which were to be projected from photographic slides on the screen. The optical lantern was in charge of an expert from the great Scientific Workshop. After the Master had commenced his discourse he signalled to the operator to throw the first slide on the screen. But the screen persisted to be blank. He signalled again but to no purpose. Then the expert in charge had to confess that something had gone wrong with the Arc Lamp and the audience must allow him some time to set the thing right. The Master immediately turned the matter to my advantage, who was trembling with mingled anxiety and mortification, as the *Desmodium* obstinately remained quiescent. The Master said that the arc lamp had been invented some sixty years ago and since then even the commonest operator knew how to work it. But here at the very place which sends out to the world the most delicate apparatus from its celebrated Scientific Workshop, such a simple piece of apparatus failed at the critical moment, even under the most expert management. And the audience expected the lecturer to bring with him from the other end of the earth inoffensive and timid plants, subject to the vicissitudes of the unspeakable climate and then compel them at a moment's notice to answer any question that might be set to them! This treatment, he said, was undoubtedly more unfair than that meted out to the famous parrot who complained of insult being added to injury in his being not only brought away from his native land but compelled to speak English! This brought down the house, and the undergraduates, of course, expressed their appreciation in their usual manner. They fully realised how intricate were the phenomena which the Master was going to demonstrate. Experiments like these have never been demonstrated in a public lecture. They were repeatable only in a Laboratory and under the most favourable physiological conditions.

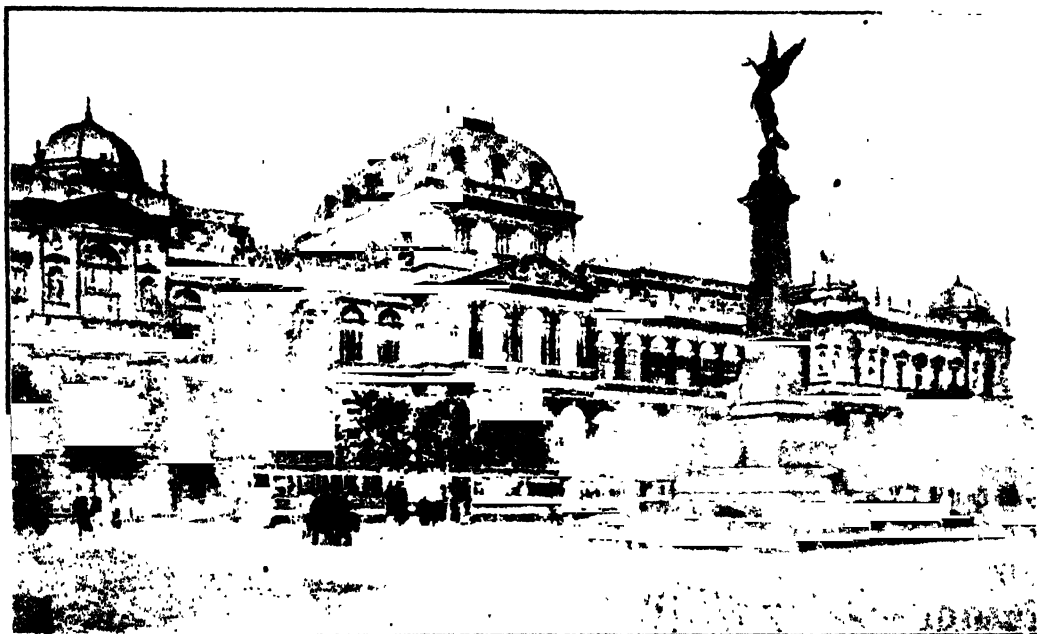
At this time I fancied that the plant was trying to shake off its lethargy, there being one or two very small and erratic flutterings. The pulsating activity soon began to gather in volume; it was evident that the stimulant applied 20 minutes before was just beginning to take effect. It was not at all necessary for me to give any signal. The Master was able to read in my face that the plant was after all not

going to fail us. He now began to speak like one inspired, the excitement of the audience grew and he received an ovation at the conclusion of his discourse.

On behalf of the audience Sir Francis Darwin spoke in the most eloquent terms of the importance of my Master's researches. He said that they were all filled with admiration, not only for the brilliancy of the work but for the convincing character of the experiments that were demonstrated which conclusively proved his results and justified his theories. They all realised that in Dr. Bose they found a most brilliant experimentalist of rare skill and ingenuity. They should, moreover, remember that Dr. Bose had been obliged to work under great isolation and to depend entirely upon himself, even for the training of his mechanics who had constructed for him instruments of such extraordinary delicacy and precision. The results of Prof. Bose's researches not merely affect Physiological Botany but are also of the deepest import in various other branches of science and much might be expected from the furtherance of his work.

VIENNA.

My Master's researches evoked even keener interest on the Continent, in Germany in Austria and in France. The eminent botanist Prof. Pringsheim of Halle contributed a very appreciative review of Master's biological researches to the leading scientific review of Germany and a very cordial invitation was sent to him stating that his fine work had been very highly appreciated and that the exhibition of his remarkable instruments would be of the greatest interest to the German biologists. The International Congress of the Botanists was to have been held in Munich in August 1914. A special day was reserved for my Master's address and demonstration. The Botanical Gardens at Munich is regarded as the most famous in the world, Prof. Goebel having been sent three times round the world for making special botanical collections for this remarkable institution, and he wrote to my Master that he had made special arrangements for our plants. We were to have been there on the 9th August 1914. Before this however, we received invitation from the University of Vienne, perhaps one of the leading Universities in the Biological and Medical Sciences. The



The University of Vienna

head of the Botanical Department, Prof. Molisch, whose researches on luminous bacteria and production of plant-complex are regarded as classical, on behalf of the University, sent a pressing invitation and wrote how the Viennese scientific public were looking forward to hear his discourse, from which they expected to gain much instruction. Our plan was first to go to Vienna and then to lecture before the leading German Universities.

We started for Vienna on the 24th June, 1914 and we had a rather long journey before us. Our special difficulty was the transport of the plants in their special cage and the very delicate instruments which we could not trust out of our sight. We had to reserve a special compartment in the Orient Express. On our journey the mysterious cage and the box of apparatus evoked the utmost curiosity, and at the stations where the train stopped for any length of time there was quite a crowd before our window among whom there were soldiers and military officers.

There were certain other experiences which now seem significant. I met an Austrian gentleman on the corridor of the train, who rather went out of his way to be friendly. He spoke very good English and appeared to have a thorough

knowledge of India, though he had never been to the country. It was a relief to find a person with whom one could carry on conversation in a long tedious railway journey. On being told that the Master was on a scientific mission from the British Government to Vienna he made disparaging remarks about the backward condition of England in practical application of science. He said that all the industries have been practically captured by Germany and Austria, and in the various services the English officers were far behind in their scientific equipment. His two sons were in the army, one a Captain and the other a Lieutenant. They had already distinguished themselves in Chemistry before they entered the service, and they had been continuing their researches and had also to pass periodic examinations in various applications of science in warfare.

As we were nearing Leipzig we suddenly saw the flying taube machines fill the sky like flocks of birds and were making various complicated military evolutions, flying in and out of their hangars. And higher up still were two stately Zeppelins, which seemed to dominate the country underneath. It was at the time of 'Profound Peace.' And we wondered what could be the object of such a large assemblage of flying engines.

We arrived at Vienna early in the morning of the 26th and was most cordially received by Professor Molisch.

The University building is very imposing and one of the finest in Europe. The number of undergraduates would not be less than 7 or 8 thousands. Austria we have always regarded to be under a very despotic government and the people under the domination of an intolerant priesthood. We therefore quite expected that the affairs of the University would necessarily be very conservative. Our first surprise was to find the women students attending the university and having the same privileges as their brother students. This was quite unexpected, since even in liberal England women were not allowed to take a degree in Oxford and Cambridge.

As regards the docility of the University students under the despotic rule, we had soon reason to change our opinion; for the day we arrived we found the University in a state of siege. It appeared that a Jesuit priest was appointed as the Rector of the University. But the students, as a body, were so radical in their opinion that they would not have any priest to thwart in any way their liberal policy of education and the scientific progress in their University. So they wanted to make a demonstration and enter the University buildings by force and wreck the offices. The place had, therefore, to be barricaded. The students gave vent to their anger by smashing a few windows and afterwards returning home peacefully enough.

In the afternoon we were cordially received in the Research Department of the Botanical Laboratory, which was equipped very lavishly and most up to date. There was a special glass-house with automatic regulation of temperature where our plants after the long journey were soon able to recover their normal vigour. Prof. Molisch showed us the results of many of his important researches. There was a glass flask in which he has cultivated his luminous bacteria. The light emitted by these was so bright that one could read with their help. But the most weird thing was the production of plant monstrosities. By surgical means he unites a potato plant with a tomato, so that the same plant-complex produces potato on the root and tomato on the shoot.

We unpacked our instruments and there were already several distinguished profes-

sors assembled in the research room, who keenly watched the working of the apparatus. They realised the possibilities of these instruments and their extraordinary precision. Their admiration knew no bounds. Prof. Molisch said that they now realised how crude had been the appliances which had hitherto been used and how incomplete had been their knowledge of the intricate life-reactions of the plants. It was indeed a revelation to them to find how human ingenuity was able to gauge the mystery of what had hitherto eluded scrutiny. They now realised how far behind they have been left by India and how in the future they would have to go to that country to receive new inspiration. One of the scholars present, who on account of his brilliant academical distinction in biological science, had been given a travelling fellowship from the University and had worked for the last five years with different German Physiologists, so distinguished as Fitting, Verworn and Pflefer, had himself concentrated his attention on three different important physiological problems in plant life. He spoke of one of these, on the solution of which depended a new chapter of plant investigation. He told us that for the last three years he had been engaged in it but had not yet been able to discover any clue to it. On hearing from him the nature of the problem I turned to page 196 of my Master's latest *Researches on Irritability* that was lying on the table and quietly handed it over to him. He was very much excited over it when he found the whole problem not only very clearly stated but solved by convincing and striking experiments. "That is a very brilliant piece of work," he said, "but I have two other great problems which will keep me engaged for the rest of my life." When he named one of them, I turned back a few pages and handed over the book again. This time he looked quite depressed and said that it was rather unfortunate that only a single line of investigation was left to him, namely, the solution of the great mystery of automatism. "Excuse me, Sir, but the problem is not so inscrutable and mysterious, if you will only turn to chapters XX to XXIII of this book", and with this I, for the third time, handed over to him my Master's *Researches on Irritability of Plants*. After he had glanced through the chapters he sat down in utter dejection and spoke des-

pairingly of his being left nothing to do, and he regretted having wasted 5 years of his life in going about the different laboratories. After a while he shook off his despondency and asked the Master whether he could come to India and work in his Calcutta Laboratory. Professor Molisch was also anxious to send Research Scholars to be trained by my Master.

The success of our lecture next day even surpassed our expectations. Every one of the experiments, the demonstration of the universal sensitiveness of plants, the electric twitch in answer to blow, the record of the speed of nervous impulse in plants and the rhythmic pulsations and their modifications under stimulants and narcotics, succeeded in a remarkable manner. The excitement of the audience reached its climax when the plant, under the crisis of death showed for a moment, by means of its fluttering records, the tremulous hesitation and unstable poise between life and death. This was followed by a tremendous convulsion, optically magnified on the screen, signalling the *irreversible* setting of the rigor of death. Prof. Molisch in offering thanks on behalf of the University spoke of the great inspiration which the Viennese scientific men received from Dr. Bose's discourse. They realised that hitherto they had directed all their efforts in the study of Necrology,—the reaction of the dying or dead things. This was the first time they saw life and its mysteries revealing themselves by self-made scripts untortured by operation at the dissecting table. They would regard it a high favour if Prof. Bose would allow them to preserve the wonderful records made by the plants during the lecture as a cherished object in their Museum. Other eminent scientific men present were equally enthusiastic. One of these, a colleague of the veteran German Physiologist Pfeffer came up to my Master and pressed him to visit their University and give a demonstration there. My Master, some of whose researches has disproved the hitherto accepted theory of Pfeffer in reference to the absence of Nervous Reactions in plant, apprehended a want of cordiality at Pfeffer's laboratory. But Pfeffer's colleague assured him that no one held him in greater esteem than Pfeffer himself. In fact he had followed with great admiration the researches of my Master and his only regret was that all these

wonderful revelations came to him near the end of his life.

So great was the importance attached to the new line of research that the University of Vienna officially addressed the Secretary of State for India asking that the special thanks of the University be conveyed to the Government of India for the scientific impetus given to their inquiries by Prof. Bose's visit. Equally gratifying is the fact that the important German publication—The Year Book of Science—published an account of the Master's researches as the most important contribution in recent years in plant physiology.

The next day Prof. Molisch took us round to see some of the historic places in Vienna, and we were taken to the heights of Kalishburg which overlooked the Danube. We sat down on an eminence and our host talked to us not only of the University but of the aged Emperor and of the uncertainties of the political conditions of his country. The heir-apparent, Archduke Ferdinand, he said, was a man of great strength of character but unyielding and with pronounced religious and political bias. He was afraid that there would be considerable political disturbance when the Archduke would succeed the aged Emperor. We did not know at the time that at that very moment a great tragedy was being enacted at a place not far distant and which was ultimately to bring about a cataclysm of world destruction. But of the assassination of the Archduke we did not hear anything till we reached Paris the day after.

PARIS.

Our plan now was first to go to Paris and thence to the Universities of Strassburg, Leipzig, Halle, Berlin and Bonn, and then attend the International Congress at Munich. I shall presently describe how we were on two successive occasions diverted from our intended visit to Germany and thus escaped indefinite internment.

My Master had already visited Paris on scientific deputations on two successive occasions and was well-known there as a great Physicist. In 1896 he had addressed the Sorbonne, the Academy of Sciences and the University of Paris on his Researches on Electric Waves. He was then given a great reception by the leading savants

in France among whom were, Poincare, Cornu, Mascart, Lippmann, Cailletet, Becquerel, and others. M. Cornu, one of the leading physicists of the age, was the President of the Academy of Science. He on behalf of his colleagues, addressed a remarkable letter to my Master which concluded with the striking passage: "You should try to revive the grand traditions of your race, which bore aloft the torch-light of science and art and was the leader of civilization two thousand years ago. We in France applaud you." M. Poincare, the brother of the President, is regarded as one of the most brilliant physicists and philosophers of the age. In his classical work on Electric Radiation he has largely incorporated the results of "the remarkable researches of the brilliant young Hindu Physicist, Jagadish Chunder Bose."

To the eminent scientific men gathered to hear his discourse this time, it was a great surprise that Bose the Physiologist was indetical with Bose the Physicist. So great was the interest aroused by his discourse that the leading and semi-official organ "*Le Temps*" sent its scientific editor to get a detailed account of his novel experiments and a very highly appreciative article appeared in its special scientific edition.

My Master's lecture in Paris was memorable for one incident, inasmuch as his principal experiment failed for the first and the last time. After the plant had recorded its normal pulsations, a dose of deadly potassium cyanide was administered to the plant and the audience breathlessly waited for the arrest of these pulse-throbs. But wonderful to relate, and to our utter dismay, the plant seemed to be actually stimulated by it. I applied a larger dose to hasten its miserable end. But it went on throbbing more vigorously than ever! Such a thing had never happened before and in utter desperation I examined the drug I was using and put a very tiny drop on my tongue and found it taste sweet. It was not potassium cyanide at all but a solution of sugar! Fortunately I had some chloroform and the application of this soon

brought on torpor followed by the death of the plant from over-narcotisation.

As to the mystery of transformation of potassium cyanide into sugar, it happened this wise. Just before the demonstration in Paris I discovered that the stock of potassium cyanide we took with us for experiments in our continental tour had run short. It is not at all easy for a stranger to buy this poison without the certificate of a physician. In this dilemma the young daughter of our generous hostess volunteered to get the chemical for us. The shop of their chemist was at the next street and she assured us that they were sure to stretch a point and supply her with the chemical even without a medical certificate. So she went, and in order to impress the chemist she spoke to him of the great Eastern Scientist who was going to demonstrate that plants had feelings and sensations and were in no way inferior to human beings. She was sure he would supply her with a moderate quantity of potassium cyanide, enough to kill the plant. The French are proverbially polite, and though he did not believe a single word of the extraordinary story she related, he made a profound bow and regarded it as the greatest privilege to be of any service to the Madmoiselle. What he really believed was that the young lady was determined to commit suicide, perhaps on account of some disappointment in love. So he supplied her with some white stuff, resembling cyanide, which was in reality nothing else but the harmless sugar! So our attempt at the plant murder was thwarted by the machination of a compassionate and sentimental chemist's assistant!

Our programme of going to Germany was at the last moment postponed on account of a cable received from London. Some of the leading scientific men had spoken in the highest terms to the Secretary of State for India of the importance of my Master's researches and Lord Crewe expressed his desire to pay a visit to my Master's private London Laboratory at Maida Vale.

(To be Concluded).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

An account of the different existing SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR being the Vishvanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal Prize-Essay for 1909 by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona. The Oriental Books Supplying Agency, B. Shukrawar, Poona. Pp. vi + 148. Price Rs. 2.

Dr. Belvalkar, from whom we are soon expecting a critical edition of Bharata's *Natyashastra* to be published in the *Harvard Oriental Series*, has really obviated to some extent a long-felt want in the field of Sanskrit learning by bringing out the book under notice on which the learned judges appointed by the Bombay University have rightly remarked that "it collects together a great deal of interesting historical information", and we may add that these informations are valuable. It furnishes in chronological order the names with their approximate dates and brief accounts of every principal works, texts and various commentaries, etc., from Panini downwards of every existing school of the authors of the Sanskrit Grammar. As regards the early grammatical speculation in the Vedas, Brahmanas and the allied works, i.e., the Pratishakhyas, we think, something more should have been said than what has actually been done. As the title of the work implies which seems to have been chosen in imitation of Max Muller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, we naturally expected to see in it the gradual development dealt with at a considerable length of the science from the earliest work to that of Panini at least. But the author has only touched the point. When referring to the Brahmanas and the Pratishakhyas he could, it appears to us, have mentioned the *Gopatha-Brahmana* and the *Brihaddevata*. The *Prayogamala* which is not an unimportant grammar and is still a standard work in Assam has been taken no notice of. The get-up is good. We recommend the book to our readers.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDU REALISM by Jagadish Chandra Chatterji, B. A. (Cantab.), Vidyavaridhi, Director of the Research Department of Kashmir. Price Rs. 3 or 4s., pp. 183 and xvi. The Indian Press, Allahabad.

The get up of the book is excellent. The paper, printing and binding leave nothing to be desired. The author and the Press deserve our best thanks for the excellent external appearance of the book.

The author, Mr. J. C. Chatterji, has had the advantage of an inspiring contact with the leaders of English thought in England crowning his education at the Calcutta Sanskrit College. His career at the latter institution under such distinguished teachers as the late Mahamahopadhyaya Chandra Kanta Tarkalankara has been of immense service to him in his work in Indian philosophy. Here the celebrated physician and scholar Dr. Gananath Sen, M.A., L.M.S., Vidyavidhi, Kavibhusan &c., whose *Pratyaksha Sariram* has placed him among the finest and most erudite Sanskrit scholars of India, was his fellow student. His translation of some of the Upanishads

in collaboration with Mr. Keightley, which was done many years ago while he was still a learner in England, is rather well-known in theosophic and allied circles. One of his French pamphlets on Indian philosophy is being translated into English by a well-known English savant.

The book before us is a sample of what good work may be done by combining eastern and western culture. The author has tried "to make his presentation of Hindu Realism intelligible to the western reader;" he might have added "and to our university graduates," whose mode of thought is necessarily modelled upon Euro-American patterns. By Hindu Realism is meant the *Weltanschauung* or world-view which is taught in the *Nyaya-Vaisesika* systems. From a perusal of Colebrooke and Max Muller "a European student of philosophy can [not] form an idea as to the reason or reasons why the Realists held, and do hold even now, the metaphysical doctrines which are taught in their systems." Mr. Chatterji claims that his Hindu Realism contains "a rational presentation of Hindu Realism generally" and also a reasoned exposition of the concepts of *paramanu*, *kala* and *dik* in particular.

It might be conceded at once that Mr. Chatterji's presentation is reasoned. He is not content with a mere philological study of Indian philosophy, as is too painfully the case with the vast majority of its students. Whether the arguments which Mr. Chatterji brings forward were actually known to the ancient philosophers of India, or Mr. Chatterji is merely surreptitiously introducing into Indian philosophy the later thoughts of modern Europe, this is a tough question and I shall leave it to the care of the experts.

According to Mr. Chatterji's version of Hindu philosophy, the original seers (*rishis*) realised or knew the ultimate metaphysical truths by direct experience. The word *darsana* or vision as a synonym of philosophy is a standing witness to this fact. Philosophy is a matter of vision. This idea is gaining adherents in the West. Professor William James says: "Let me repeat once more that a man's vision is the great fact about him. Who cares for Carlyle's reasons or Schopenhauer's or Spencer's." "A philosopher's vision and the technique he uses in proof of it are different things." "An author is easy if you can catch the centre of his vision." "I regard him [Hegel] rather as one of those numerous original seers who can never learn to articulate. His would-be coercive logic counts for nothing in my eyes, but that does not in the least impugn the philosophic importance of his conception of the Absolute....." "In a striking page Fechner relates one of his moments of direct vision of this truth." All these passages are taken from "A Pluralistic Universe" which was published after Mr. Chatterji had finished his Hindu Realism.

Hindu Philosophy takes it for granted that

(1) Man can know metaphysical truths by direct experience (direct vision in James's language).

(2) The *rishis* of old had thus known the whole of metaphysical truth about nature and existence.

(3) Some *rishis* have demonstrated by reasoning;

these metaphysical truths for the benefits of posterity. These demonstrations constitute Hindu Philosophy.

"The function of philosophy, therefore, is not the discovery of metaphysical truth by reasoning and inference, but only the explaining and understanding the rationality of such truth already discovered and realised by experience."

But was not this the attitude of the scholastic philosophy of Europe? The Bible and Aristotle contained every truth. The philosopher's task was to justify their teachings by human reasons. What is the difference between European Mediaeval philosophy and the philosophy of India after the age of the Upanishads?

If philosophy be a matter of vision, *darsana*, or direct experience, why should philosophers differ so much from one another? Does not the same reality appear the same to all people's vision? To this Professor James would answer that Hegel and Spencer had visions of different sides or aspects of reality and hence their difference. Mr. Chatterji would say that there is a fundamental agreement between the teachings of all the *rishis* and their apparent differences are mere concessions to the limitations of the different grades of intellect to which their teachings are addressed. There are in fact three standards [I would prefer to say stages] in the development of philosophic consciousness: (1) the first is the Realistic or creationistic standard (*Nyaya-Vaisheshika*) (2) the second the psychodynamic standard (*Samkhya-Yoga*), and (3) the third is the polyonymic standard (*vivarta-vada* of the *Vedanta*). This hypothesis of the three stages or standards is well explained in *Vijnana-Bhikshu's* Introduction to the *Sankhya Pravachana Bhashya*, and certainly there is this much of truth in this view, that a Sankhyist must understand and transcend the theory of the *Nyaya*, and a Monistic Vedantist must understand and transcend both. With this idea of *Vijnanabhikshu* may be compared one of Hegel's fundamental teachings, namely, the idea that there is some truth in all systems of thought, and that a philosopher's task is to form a synthesis of the different manifestations of truth that runs through conflicting systems.

Mr. Chatterji has uncritically accepted this idea of *Vijnanabhikshu*. It would have been better if he had given authorities for the antiquity of this view. Many people would regard *Vijnanabhikshu's* reconciliation of the conflicting systems based upon the theory of the three *bhumikas* or stages as a late growth of Indian philosophical consciousness. One of its preconditions is the supposition that the *rishis* are all-knowing and infallible and such a supposition could not have been formed as long as philosophy was a living thing amongst the Indians, i.e., as long as there were actual *rishis* existing in flesh and blood who carried on philosophical speculations. Even *Sankaracharya* is not familiar with the idea of reconciling the philosophical systems, not to say anything of the *rishis* of the *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* periods. Is Mr. Chatterji then justified in presenting this idea as a precondition of all Indian philosophy? For one thing, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Chandrakanta Tarkalankara tried to solve the conflict between the different philosophical systems in a quite different way. The curious reader should consult the fifth volume of his *Srigopal Vasu-Mallik Fellowship lectures* in Bengali.

The book is divided into three parts (1) Introductory (pp. 1-10) (2) the Analytic Aspect of Realism

(pp. 19-94) and (3) the Synthetic Aspect of Realism (pp. 95-151).

We have given a short critical account of the Introductory portion above.

The analytic aspect deals with such subjects as the nine realities (usually called substances), the *paramanus*, *akasa*, the five *bhutas*, *kala*, *dik*, 'atman' 'manas' &c. It is not possible to summarize Mr. Chatterji's teachings within the compass of a short review. Suffice it to say that the author's account of 'paramanus,' 'dik' and 'kala' are quite original and remarkably clear. The tyro and the expert both would find much matter for thought in this fascinating book.

The 'paramanus' are ordinarily translated as atoms and are supposed to be something like the atoms of Leucippus and Democritus: that is, indivisible solid particles to which all sensible realities can be ultimately reduced. According to Mr. Chatterji, however, the 'paramanus' are not spatial. Are they something like Leibniz's monads, "things of no magnitude, i.e., of the nature of points"? Two such go together to make up a 'dvyanuka,' which is of the nature of lines and three 'dvyaukas' form a 'trasarenu' which is a thing having magnitude, i.e., length, breadth and thickness. So a 'paramanu' has no length, breadth and thickness. It is nothing material.

According to Mr. Chatterji's account, *Kala* (ordinarily translated as time) was conceived by the *rishis* as a universal power or force at the back of all change or movement.

Whether this rationalistic interpretation of the *Vaisheshika paramanus* and their derivatives (*dvyaukas* and *trasarenu*s) and of *kala* would be regarded as correct by the mediaeval *Vaisheshika* philosophers of India, i.e., *Sridhara*, *Udayana* and *Gangesa*, is more than doubtful. But such interpretations are extremely useful. What would be the worth of Greek philosophy to us, *minus* the interpretations of the great continental scholars? If India is to have her schools of living philosophy, she must begin by re-interpreting the works of ancient Indian authors. The late Mr. Umesh Chandra Batabyal's Bengali monograph on *Sankhya* philosophy, Mr. Brajendranath Seal's oral and published interpretations of Hindu thought, and Mr. Jagadisa Chandra Chatterji's Hindu Realism are sure indications that life is flowing in into the domain of metaphysical thought in India.

I conclude this notice with the expression of my deliberate conviction that every student of Indian thought would find the book stimulating, and some readers of the book are likely to become Mr. Chatterji's followers in their understanding of the *Nyaya Vaisheshika* metaphysics.

"VAC."

BRAHMASADHAN OR ENDEAVOURS AFTER THE LATE DIVINE. By Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Rs. 1-8 or 2s. To be had of the author at 210-3-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Cloth, pp. viii + 172.

This book consists of the following twelve lectures: The Realm of Sadhan, Hindu and Christian Ideals of Worship, "Atadhana" or the Adoration of God, *Dharana Dhyana* and *Samadhi*, the Realization of the God—I, the Realisation of the God—II, Prayer and its Response, the Dialectical Movement in Ethical Life, Piety in Practical Life, Relations with Women, Love and Service of Man, and, Communion with Saints.

We have read it with great interest and profit.

The author says : "If we are to believe those who are honoured by the world as knowers of God, God can be known so vividly and deeply, that the light of such knowledge can fill our whole life and brighten all our journey. In other words, the consciousness of God, as the Truth of truths, as All-in-all, can colour and permeate all other forms of consciousness, outer and inner, so that we may consciously, as we do actually, live, move and have our being in Him. Likewise, the love of God, instead of visiting us occasionally as a sentiment or emotion, may become an overmastering passion, not excluding, but transmuting and including, other passions, and becoming the guiding impulse of life. In the same manner, the following of God's will, instead of being confined to abstinence from harm or the performance of a stated number of duties, may be a living inspiration, a constant walk with God as his son and servant, so that personal will is wholly merged in the divine and the son of God in us exclaims, 'I and my father are one.'"

He goes on to say that "it is evident that there is a science or system of "sadhan," one which treats of the way to the realization of the divine life, the stages leading to it, the difficulties confronting the aspirant after it, the means of removing them, and the various exercises or disciplines that help the devotee to attain this end." This book treats of such a system of sadhan, treats of the systematic culture of love and holiness. It is written in a lucid and elegant style. To whatever sects they may belong, readers will find the book helpful in their spiritual endeavours. Not the least good which the book does is to awaken thought and challenge commonly accepted ideas.

It is not for ascetics or anchorites that the book has been written, though they too will find most of the lectures helpful. The spiritual life which the author holds up as our ideal is that led by a pious man living in society in the midst of his family. Naturally, therefore, he attaches great importance to our relations with women and the proper attitude towards them. Says he : "It seems to me that the failure of certain well-known systems of spiritual culture in promoting a really practical and harmonious life of piety is in a large part due to their very imperfect solution of the woman problem." The whole chapter on "Relations with Women" should be read carefully by both reformers and non-reformers. No doubt, this and some other portions of the book are written from the male point of view. A woman writing a similar book would be able to give proper guidance to persons of her sex.

The author has said nothing about man's proper attitude towards the lower animals. We think a "sadhak" requires to pay some attention to this subject. In the Jaina, Buddhist and Vaishnavite systems of spiritual culture, considerable importance is attached to it.

TALES OF INDIAN HUMOUR : a collection of humorous stories translated from the Persian of Shahryar Ilahi. By Prof. Norman Reade, M.A. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. K. 1. Pp. 77.

This little book, the author tells us, contains a few of the famous Birbal stories one hears of so often and hears so seldom. For the subject matter he is indebted to Shahryar Ilahi, but the diction and colouring are Prof. Reade's. The stories have been well told. There is much wit and humour in them, much shrewd insight into human nature, and not a little wisdom, too.

AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MODERN EUROPE FROM 1789 TO 1914 WITH AN HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY TEXT. By C. Grant Robertson, M.A., C.I.O., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. 3s. 6d. net. Oxford University Press.

This is a very useful publication. It contains 36 maps clearly printed in many colours on strong paper. All citizens of independent countries who desire to take an active and beneficial part in politics ought to study the evolution of the State-system of modern Europe from the French Revolution to the present day. This the present atlas, with the explanatory historical text and commentary on the Plates, enables one to do to a considerable extent. The importance of such a publication at the present time is that it helps one to understand the historical events which have led to the present war, though, of course, the atlas possesses a more abiding value.

SIX PLAYS BY CONTEMPORARIES OF SHAKESPEARE, Edited by C. B. Wicks. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Art Cloth, 1s. net.

The fame of Shakespeare has obscured that of his great contemporaries. The present collection is an attempt to revise the study of their works. It contains Thomas Dekker's "The Shoemaker's Holiday," John Webster's "The White Devil" and "The Duchess of Malfi," Beaumont and Fletcher's "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" and "Philaster," and Philip Massinger's "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." The text is clearly printed. There are occasionally explanatory notes at the bottom of the page. A brief and well-written introduction adds to the value of the book.

RELIGION AND DHARMA. By Sister Nivedita. With a preface by S. K. Ratcliffe. Longmans, Green & Co.

To none else is any introduction to the power and quality of the writings of Sister Nivedita less necessary than to the readers of the *Modern Review*. We will, therefore, content ourselves with a mere transcription of the contents of this volume : Religion and Dharma, Mukti : Freedom, The Greater Ritual, The Crown of Hinduism, Hinduism and Organisation, Co-operation, Sectarianism, The Samaj, The Past and the Future, Religion and National Success, The Spirit of Renunciation, The Sacred and the Secular, Quit Ye Like Men !, Sincerity, Facing Death, Luxury and Manhood, Strength ; True Ambition, Character, Discrimination, Fitness, The Teacher, The Guru and His Disciple, Self-Idealism, Realization, Progress, Work, Realization through Work, The Power of Faith, The Bee and the Lotus, The Life of Ideas, The Shaping of Life, National Righteousness, The Flower of Worship, Responsibility, The World-sense in Ethics, Character is Spirituality, The Task Before us, The Ideal.

There is a glossary explaining the Sanskrit and other Indian words in the text. The words "Japam," "Jnanam," "Vairagyam," &c., ought to be printed without the final letter *m*. If the Sanskrit forms were to be retained, one would have to write "bhaktah" and not "bhakta," "Karman," and not "Karma," &c. "Sanathan" is a misprint for "Sanatan."

In his interesting preface Mr. Ratcliffe explains among other things why Sister Nivedita used both the words Religion and Dharma.

SPEECHES OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. K. 3. 1p. 15 + 1236 + 1771 — illustrations. Cloth.

No publicist or other public man, and student of Indian politics and economics can do without this collection of the speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It is very cheap. C.

MUHAMMAD IN ISLAM. GOLDSACK. *The Christian Literature Society (price not stated).*

The writer "does not profess to offer a complete biography of the prophet Muhammad." He "aims at presenting to the reader a number of pen-pictures of the great reformer." "When anything of special value has had to be chronicled, we have invariably given the "ipsissima verba" of the authorities quoted". These quotations are in fact the most interesting part of the book, which is fairly good of its kind, but without any special originality or merit. The writer seems generally to have followed Muir—although he does not refer to him and takes exactly the same view of the character of the Prophet. He shows no signs of acquaintance with more recent writers such as Caetani and Margoliouth. All the incidents in the life of the Prophet to which Christians generally object are dwelt upon and the writer concludes by asking the reader "to judge whether and in what respect, Muhammad may be considered as indeed a Prophet of God." This line of argument was answered many centuries ago by Muslim theologians. The acts of God must not be judged by the mere human understanding. Children are born into the world, the victims of invariable disease, destined to lead lives of suffering. To human reason this appears cruel, but we know from revelation that God is merciful and compassionate, and we must believe that everything He does is right. So it is with the acts of the prophets, which are all done in direct obedience to the commands of God, though often we cannot understand the reasons for them. God has shown us this in the Suratu'l Kahf. There we read how a prophet whom God had instructed with knowledge committed actions which seemed strange and grievous till their meaning was explained. The prophet says: "Not of mine own will have I done this," and this is true of the actions of all the prophets. They must not be judged as the actions of ordinary men. An ordinary man who intended, to kill his child would act very wrongly, but this is what Hazrat Ibrahim did. It is painful to find Christian missionaries, so blinded by controversial zeal, as to use arguments against Islam, which tend to the denial of all revealed truth and even to downright atheism. H. C.

ENGLISH-TELEGU.

A COURSE OF INDIAN GYMNASTICS PART II. Mr. Naidu offers a very good system of physical culture to the public and we must heartily thank him for adding such a valuable book to the few physical culture books written by Indians. It is to be deeply regretted that very few of our Indian physical culture experts could write books. We have previously acknowledged that there are great experts but unfortunately very few know the art of teaching. We however find a few defects in Mr. Naidu's book. No attention has been given to the lower limbs or the abdominal muscles. The muscles which he seems to have a great regard of are, Pectoralis, Biceps, Triceps, Trapezius, Latissimus dorsi, Serratus magnus, etc. Mr. Naidu is going to publish a third part, so he should please see to it. The strength and tone of abdominal muscles serve a great function. The Santhola system is weight lifting pure and simple. S. N. M.

SANSKRIT.

SHRI CHAHAGEETA by Chintamani Rama Chandra Sahasrabudhe with an introduction by Pandita 'Uppinbelgeri' Krishna Shastri. *The Karnataka Printing Works, Dharwar. Pp. 82. Price Annas 6.*

The title of the book literally means 'Tea-songs' which implies its contents. It is written in humorous Sanskrit verses occasionally with English and vernacular words entirely in imitation of the *Bhagavad-gita* of which it may in one way be called a parody though not with a view to undervalue its merits but to bring to light the manifold evils from the ever-growing artificial life of worked-up luxury in our days in which among other things tea-drinking holds an unique position.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI-SANSKRIT.

AGRAJANMADI-BRAHMANOTPATTI-BHASKARA. *The origin and growth of the Agrajanna and Manu-samsaja Brahmanas, by Pandit Batukaprasada Mishra Bhaskara, Sarai Goradkhana, Benares City. Pp. 29. Price As. 8.*

In our days there are several classes of Brahmanas, but in the sacred texts, says the author, there seem to have been only two classes of them, viz. अग्रजन्म 'first-born' and मनुजन्म 'born in the family of Manu.'

He gives their details from the Puranas and supports his view quoting them profusely.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI

DAYANAND CHARITAMRITA by Kariraj Jyotsopal. *To be had of Vidya Bhandar Pustakalaya, Shahalam Darwaza, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 189. Price—Rs. 1 4.*

This contains the life of Swami Dayanand till his initiation into his self-abnegating career. The only matter for regret is that the author has been too poetic and has followed the ancient Indian practice of poetic exaggeration, which is often unmeaning. The book is in "dohas" and "choupais" like the Ram-charitmanas and translations of the lines in prose have been subjoined by way of an annotation. But the style of the Hindi Ramayana is not suited to the depiction of the life of a great man who died only the other day and the author might with profit have adopted his style and mode of description to the modern surroundings. In other respects the book is not bad, though there are some mistakes here and there. The get-up of the publication is nice and it has been well-bound.

DARSHANAND GRANTHA SANGRAH by Pandit Gokul Chandra Dikshit and published by Pandit Bhimsain Sharma, Mahavidyalaya, Jwalapore, Dist. Saharanpur, U. P. Royal 8vo. pp. 806. Price—Rs. 2-0-0.

This is a collection of some of the tracts of Swami Darshanand Saraswati, a well-known figure in the Arya Samaj. There is much to be recommended in his views, there being a good deal of originality and thoughtfulness in them. His tracts are not merely religious, but have dealt with some of the social and political topics as well in a sound and deliberative spirit. His politics consists of devotion to the Government and in all the pages of the publication under review, we find carefully pointed out, the mistakes of some of the agitators for "Swarajya". The conversation between a clergyman Lortar and a rustic Jat, which forms the subject of an article, is very interesting. In the same way, the Swami has

a brother of H. H. the Rao of Cutch, he had had to travel to several places with him, and the natural scenery of places like Poona and Mahabaleshwar appealed to him. He has catalogued such sceneries in his book of verses supplementing the list with many words of admonishment. This kind of poetry is now passing away—going out of fashion.

YASHODHARA CHARITRA, published by Mulchand Kasan Kapadia, printed at the Jaina Vijaya Printing Press, Surat, paper cover, pp. 190. Price Re. 0-2-0 (1916).

Kavi Pushpadanta has written in Hindi a life of Yashodhara, the object of which is to preach the doctrine of अहिंसा. This book is a translation of it, and is full of gruesome and revolting incidents, of sacrifices to the goddess, and of several other unsavoury matters, which overlie the moral intended to be conveyed, so thickly that it remains hardly visible.

DRYAKULA PAṬAK, by Śrīśastryarishanath Jainacharya
 shri Vinayak Dharma Surti, A.M.A.S.B., published by
 Bhavani Chand Bhagwanadas Gandhi, printed at the Anand
 Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Porbandra, S. P. Unprinted
 (1916).

This small pamphlet prints extracts from several copper plates and stone inscriptions, and thus fixes the site of the present village of Belvada, in the territory of H. H. the Maharana of Udaipore, as that of the ancient town of Belvakuḷa Patak. Great credit is due to the Acharya for having turned his attention from religious matters to the investigation of historical questions by means of modern methods of research.

CHHAILOPALO MARI MASALO, published by D. P. Madan & Co., Chemists & Druggists, Surat. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press, cloth bound, pp. 513. This Edition. Price 2-10 (1916).

This book which contains numerous recipes for ordinary complaints and serious diseases, is a very useful work. It points out a number of household remedies, whose chief recommendation is their cheapness, and easy procurability, since only indigenous drugs are referred to. We wish it to be widely known, specially as imported drugs and medicines are becoming dear and scarce.

K. M. J.

We have received a report of the working of the Nadiad Hindu Orphanage for the year 1914-15. We do not review such reports.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

MARATHYANCHI DARARA (मराठांचा दारारा) or the
Maratha expeditions against Bengal, by Vasudev Govinda
Apte B.A. Price Rs. 10.

This is a short sketch in Marathi of the expeditions sent by Nagpurkar Bhonsles in the years 1743, 1744, 1748-1751 against Alivardi Khan who was then the ruling Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In this book are described the story of five expeditions one after the other in which the Marathas have not been always successful. The reason for these expeditions was the non-payment by the Nawab of the "chauth" which they claimed because allowed by the Mogul emperors.

The author is not satisfied with the available materials. He has to depend on European, Persian and some Bengali works, the value of which as historical accounts, he discusses in the beginning of his book. He says he has given a connected account

This is an annotated edition in Hindi of the Jain religious book of the same name by Pandit Ashadhar. Some of the principles of Jainism have been very lucidly explained and the author has often gone in detail to Jain rituals. The get-up and binding of the book are nice, and the book will be found specially interesting to the Jains.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

PRABHAS VARNAN, by the late Shri. Dhanushwar, published by his son, Jayantilal Shival Kavi, B.A., printed at the Praja Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 190. Price Rs. 1. Second Edition, (1916).

It must be very gratifying to the son of the late Kavi, who had during his lifetime attained some measure of success as a writer of verses, to be able to bring out a second edition of the book after thirty years after it was published first. As the tutor to

from the available sources which are not often accurate and reliable. His search after original Maratha historical manuscripts bearing on the subject has not been successful as yet.

The book, even as it is, is worth reading, as it shows the relation and behaviour of the Marathas in their period of glory against the different nationalities and peoples of India who were under Mahomedan rule. It also shows the political ambitions of Marathas, how far they were successful and how they carried them out. Then in such a book one comes to know what other Indians in different provinces thought about in those times of Maratha political power and its extension.

S. V. PUNTAHBHAR.

HINDUSTHANCHA ARWACHIN ITIHASA Bhag II (Marathi Riyasat) or A History of Modern India Part II (Maratha Period), New edition, revised and enlarged by Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai B. A. Publishers:—Messrs. D. S. Yande & Co. Bombay (Coron 16mo, pp. 161, 322 & 30) Price Rs. 2-3.

This forms the first volume of the second part of the great series which Mr. Desai has undertaken to write on the history of Modern India. I had the pleasure of reviewing the new edition of the first volume of the series devoted to the Mahomedan period in the pages of the *Modern Review* in 1912. The present volume covers an important period in Maratha history, viz., from the earliest times to the year 1707, when Shahu, grandson of Shiwajee the Great, was restored to his freedom from his State imprisonment at Delhi and was sent to his motherland, the Deccan, with a small army to claim his Maratha kingdom. The period succeeding this landmark in Maratha history is reserved for another volume, the appearance of which is looked forward to with eager interest by Marathi readers. The first edition of this volume was published in 1902 and had earned for Mr. Sardesai the reputation of a scholar of vast reading and an un-biased judgment. Let me at once assure Mr. Sardesai that this well-merited praise has not suffered, but is considerably enhanced by his producing this second edition, which is so entirely re-cast and enlarged that it deserves to be treated as a separate and more advanced book on the subject, replacing its forerunner, which has done its part and taken its exit from the literary stage. The volume under notice is for the sake of convenience divided into 14 chapters, half the number of which is justly devoted to the life and work of the great national hero of the Deccan, Shiwajee the Great, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom. Mr. Sardesai has tapped all possible sources of information, ransacked the whole literature on the subject in English and Marathi, thought out the subject for himself with an open mind, arrayed his facts in due order so that a man of ordinary intelligence may be able to comprehend them, shown events in their proper perspective, stated his pros and cons with clearness and with a strict regard for truth and then come forward with boldness to pronounce his judgment, which no wonder captivates the attention of his readers and holds all opposition for a time in suspense. Mr. Sardesai shows himself at his best in this respect particularly in the 4th chapter of his book, which discusses the question whether Shiwajee was the creator or the creature of his times, and again in chapter 12, where merits and demerits of Sambhajee's character are clearly set forth with a view to decide his place in Maratha history. With regard to the first question

which is of passing interest, it must be stated that the prevailing opinion among the Maratha people till 1900 was, and to some extent still exists among European writers, that the foundation of the Maratha Empire in the Deccan was more or less a fortuitous circumstance, and the fact that Shiwajee is looked upon as an Avatar not only by the ignorant mob but even by the educated Marathas lends colour to this view. The appearance of the late Mr. Justice Ranade's *Rise of Maratha Power* in 1900 shattered this view to some extent and gave the reading public for the first time a glimpse of the combination of circumstances which prepared the ground, sowed the seed, and nurtured the tender plant, which subsequently thrived and blossomed under the glorious name of the Maratha Empire. The late Mr. Ranade, however, had this disadvantage, that he had not the privilege of seeing some very important records bearing on the subject. Mr. Sardesai is more fortunate in this respect and fortified with documentary evidence of letters since published, throwing light on the history of many old Maratha families existing from pre-Shiwajee times, he has been able to prove that Shiwajee though endowed with an extraordinary intelligence, shrewdness, foresight, courage and other qualities which made him a remarkable figure in world's history, and was in a way an architect of his fortune, yet he was a remarkable product of the peculiar circumstances which surrounded him and though he was the most pre-eminent mason to build up the Maratha Empire he was not at it single handed, but was prompted and assisted by several Mayalees, who were as much inspired by the spirit awakened in them as Shiwajee himself, and who displayed more astonishing virtues than history has cared to record. Indeed this part of Mr. Sardesai's work took the whole audience in Bombay by surprise in May 1915, when on the date commemorating the accession of Shiwajee to the throne, Mr. Sardesai read some portions of this chapter to the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan or literary gathering.

Mr. Sardesai's book is full of such surprises and revelations for an ordinary reader not caring to keep pace with historical discoveries being made by Mr. Rajwade and others. I shall not tire the patience of your readers by mentioning how the illusion of Grant Duff and other historians that Shiwajee was an illiterate, though a clever illiterate, and that he was a stranger to the art of writing his own name, is dispelled by an unmistakable proof of Shiwajee's own writing in the form of certain original letters discovered by Mr. Rajwade. Mr. Sardesai has not failed to embody such important researches in his volume.

To make this review complete, I must reluctantly turn to the other side of the shield. I have ungrudgingly given the author the praise where it was due. I must now mention at least one instance, where in my opinion, he does not come up to my estimation of him. The relation of Shiwajee with the Brahmin saint Ramdas is an instance in point. There are people who blindly believe in the tradition that Ramdas was Shiwajee's guru long before the latter founded the Maratha Kingdom. These people assert that Ramdas was the first to inspire Shiwajee with the idea of rallying the Marathas with a view to subvert the Mahomedan power and reclaim the Hindu sovereignty which was lost. There are others who, on the other hand, would be too glad to proclaim vociferously to the world that Brahmin influence had nothing to do with that epoch-making event, that Ramdas exerted but little influence over

Shiwajee's mind and all traditions about the invaluable help rendered by the Brahmin saint towards founding or strengthening the edifice of the Mahratta power are so many myths and fabrications invented by wily Brahmins simply to share with that Mahratta hero and his compatriots the credit and glory which is not theirs. Mr. Sardesai chooses to take the middle path and though he is positive in asserting that Ramdas had no hand whatever in the foundation of the Mahratta power in that he was not so far as introduced to Shiwajee till long after the first Mahratta conquests, he is prepared to concede so much that the Brahmin saint, after his first acquaintance with Shiwajee in 1659, began to exert his moral and religious influence over the young hero with such a force that Shiwajee revered him as a guru and made him the keeper of his mind and spirit. Mr. Sardesai is careful in keeping Shiwajee out of the pale of the political influence of the Brahmin saint. Now the letter in Abhong metre from Tukaram to Shiwajee, Ramdas' letter to Sambhaji, as well as a remarkable letter recently discovered and published by the **सत्कार्योत्तेजक मंडळी** of Dhulia,

all give a direct lie to Mr. Sardesai's assertion, and the whole tenour of Ramdas's counsels to his chela, which is nothing but an expression given to the pent up feelings on the political condition of the country is a proof, if any is needed, that Ramdas exerted not only moral and religious influence but also his political influence on his disciple. Application of Vedantic and philosophical thoughts to matters, not only mundane but political was a strong point in Ramdas's life. In fact it was this feature of his life which distinguished him from all other saints of the time. To say that Ramdas exerted no political influence on Shiwajee is to obliterate the best part of the work done by that Brahmin saint, and to play with undeniable historical truths. At least Mr. Sardesai should not have been too assertive on this point. Time alone would have shown to the world where the truth lay.

Mr. Sardesai's volume records one melancholy event in connection with its preparation. The author's son aged 12, who was an exceptionally intelligent, and amiable boy and who had greatly assisted his father in preparing the manuscript for the press met with a sudden end after a slight illness on the very day when the last proofs of the volume passed the author's hand. I had personally known the boy and it is with a deep feeling of sorrow that I am paying this tribute to his memory. I need hardly say that the whole Maharashtra fully sympathises with the author in his grief and offers its condolences to him.

V. G. APTE.

MARATHYANCHHA DARARA (*or the terror of the Mahra*, *tas*) *an account of Mahratta invasions of Bengal*, by V. G. Apte B.A., Editor "Anand." Price 10 annas, Publisher Manager "Anand", Poona.

It is really a happy sign of the times that people are taking a keen interest in the resuscitating and collecting of old Historical materials. It was so far back as 1867 A. D. that late Nilkanta Rao Kirtane read his paper by way of criticism of the monumental work of Captain Grant Duff on the history of the Marathas. The illustrious Vishnu Shastri, who died rather prematurely, blew his trumpet on behalf of this same neglect-

ed cause; soon after 'Kavyetihas Sangraha' followed and Messrs. Sane and Modak placed before the world varied materials for History in the shape of original papers. When the magazine ceased to exist for want of fund, bold and dashing men like Rajwade, Khare and Parsnis appeared on the field and took up the task of recovering this valuable treasure which is at present decaying in the dark cellars of the descendants of several historical families. All honour to these selfless workers who have laid their countrymen under a deep obligation.

Mr. Apte's present attempt is in the same direction though of less pretention. He has taken up this task out of pure love. He has been at it for over 7 or 8 years in the past though his labours have been very meagrely rewarded. He tried his best to secure information throwing light on the Maratha invasion of Bengal—an important chapter in the History of the Marathas—at Nagpur and elsewhere but his attempts proved abortive. He therefore directed his attention towards Bengal and the result of his labours there are given in his present modest volume.

He has cited the names of the authorities for his account, in the preliminary chapter of his work, and has given a succinct account of the author and the value of each of the works consulted. He has mainly relied on "Maharashtra Puran" of one Gangaram and 'Tawarikh Usufi' of Usuf Ali; from which other Mahomedan and English Historians appear to have partially drawn their information. Thus those two works represent Hindu and Mahomedan views of the event, respectively, and would counter-balance each other. But the only pity is that Gangaram's work is only partially restored and we should be waiting for the day when the whole work of his is made available to the public. Mr. Apte has identified the authorship of "Maharashtra Puran" to Bengal of which we are somewhat sceptical as 'Gangram' the name of the author suggests a different race.

We have no space here to enter into details of the book and would recommend the reader the perusal of the original book itself. We may however mention here a point or two in the book to which we want to direct attention of our readers. We would particularly invite their attention to the graphic description (chapter III) of the middle of the 18th century where the author is in his best vein. On the whole the impression left on the reader's mind after his perusal of the book is rather sad. That the two races should have been utterly blind to their real interests and sense of self-respect and should not have felt any compunction while sitting on the throat of their brethren! We join hands with the author in his conclusion that the weakest spot represents the degenerate state of society of the time.

Praise is due to the author for having treated the subject with an open mind and we would refer our readers to page 71, 76 (Footnote) where he has spared neither his own men when they were in the wrong. These pages once more powerfully impress the lesson of History on our minds that the result of war depends equally if not more on diplomacy than on pure valour and valour alone.

Thanks to the gentle influence of Pax Britannica that the terror of the last century has now become a thing of past history and the two races once so hostile to each other have now become close friends and are working together for the uplift of their Motherland.

N. K. VAIDYA.

NOTES

British India and Indian India.

At a recent meeting held in the Indian Association Hall in Calcutta, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar is reported to have said that when he was Minister of the Indore State, he was struck by an extraordinary incident. There were villages, side by side, some belonging to the Indian State and others to the British Government, and though the land assessment in the former was a hundred per cent. higher than in the latter, the people there preferred to remain where they were. Sir Narayan enquired into the reason of this strange phenomenon and was told: "We are largely left to ourselves, we are not bothered with the round of visits now from the police, now from the excise department and now from the revenue department."

We do not know whether Sir Narayan has been correctly reported as to the land assessment in the Indore State villages being a hundred per cent. higher than in the neighboring British Indian villages, but there is a general impression that the inhabitants of the Indian States have to pay to the states a higher proportion of their incomes than the inhabitants of British India have to pay to the British Government. In spite of that fact the people like to remain under their Indian rulers, because they are not overgoverned, not interfered with too often and thus have greater opportunities of managing their affairs themselves. In British India no sphere of human life and activity is proof against or free from the inquisitiveness, meddlesomeness and vigilant watch of some officials or other. They directly or indirectly meddle in all affairs, religious, social, educational, moral, political or industrial. Such is perhaps not the case in Indian India.

In a lecture delivered at York by Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, on January 31, the speaker observed that "side by side with British India were the 'native' states, which constituted one-third of the total area of

India. These States furnished one of the finest instances in history of the blending of western and eastern methods. Where they were well-governed there was found an air of happiness and ease, and he ventured to think that the population was, on the whole, happier and more comfortable than in British India."

In one respect similar testimony is borne by Wilfred Blunt in his work on India under Lord Ripon when he says that the subjects of the Native States are materially better off than the people of British India. But the author also adds that in mental awakening and intellectual freedom the subjects of the British Government are superior to those of the Indian states. Though education is more widespread in a few Indian states than in British India, Wilfred Blunt's impression that there is greater intellectual freedom and activity in British India than in Indian India seems to be correct.

There is very great possibility of progress in the Indian states. Their weak point is that their progress depends almost entirely on the personal quality of the potentate and the chief officers whom he may appoint. The great desideratum in every Indian state, including the most advanced, is an inviolable constitution. Not that there is such a thing even in British India. But we naturally wish the Indian states to be superior to British India in every respect. The supremacy of law, not the supremacy of any person whatever, has to be established everywhere. We cannot speak from personal experience, but we have heard from persons who have had such experience that in the Indian states persons in authority count for much more than in British India; and consequently there is more intrigue and often greater high-handedness in the former than in the latter. This would not be the case if the law, not the man or men in power, were supreme. So every good Indian ruler should divest his person of all ordinary exercise of power and make the law supreme and binding on all persons, including himself and his suc-

cessors, as Mutsuhito, the great Emperor of Japan, did. That is the greatest and most fundamental reform which the Indian states stand in need of. The assessment of land and other forms of taxation should in no case be higher than in the British provinces, but should be lower. In England Parliament makes an appropriation of money for the expenses of the sovereign and his household. This is called his Civil List. Every Indian ruler should have such a civil list, *fixed on a moderate scale*, according to the income of his state. When the states come to have fully developed representative assemblies these civil lists should be as much subject to increase or curtailment by them as the British Civil List is by Parliament. Some potentates spend too much on foreign travel and other luxuries. They should have an unwritten self-denying ordinance, until the growth of representative institutions makes the squandering of public money impossible.

Already greater attention is paid in several Indian states to education and the development of industries than in the British provinces. This should be the case in all states. So far as we are aware, though in these states the physique of the people is better than in the British provinces, there has not been any organised attempt on a large scale in any of them to improve the physical stamina of the people still further by scientific sanitation and by making it possible for people to have better and more food by the development of the resources of the states.

In the British Provinces, freedom of speech and the freedom of the press are greatly restricted. Still, we seem to be better situated in this respect than those who are under indigenous rule. We have heard that in the states under indigenous rulers, people dare not speak, except in whispers, against the potentates. There may be exceptions, but that is the general condition. We can criticise our Viceroy, governors and lieutenant-governors and lesser men more freely. As for the press, we do not know of a single newspaper, daily or weekly, published in an Indian state, which can be said to perform the duties of an organ of public opinion to the extent that such journals published in the British provinces do. That cannot be an accident. In the majority of these States there is not a single newspaper published,

whereas in provinces like Bengal, there is scarcely a district without a newspaper, some having several. Continuous good government is impossible without the ventilation of grievances and the discussion of public questions in the public press. We do not see any reason why Hindu and Musalman rulers should not encourage the growth of public opinion in their dominions. It can only strengthen their position and increase the prosperity of their territories. About a year ago, we think, Mysore took steps to secure the publication of one or more good newspapers, with what result we do not yet know. Hindu and Musalman potentates should so govern their possessions as to be able to bear the full force of public criticism. They ought to know that those who cannot bear to have their actions criticised are without an important and essential qualification of a modern ruler of men. No state can be fit for free men to dwell in where either the body or the mind or both are shackled or stunted. Let the whole of India, whether under indigenous or British rule, progress towards the goal of full freedom and strength of mind and body.

The Chandernagore Volunteers.

From the echoes that reach our shores, of the discussions and dissensions in the press, platform and parliament of Great Britain regarding the further measures of compulsion which may or may not be needed to get more recruits for the British army, it is clear that England wants more soldiers. We have not heard of any such discussions and dissensions in France. Yet the task which France has set herself to perform is by no means less gigantic than that which Englishmen have to face. In any case, France is certainly not more in need of soldiers than England. Yet France has appealed to her tiny Indian possessions to furnish her with soldiers. And this appeal has been made to the inhabitants of the small malaria-stricken Bengali town of Chandernagore also. Twenty volunteers have already proceeded from there to the training station, and fifteen more, it is said, will do so soon. This small number of Bengali boys and young men does not strike one as a perceptible addition to the millions of French soldiers fighting for their motherland. Why then did the French republican



STANDING—
Siddheswar Mallick, Manoranjan Das, Phanindranath Basu, Asutosh Ghosh, Ramaprasad Ghosh,
Santosh Kumar Sarker, Radha Kisore Singh, Haradhan Bakshi (Chef.)
ON CHAIRS—
Panchowri Modak, Taraprasanna Das Gupta, Narendranath Sarkar, Karunamoy Mukerji,
Amitabhabuddha Ghosh, Brahma Mohan Dutt, Bipin Chandra Ghosh.
SQUATTING—
Balai Chandra Nath, Habul Chandra Das, Pares Chandra Chakrabarti, Joytish Chandra Sirha,
Rabindranath R

government appeal to a small Bengali town whose inhabitants have been long unaccustomed to fight? It is not safe to characterise a whole nation; but from our little knowledge of French history we may venture the guess that the French are a people who can grow enthusiastic over such abstract ideas as justice, citizenship, human equality, &c. So, though France is quite sure that twenty Bengali soldiers cannot turn the tide of battle against the enemy, she may have felt that it is wrong to deprive any section of the inhabitants of a state of military training, as that makes them unable to take part in the defence of their hearths and homes and thus robs them of their self-respect and dehumanises them. Frenchmen may also have felt a desire indirectly to urge their allies the English

to avail themselves of the full strength of the British Empire and thus close the war as early as practicable. Among the inhabitants of the British Empire Bengalis are considered by Englishmen the least fit for military life, whether rightly or wrongly we do not care to discuss. And it is these Bengalis whom France has enlisted in her army. What is more, the conditions of their recruitment as to pay, etc., are exactly the same as those of Frenchmen on active military service. Thus France seems to be saying to England: "Why can't you bring to the French soil more soldiers from your vast Empire, to help us to drive away the German invaders? You see I have made soldiers of even Bengalis who are reputed to be the least martial of the races inhabiting your Empire and given them the same pay and privileges as my

own sons. Why can't you do the same, and thus give me all the help which you are capable of, and give it, too, as early as may be practicable?"

But the English are a practical people. Their boast is that they are not swayed by abstract political or other doctrines. They deal with the needs of the occasion as they arise. They do not make preparations beforehand, but nevertheless they are proud that they blunder through every difficulty and come out successful and victorious in the end. Whether this has been invariably the case in their history we have no time now to examine, but it is just possible that they may not in future be as lucky as they believe themselves to have been in the past.

There may be another reason why England has been behaving differently from France in the matter of enlisting non-white soldiers, in spite of the fact that England feels the need of men more sorely than France. Probably Frenchmen are more democratic than the imperialistic Englishmen. The former are less influenced by color-prejudice than the latter. Both in theory and in practice Frenchmen are greater believers in human equality than Englishmen.

Most probably, too, Englishmen are afraid of Bengali recruits spreading the infection of sedition in the army. But why are not Frenchmen similarly suspicious? The Bengalis of Chandernagore are practically subject to France just as other Bengalis are practically subjects of England. Or do the Chandernagore Bengalis feel that they are not subjects but citizens of the French Republic? If so, why have not Englishmen been able to make the other Bengalis feel that they are not subjects but citizens of the British Empire?

And supposing a few dozen Bengali or a few hundreds tried to make other Indian soldiers in the battle-field disaffected, they would certainly fail miserably and would be shot down for their pains. But this is an unnecessary supposition. Bengalis have the reputation of being at least intelligent. They are not likely to behave like fools, in any considerable number. Sepoys belonging to the "fighting races" of India have been known to mutiny, to preach disloyalty in the army, and to conspire to rise in rebellion. They have been hanged for these offences. But

for this reason, has the British Government stopped recruiting from the races, tribes or sects to which the offenders belonged? Why then shut the gates of the army against the Bengalis on the supposition that they may offend in a particular way, when the brethren of those who have *actually* so offended are not similarly excluded?

Englishmen think or pretend to think that Bengalis can by no possibility fight. We will not requisition the past history of Bengal to prove that there may be such a possibility. It need only be said that there is no harm in giving them a chance. Even among martial races some soldiers prove unfit for their work. In the present war, we have read of some German soldiers being driven to fight by being prodded on with bayonets by their braver comrades. Numbers of them, on attempting to flee, have been reported to have been mown down with artillery by their comrades. In spite of these reported cases of cowardice, the German army is still fighting. It is just possible, that of the army of no nation can it be said that every soldier in it is without exception a hero.

Nevertheless, Bengalis need not beg to be allowed to fight. To be able to fight is considered manly. To beg is unmanly. Unmanliness cannot lead to manliness. Should the need arise, England would recruit soldiers from every province of India. And then Englishmen would not be wanting who would be astonished at the generosity of their nation in accepting the services of even Bengalis.

The Chandernagore lads are not going to the front for pay. Nor are they going to fight in defence of their hearths and homes, as Frenchmen are doing; for there is little chance of Germany ever invading Chandernagore. What for are they, then, going a-soldiering? Is it merely the spirit of adventure that moves them? Or are they seeking the hauble glory at the cannon's mouth? Or is it to show that neither race nor habitat is a disqualification for the discharge of military or other kinds of duties?

Racial and Individual Inferiority.

No race can be said to be inherently inferior. Of no race can it be said that it can never hope to come up to the level of the superior races. But, leaving aside

the question of their possibility, so far as the actual condition of the various races of mankind is concerned, it is evident, and therefore need not be disputed, that some races are superior and some inferior. But to admit this is not to admit that every member of the inferior race is inferior to every member of the superior race, or, that no member of an inferior race may be equal to the best specimens of the superior race. As the *Christian Register* of Boston says:

The chief fallacy of those who urge the inferiority of a race as a reason for denying their members opportunity of advancement is that because a race as a whole is inferior every member of the race is therefore inferior. The only thing that can reasonably be said is that a larger proportion in the case of the superior race will be responsive to progress than in the case of the other race. A prison superintendent said to a preacher, "The main difference between your congregation here and your congregation at home is that there will be fewer here than there who will appreciate what you say, but those few will be just as worth your best as any one else." Nothing said of a class can be individualized and accepted with reference to every member of the class. Neither the worth of the best nor the physiological limitations of the lowest can be generalized from in every case.

The Savage our mental equal.

Some civilized races despise not only savages but look upon even other civilized and semi-civilized races as intellectually inferior to themselves. But that is most probably an arrogant prejudice. In his "History of Fiji," published in *The Popular Science Monthly* Dr. Alfred Goldsborough Mayer, of the Carnegie Institution, tells us that the difference between the savage and the civilized man is not one of mental capacity, but rather of the objects upon which that capacity is exerted. "One may display as much intelligence," says the Doctor, "in tracking a kangaroo through the bush as in solving a problem in Algebra."

"Indeed the lowest human beings are not in the far-off wilds of Africa, Australia, or New Guinea, but among the degenerates of our own great cities. Nor are there any characteristics of the savage, be he ever so low, which are not retained in an appreciable degree by the most cultured among us."

Where then is the difference between the savage and the civilized man?

"Yet in one important respect the savage of to day appears to differ from civilized man. Civilized races are progressive and their systems of thought and life are changing, but the savage prefers to remain fixt in the culture of a long-past age, which, conserved by the inertia of custom and sanctified by religion, holds him helpless in its inexorable grasp. Im-

agination rules the world, and the world to the savage is dominated by a night-mare of tradition....

"Even with us every effort of progress engenders a counteracting force in the community....Whether the race be savage or civilized depends chiefly upon the nature of the customs that are handed down as patterns upon which to mold life and thought. The more ancient the triumph of the conservatives, the more primitive the culture which is conserved, and the more primitive the culture which is conserved, and the more likely is it to be crude and barbarous....

"Among all races religion is the most potent power to maintain tradition, and for the savage religion enters into every act and thought...Yet it is probable that no savage has ever been more under the dominion of a world of omens and portents than was Louis XI, and even to-day the breaking of a mirror, or the number thirteen, or a stumble while crossing a threshold remains of significance to many of us. All matters of sentiment and credulity are closely wrapt up in this entanglement of superstition; it is hard to divorce ourselves from the idea that moving machines have life and disposition."

Dr. Mayer finds on analysis that "lack of sympathy for the savage and ignorance of his tradition blind our judgment and make us regard his actions in a different light from our own. The cleverness of the Yankee who sold wooden nutmegs is quite amusing, but the Japanese who counterfeits an American trade-mark is criminal. In general, white races show contempt for all that is alien—a characteristic that has enabled us to mold other races to a certain degree and has deceived us into a belief that we have 'civilized' them."

Dr. Mayer proceeds to observe:

"The savage may know nothing of our classics, and little of that which we call science, yet go with him into the deep woods and his knowledge of the uses of every plant and tree and rock around him and his acquaintance with the habits of the animals are a subject for constant wonder to his civilized companion. In other words, his knowledge differs from ours in kind rather than in breadth or depth. His children are carefully and laboriously trained in the arts of war and the chase, and above all in the complex ceremonial of the manners of the tribe, and few among us can excel in memory the priests of old Samoa, who could sing of the ancestors of Malietoa, missing never a name among the hundreds back to the far-off god Savea, whence this kingly race came down.

"One may display as much intelligence in tracking a kangaroo through the Australian bush as in solving a problem in Algebra, and among ourselves it is often a matter of surprise to discover that men laboring in our factories are often as gifted as are the leaders of abstract thought within our universities. In fact, the more we know of any class or race of men the deeper our sympathy, the less our antagonism, and the higher our respect for their endeavors. When we say we 'can not understand' the Japanese, we signify that we have not taken the trouble to study their tradition.

"It is a common belief that the savage is more cruel than we, and indeed we commonly think of him as enraged and of ourselves in passive mood. Child

like he surely is, and his cruelties when incensed are as inexcusable as the destruction of Louvain or the firing of soldiers from the guns, but are they more shocking than the lynching or burning of negroes at the stake, events so common in America that even the sensational newspapers regard them as subjects of minor interest?

"Clearly, despite our mighty institutions of freedom, efficient systems of public education, and the devotion of thousands of our leaders to ideals of highest culture, there remain savages among us. Mere centuries of civilisation combat the cons of the brute. Within each and every one of us, suppress perhaps but always seeking to stalk forth, there lurk the dark lusts of the animal, the haunting spirit of gorilla ancestry. The foundations of our whole temple of culture are sunken deep in the mire of barbarism. It is this fundamental fact which deceives us into the impression that a few decades of contact with men of our own race will suffice to civilize the savage. True they soon learn to simulate the manners and customs of their masters, but the imitation is a hollow counterfeit, no more indicative of enlightenment than is the good behaviour of caged convicts a guarantee of high-mindedness. To achieve civilization, a race must conquer itself, each individual must master the savage within him. Cultured man has never yet civilized a primitive race. Under our domination the savage dies, or becomes a parasite or peon."

"Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur."

Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur, of whom we reproduce in this member a fine portrait from an old painting, was a contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab. The Raja's story is told below.

Raja Bir Singh, Raja of Nurpur, was a man of great fortitude and strong will. Failing to comply with an order of Ranjit Singh he fell a victim to the latter's vengeance. In 1815 he was driven out of Nurpur and was forced to seek shelter in Chamba, where he was joined by many of his own men. With these men he made an effort to regain his patrimony but failed. He left the hills and coming down to Ludhiana he met Shah Shuja of Kabul and tried to plot with him against Ranjit Singh without any success. In 1826 he made another vigorous effort for his lost kingdom. He was again beaten and he again went to Chamba to seek the protection of his brother-in-law Charat Singh, the ruler of Chamba. But he was handed over to Ranjit Singh by the latter. Bir Singh was kept a prisoner for seven years, at the end of which he was released, but he did not accept the *jagir* offered by Ranjit Singh. In 1836 Bir Singh made a most determined attempt to assert his right to the Nurpur state. This time he met with success, although he did not survive to see his ultimate victory. He died in 1840

before the walls of his own fort at Nurpur after he had overthrown his enemies. He was a true hero, though little known to fame.

U. S. A. Asiatic Exclusion Legislation.

Reuter has cabled that the "Times's" Washington correspondent states that in view of the passing by the House of Representatives and the likelihood of the Senate's passing the Bill excluding Asiatics and legalising the agreement of 1903, restricting the entry of the Japanese, the Japanese Ambassador told President Wilson that Tokio considers such legislation superfluous as Japan has loyally observed the agreement. The President is understood to have promised to try to have the proposed law altered. This does not mean that he intends to try to secure for the Japanese the privilege of free entry; still less naturalisation.

On a previous occasion when this piece of legislation was on the anvil, Dr. Sudhindra Bose and other Hindus in America tried to have the help of the British Ambassador in the U.S.A. to prevent the exclusion of the natives of India, or, at any rate, to obtain some consideration for them. But that official displayed utter apathy in the matter. We cannot expect any consideration now.

So long as the Indian continues to be "nobody" at home, he cannot expect to be treated abroad as a man and a brother. And it is also essentially necessary that we should learn to cordially fraternize with Indians of all castes and sects, and with foreigners.

Chinese Affairs.

On Yuan-Shih-Kai proposing to convert the Chinese republic into a monarchy with himself crowned as Emperor, some provinces declared independence and there was rebellion. Government troops are still fighting the rebels. In the meantime a cabinet is being formed, to which Yuan-Shih-Kai has promised to entrust all the powers which such bodies have in other democracies. It is said that the idea of reversion to the monarchical system has been definitely given up.

For the peaceful progress not only of China but of the whole of Asia, it is imperatively necessary that China should be strong and progressive. But the interests of the Western powers and of Japan would

seem to require a different state of things. The strongest European powers are now too busy with the war to think of anything else. Japan is determined to make hay while the sun shines; and she wishes to make hay not only commercially and industrially but politically, too. The United States of America is opposed to Japan becoming practically the overlord of China.

U. S. A., Japan and China.

On the 28th of January this year Senator Sherman introduced a resolution in the U. S. A. Senate on the "Open Door in China", which, on his request, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It ran as follows:—

"Whereas Japan has renewed its demands upon China by presenting certain imperative requests which are similar to those presented about one year ago, such requests being of that character that may result in the exercise by Japan of sovereignty over and in the territory of the Chinese Empire, and it may be an assumption of governmental jurisdiction exclusive in its right and including certain powers embraced in such demands as will result in the sole right to Japan of trade, navigation, and commerce, which will close a portion of the Chinese territory and some of the Chinese ports to other nations; and

"Whereas since 1899 the United States of America has proclaimed, and jointly with certain European Powers has established, what is commonly called the open door in China through diplomatic means and by treaty, some of such Powers so acquiescing in or declaring of such open door policy are now at war; and

"Whereas such open door policy in China is designed to protect the commercial rights of American citizens as well as the citizens or subjects of the Governments of Europe, all of which are threatened to be impaired or destroyed by the demands made by the Government of Japan upon China, or the equal treatment of such citizens or subjects may be thereby impaired or destroyed: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the open door in China as heretofore declared, interpreted, and applied in behalf of the citizens of this country as well as the citizens or subjects of other countries so concerned is a necessary and vital element in the foreign trade of the United States; that the Senate looks with profound concern upon such demands of the Japanese Government, and will regard such pressure upon China in insisting upon such demands, if granted, as a restrictive act upon the commercial rights of the people of the United States and their Government, and to be in contravention of the assent of the Japanese Imperial Government expressed December 26, 1899; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Executive, through its Department of State, be, and is hereby requested, to communicate through proper diplomatic channels the protest of the Senate and its declaration that it cannot look with indifference upon the threatened abridgment of the rights of the American people and Europeans concerned to an equality of treatment in trade, navigation, and commerce in China."

There is a reference in the first para-

graph quoted above to some imperative requests made last year. They are the following demands which Japan made in March, 1915:

(1) Mining rights in Fengtien (Mukden) province; (2) preferential rights in respect of railway construction in Southern Manchuria; (3) the transference of the administration of the Kirin-Changchun Railway to the Japanese for 91 years; (4) the employment of Japanese Police experts in Southern Manchuria, Eastern and Inner Mongolia, and also, if necessary, Japanese military, political, and financial advisers for Southern Manchuria. (5) China to undertake not to pledge the duties and taxes of Southern Manchuria as security for foreign loans, and, if necessary, Japanese loans shall be negotiated on the provincial requirements of Fengtien. (6) China to accept the request for freedom for Japanese to reside, own land, and trade freely in the interior of Southern Manchuria.

Indians ought to keep themselves well posted in the affairs of China and the relations of China and Japan; as changes in those countries and their mutual relations are bound to exert an important influence on the economic and political condition of India. So far as we are concerned, the most important foreign event may not happen in Europe but in Asia.

Communal Representation in the U. P.

The subject of representation is not simple in any country. It is very difficult to get all sections of the people duly represented in representative bodies. The task becomes comparatively simple when people do not import their sectarian or other non-civic and non-political differences into legislative or municipal affairs. This can happen only when political enthusiasm, national feeling, or public spirit has been duly developed in a country. The sectional, sectarian or communal representation is naturally not demanded by any class; for all classes perceive that the national, political or civic interests of all classes are the same. But where civic ideas are imperfectly developed, where people do not spontaneously recognise that in the conservancy arrangements, or roads, or lighting or drains of a city, there cannot be any peculiarly Musalman or Hindu or Christian characteristics or interests, the question of sectarian or communal representation necessarily arises. Again, where men are more acutely conscious of their sectarian differences than of their common citizenship, people would be apt more to consider how many members of a representative body belonged to this sect and how many to that, than to take into consideration

the fitness, ability and dutifulness of the members.

Again, where class-consciousness, sect-consciousness or race-consciousness overpowers the sense of common citizenship, the rights, interests and convenience of a class may receive greater consideration than those of others. For instance, in Calcutta the parts of the town occupied by Europeans are better looked after than other parts, the lane where a municipal commissioner resides is kept cleaner than some other lanes. For this reason, in some places, if the majority of the municipal commissioners are Hindu, the Musalman quarters of the town may be neglected and in some other places, where the majority of the municipal commissioners are Musalmans, the Hindu quarters may not receive proper attention. Caste bias may produce similar results.

Not in India alone but all over the world, civic position and authority are valued by some persons not so much for the opportunities of serving their fellow-citizens which they bring as for the "honour" which they secure. It is to be regretted that this is not the worst motive which prompts some persons to seek civic position. In all countries in the world such position is used by some men for illicit gain or advantage. So that it is easy to see that there may be a scramble between such persons belonging to different sects for such "honours" and advantage.

Under the circumstances, whilst the ideal of citizenship demands the elimination of all sectarian ideas, considerations and bias from matters civic and political, and whilst the best legislators and municipal representatives in this and other lands come up to this ideal, it can by no means be said dogmatically that there can be no reason, good, indifferent or bad, for demanding communal or sectarian representation. And when we see plainly that the generality of Musalmans do not think that Hindus can properly voice their opinions, demands and grievances, it is useless to argue that they ought to have faith in the Hindus, and the Hindus ought to have faith in the Musalmans.

When demands for sectional representation do arise in a country, the only lasting and desirable remedy is not communal representation, but the awakening of a sense of civic duty and of com-

mon citizenship, so that, whatever the religion, race, or caste of the representatives, they may be eager and able to serve all classes and sections of the community. Sectarian or communal representation retards the growth of a common civic consciousness, and stands in the way of national solidarity. At the same time if circumstances prevent some classes from obtaining opportunities to do public duties and thus stimulate their own public spirit, it may be necessary, as a transitional measure, to make special arrangements for the representation of these classes. Again, if it is found that classes like those which are termed depressed or untouchable do require special help and treatment and there are no representatives to persistently fight for their rights, it is undoubtedly necessary to grant communal representation to them. To be oblivious of the interests and special requirements of certain classes and yet to declaim against communal representation as being destructive of national solidarity, is simply absurd.

There may be other causes which may induce us to acquiesce in sectional representation as a temporary arrangement. But under no circumstances can we agree or reconcile ourselves to such an arrangement as a permanent feature of our civic or political life. Nor can we consent to any section of the community getting more than its due share of representation. To give more than its due share to one class, to any extent, is to deprive other classes of their just share to the same extent. It is not a question of mere abstract justice. The classes deprived of their just share feel humiliated and harbour a feeling of resentment. Those who are favored and those who are wronged find it difficult to work together for a common object, viz., the public good. Hence those in India who want more representation than they are entitled to in proportion either to their numbers or to the total amount of taxes they contribute, play into the hands of the enemies of a Indian national solidarity,—unconsciously it may be.

Mr. Hugh Chisholm, M.A., editor of the current (11th) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, writes:—

While under majority rule, as Mr. Augustine Birrell once remarked, "minorities must suffer"—even large minorities—it is on the other hand not likely to conduce to the popularity of representative govern-

ment that minorities should obtain too great a share of political power.

Of many, if not most, British officials in India it may be said without injustice that they are opposed to representative government in India; and, therefore, they may consider it advantageous that representative institutions should become unpopular owing to minorities obtaining too great a share of power. This does not seem incredible when it is remembered that in Sleeman's days the best officials, including Sleeman himself,* considered even religious riots between Hindus and Musalmans of advantage to the third party!

If Hindus or other sections of the people become jealous of the Musalmans, because of the favour shown to them, if mutual feelings of amity and cordiality are destroyed and bitterness springs up in their place, it is the people of India who will suffer, not the birds of passage. So while saying calmly whatever may be reasonably urged for or against sectional representation, all parties should keep their feelings perfectly under control.

The U. P. Hindu Representation on the Municipalities Bill.

The representation in relation to the United Provinces Municipalities Bill which, in accordance with a resolution passed by a public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Allahabad held last month, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, president of the meeting, has submitted to the Viceroy, is a reasoned and soberly worded document. It ought to receive the most serious consideration at the hands of His Excellency. The clause in the U. P. Bill which gives excessive representation to the Muhammadans is not a mere provincial matter; if allowed to stand, it is sure to be taken as a precedent for the insertion of similar clauses in the Municipal Acts of the other provinces.

The representation objects not only to the clause itself but also to the manner in which it was carried. It was sprung as a surprise on the public, who got no time to discuss so important and controversial a matter, and the Lieutenant Governor² suspended the rules of business in order that it might be passed. We have no space to reproduce here in full all the facts and strong arguments which the

representation contains, but we must not refrain from quoting some passages. The petitioners say:—

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in March, 1914, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, then a member of the Government of India and now Lieutenant Governor of Burma, stated in reply to a question put by a non-official member that the subject of separate Mahomedan representation in district and municipal boards was still under the consideration of the Government of India. The result of such consideration has not yet been made known to the public. Secondly, the Government of India's Resolution on Local Self-Government published last year made no reference to the subject. Thirdly, your Excellency's petitioners would invite particular attention to the statement made by the Chief Secretary to the local Government on this subject in reply to a question put by a Mahomedan member at the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on the 5th October, 1915, i.e., two and a half months after the introduction of the Bill,—“The Government would prefer to answer the question after the conclusion of peace.” Fourthly, it was the repeatedly avowed intention of your Excellency's noble predecessor that no legislation of a controversial character should be proceeded with for the duration of the war, and the public in these provinces had good reason to believe that the sanction of the Governor-General in Council would not be given to the further progress of the legislation under notice with the aforesaid controversial matter inserted by the select committee. This belief was strengthened by the circumstance that the Bill was not taken up at the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on February 13, 1916, as had been announced, nor even at the next following meeting held on March 13, for the reason that the sanction of the Government of India had not been received. Fifthly, there was the assurance conveyed in the select committee's report that the public should be afforded ‘full opportunity’ to represent their views before the matter was decided. If it had not been for these several circumstances there would have been, your Excellency's petitioners know, an organized public demand for the publication of proposals and the postponement of action.

The petitioners point out in the following passage how the clause does “serious injustice to his Majesty's loyal Hindu subjects”:—

Your Excellency's petitioners beg to represent that the concession made to the Musalman population of the municipalities in these provinces by the clause inserted in the Bill in the circumstances narrated above, is so excessive as to constitute a serious injustice to his Majesty's loyal Hindu subjects. It does not take account of the amount contributed in taxes to the municipal revenue respectively by Moslems and by non-Moslems. There is no ‘flexibility’ about it and it ignores ‘the varying conditions of different cities’, which the select committee rightly regarded as ‘essential’. It assumes as the basis of calculation neither the percentage of the Moslem population in each municipality for the purpose of determining the amount of representation that might be due to it in that particular town, nor the provincial average of the Moslem population which is 14 per cent., but the provincial urban average of 38.75 per cent., which is an altogether unjustifiable average to

* See the article on his book in the present number.

take, as Moslem representation on district boards is not regulated by the provincial rural average of Moslem population, which is less than 14 per cent. The provincial urban average of Musalman population constitutes a minority so strong that it does not seem to require for its protection representation in excess of its proportion. But the clause gives to the Mahomedans an excessive number of seats in a large number of municipal boards. Nor is this all. In towns where the Mahomedans form less than 25 per cent. of the population they are to get 30 per cent. more seats than their proportion to the total population is held to entitle them to. But where they form over 25 per cent. of the population but under 38.75 per cent., which is assumed as the basis, they are to get in excess of what is regarded as their due, as many seats as may be required to level them up to the provincial urban average mentioned above. The unjustifiable anomaly of this will, your Excellency's petitioners venture to hope, become apparent from the following illustration. In a town where the Mahomedans form 10 per cent. of the population they will, for the purposes of this electoral arrangement, be treated as if they were 13 per cent.; whereas in a town where they form 26 per cent. of the population they will get the much greater advantage of being assumed to be 38.75 per cent. In other words, the advantage given to a strong minority is greater than what has been considered to be sufficient for a minority where it is really weak. Your Excellency's petitioners always understood that a strong minority did not stand in need of disproportionate and excessive representation. This principle is so flagrantly reversed by the clause inserted in the United Provinces Municipalities Bill at the last moment and without notice either to the public or to a fairly large number of members of the Council, and 'the varying conditions of different cities' have been so completely ignored, that the result is nothing but a mass of anomalies and inequalities. Mahomedans forming 24 per cent. of the population of a town will get a representation of 24 per cent. *plus* three-tenths of that, while in another town where they may be only 2 per cent. more, *i. e.*, 26 per cent., they will receive the advantage of a weightage of almost 50 per cent. Besides, one-fifth of the whole board being left to be nominated, the effect of the excessive representation granted to the Mahomedan minority will be that the nominated members and the Moslem members will be in a position of considerable advantage over the representatives of the majority of the population. Your Excellency's petitioners respectfully hope that your Excellency will be pleased to regard such an arrangement as standing self-condemned and impossible of acceptance. Your Excellency's noble predecessor was pleased to say in reply to an address of the Bombay Presidency Moslem League, that 'special privileges to one class are synonymous with corresponding disabilities to others.' And obviously, excess of representation can only be given to Mahomedans by taking away something of what is due to Hindus, leaving to the latter less than their fair share of representation. It is not known to your Excellency's petitioners in what manner the interests of the adherents of one religion clash with interests of others in municipal affairs, which are wholly secular, nor are they aware that in any state or kingdom in or out of India, a special legislative provision exists such as is now inserted in their Municipalities Bill, to give disproportionate and excessive representation to a minority, strong or weak, through a separate electorate based on religion.

Nor is it in Municipalities alone that the Hindus will be placed at a serious disadvantage by the provisions of this clause. It will seriously and unjustly impair their influence in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, as the following passage very clearly shows:—

Your Excellency's petitioners further submit that the grant of special representation to Mahomedans on municipal boards through separate electorates has a very prejudicial effect on the representation of the Hindu community in the Provincial as well as the Imperial Legislative Council. District and municipal boards are the only electorates from which middle-class Hindus can be returned to the Provincial Legislative Council, while the non-official members of the latter form the only electorate from which they can get admission into your Excellency's Legislative Council. No qualifications are prescribed in the case of voters for members of district boards, the list of voters being drawn by the magistrate and collector at his discretion. The boards have always been dominated by the zemindar class and their strength has been largely increased from the 1st April of this year. Further the Mahomedan community has been enjoying much more than its due share of representation on those boards. And if the present Municipalities Bill should receive your Excellency's assent, the Mahomedan community will be over-represented on the municipal boards as well. It enjoys special representation on the Provincial as well as the Imperial Legislative Council through separate electorates, four out of twenty-one elective seats on the former, or, say, one in five, being so reserved for it, although the number of Mahomedans in these provinces is only one in seven. Besides, members of that community are further allowed to participate both as voters and candidates in the district and municipal boards as well as landholders' and University electorates for the Provincial Council. Similarly, while Mahomedans return one and two representatives of their own to the Imperial Council at alternate elections through their separate electorates, they are allowed to participate both as voters and candidates in the election to the Imperial Council held by the non-official members of the Provincial Council. And at almost all the elections held until now they have succeeded in carrying one or more seats of the general electorates. In addition, a number of them has also been always nominated by the head of the local Government. Thus, middle-class Hindus are already at a serious disadvantage, being almost wholly dependent on the votes of Hindu and Mahomedan landholders, who have their own separate electorates, in the case of district boards, and being also dependent on Mahomedan members of municipal boards. The increase in the strength of the former, which has already been effected, has made the position more difficult for them in respect of the district boards, and if the Municipalities Bill should receive your Excellency's assent their position of dependence will become almost one of helplessness. The Hindu feeling in regard to the utterly one-sided character of the present Legislative Councils Regulations has been one of intense and widespread dissatisfaction during the six and half years they have been in force and it cannot but become acuter still if, without a concurrent revision of those Regulations and a reform in the constitution of district boards, the provision made in the Municipalities Bill for

the separate and excessive representation of Mahomedans should become law and be given effect to.

G. Subramania Iyer.

For long years Mr. G. Subramania Iyer had been suffering from a cruel incurable disease. Death has at last come to him as a friend and put an end to his sufferings.

He was one of the promoters and supporters of the Congress movement from its very beginning. Journalism was a power in his hands. He wrote in a clear and vigorous style and with full information. His writings were remarkable for the mastery of facts and figures as well as of sound principles which they displayed. He was equally at home in politics and economics. Many there are who criticize the officials but are themselves slaves to injurious customs. Subramania Iyer had the courage of his convictions in matters social as well as political. He got his widowed daughter re-married and was subjected to social persecution for this act of social justice and fatherly affection.

The industrial advancement of the country also engaged his attention. He was one of the founders of the National Fund and Industrial Association, which has some good work to its credit.

He was one of the too few very able journalists which India can boast of. He will be remembered with respect, gratitude and admiration as the editor of *The Hindu* and of the *Swadesa-Mitran*. Some able Indian journalists now living and doing their work with credit owe not a little of their training in journalism to the departed veteran of Madras. The present writer pays his personal tribute of respect to the memory of G. Subramania Iyer for a word of appreciation which that great journalist uttered in connection with some educational notes contributed to the *Kayastha Samachar* of Allahabad.

Eurasian Regiments.

It is good that it has been recognized that birth and breeding and permanent habitation in India do not disqualify men for admission to the army on a footing of equality with British soldiers. For that is what the formation of Eurasian regiments as a part of the British army in India means. But the other side of the shield is not bright. For, if a Eurasian of Calcutta, whose family has been here for generations, can be considered the equal of

a British soldier and entitled to a commission too, why is not a Gurkha, a Garhwali, a Sikh, a Pathan, a Dogra, or a Marhatta to be considered inferior? Neither in physique, nor in valour, nor in intelligence, nor in faithful service, nor in the power and inspiration of their past history, are they inferior to the Eurasian, but are on the contrary vastly superior to him. The English garb and English speech, and, in some cases, a homœopathic dose of British blood, cannot make them better soldiers than the flower of the Indian army. We say, "in some cases," for there are many Eurasians who cannot claim British or even European ancestry either on the father's or on the mother's side.

It may be argued that as the Eurasians owe their existence to British rule, they cannot by any means become disloyal, whereas there is such a possibility in the case of the most faithful "fighting races" in India. But in the face of the prosecution and punishment of Anglo-Indians for supplying dacoits, anarchists and other lawless persons with arms, can such an assertion be made? Supposing, however, that the Eurasian is the beau ideal of loyalty, is it statesmanlike to make an invidious distinction in his favour which cannot but be construed as an injury and an insult to every class of Indians of unmixed Asiatic blood inhabiting this vast country? Can the feeling of gratified ambition of a few hundreds or thousands of Eurasians outweigh the feeling of dissatisfaction of millions of Indians? Or can the former be regarded as a bulwark against the latter? Not that this last question arises out of any contingency within the range of probability. But we put it, because it is the part of wise statesmanship to take into account even possibilities.

The lessons of the admission of Bengali soldiers into the French army on a footing of equality with French soldiers, and of the admission of Eurasian soldiers into the British army on a footing of equality with British soldiers and of superiority to the bravest Indian soldiers cannot but sink deep into the minds of Indians of all races, castes and creeds.

"The false prophet."

"Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." Bigotry is odious because it is one of the festering forms which religion

assumes. In Elphinstone's History of India, ninth edition, p. 293, we find the following sentence :

"Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race."

The reference is to Muhammad. It is useless to point out to bigots that it is not very probable that a *false* prophet can for long ages powerfully influence a vast portion of the human race.

The book in which the passage quoted above occurs is and long has been a textbook prescribed for the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University. Either the objectionable words should be omitted or the book should cease to be prescribed by any Indian University.

Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailas.

The eight or nine chapters in Sven Hedin's 'Trans-Himalaya' which describe his travels in and around the sacred regions of which the Manasarowar and the Kailas are the dominating features, are not only the most interesting to the Hindu reader, but they are also the most delightfully written pages of the book. Sven Hedin simply loses himself in raptures in describing 'the incomparable beauties of the scene,' 'this gem of a lake,' where he passed a memorable month of his life. There are eight monasteries on the banks of the lake, all of them 'handsome, interesting, and well-kept.' 'All is so indescribably quiet ; so ethereal, transparent, and transitory, so subtle and sensitive, that I scarcely dare breathe.' Sven Hedin had a midnight sail on the Manasarowar in the boat which he carried with him. 'I enjoyed the voyage to the full, for nothing I remember in my long wanderings in Asia can compare with the overpowering beauty of this nocturnal sail.'

"Manasarowar is the holiest and most famous of all the lakes of the world, the goal of the pilgrimage of innumerable pious Hindus, a lake celebrated in the most ancient religious hymns and songs, and in its clear waters the ashes of Hindus find a grave as desirable and honoured as in the turbid waters of the Ganges. During my stay in India I received letters from Hindus in which they asked me to explore the revered lake and the holy mountain Kailas, which lifts its summit in the north under a cupola of eternal snow, where Siva, one of the Indian Trinity, dwells in his paradise among a host of other deities.....the lake is sacred in the eyes of the Lamaists also, who call it Tso-movang or Tso-riapoche, the Holy Lake. How can Manasarowar and Kailas be the objects of divine honours from two religions so different as Hinduism and Lamaism unless it is that this overpowering

beauty has appealed to and deeply impressed the human mind, and that they seem to belong rather to heaven than to Earth ? Even the first view from the hills on the shore caused us to burst into tears of joy. at the wonderful, magnificent landscape and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake, somewhat narrower in the south than in the north, and with a diameter of about 15½ miles, lies like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and most famous mountain giants of the world, the Kailas in the north and Gurla Mandatta in the south, and between huge ranges, above which the two mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow. Yes, already I felt the strong fascination which held me fettered to the banks of the Manasarowar....." 'Gurla is a splendid background to the holy lake--no artist in the world could conceive anything more magnificent and interesting' 'The monks of the monastery here do not depend for water on the brooks, but drink the holy water of the lake, which has in reality the taste of the purest, most wholesome spring water. Its crystal purity and dark greenish blue colour are as beautiful as the flavour, and to pilgrims from a distance the water of Manasarowar is preferable to sparkling champagne.' 'I could live and die on this heavenly lake without ever growing weary of the wonderful spectacle always presenting fresh surprises.'

Sven Hedin met about thirty Hindu pilgrims at Manasarowar, who performed "all kinds of absurd, complicated manipulations which I remember seeing at the ghats of Benares," and after bathing in the lake, which was more than 250 ft. deep, they filled small metal bottles with holy water to carry back with them.

"Did fate compel me to pass my life in a monastery in Tibet, I would without hesitation choose Gossulgumpa." "No language on Earth contains words forcible enough to describe the view from it over the lake."

"It is singular that the Hindu pilgrims seem to hold the Lamaistic monasteries in veneration ; at least I saw them bow before the Lamaistic gods in Tugugompa, and place a handful of rice in the bowl which a monk held out to them."

"Wonderful, attractive, enchanting lake' Theme of story and legend, playground of storms and changes of colour, apple of the eye of gods and men, goal of weary, yearning pilgrims, holiest of the holiest of all the lakes of the world, art thou, Tso-movang [or Tso-riapoche, Tibetan for 'Holy Lake'], lake of all lakes. Navel of old Asia, where four of the most famous rivers of the world, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Ganges, rise among gigantic peaks, surrounded by a world of mountains, among which is Kailas the most famous in the world, for it is sacred in the eyes of hundreds of millions of Hindus, and is the centre of a wreath of monasteries where every morning blasts of conches sound out from the roofs over the lake. Axle and hub of the wheel, which is an image of life, and round which the pilgrims wonder along the way of salvation, towards the land of perfection. That is Manasarowar, the pearl of all the lakes of the world. Hoary with age when the books of the Veda were written, its blue billows have in the course of centuries seen innumerable troops of faithful Hindus and Tibetans arrive at its banks, then to drink, bathe and find

rest for their souls....Standing, up on the convent roof while silence reigns around, one fancies one hears innumerable wanderers approaching, and the echo of their stumbling feet on the holy path around the lake. And one casts a glance into the night of past centuries, which have left no trace of their aspirations and vain search after an imaginary blessedness. But Tso-mayang remains the same as it was then, and its azure blue eye sees new generations treading in the footsteps of the old. "After such an hour everything else seems commonplace."—Vol. II, Ch. XLVII.

"My wonderings round Kang-unpoche [Kailas], the "holy ice-mountain," or the "ice jewel," is one of my most memorable recollections of Tibet. . . . From the highlands of Kham in the remote east, from Naktsang and Amdo, from the unknown Bongba, which we have heard of only in vague reports, from black tents which stand like the spots of a leopard scattered among the dreary valleys of Tibet, from Ladak in the mountains of the far west, and from the Himalayan lands in the south, thousands of pilgrims come hither annually, to pace slowly and in deep meditation the 28 miles round the navel of the earth, the mountain of salvation. I saw the silent procession, the faithful bands, among which all ages and both sexes are represented, youths and maidens, strong men with wife and child, grey old men who would before their death follow in the footsteps of countless pilgrims to win a happier existence, ragged fellows who lived like parasites on the charity of the other pilgrims, scoundrels who had to do penance for a crime, robbers who had plundered peaceful travellers, chiefs, officials, herdsmen, and nomads, a varied train of shady humanity on the thorny road, which after interminable ages ends in the deep peace of Nirvana.... The stranger also approaches Kang-rinpoche with a feeling of awe. It is incomparably the most famous mountain in the world. Mount Everest and Mont Blanc cannot vie with it.... We, who in our superior wisdom smile at these exhibitions of fanaticism and self-mortification, ought to compare our own faith and convictions with theirs. The life beyond the grave is hidden from all peoples, but religious conceptions have clothed it in different forms among different peoples.... Whatever may be our own convictions, we must admire those who, however erroneous their views may be in our opinion, yet possess faith enough to remove mountains."—Vol. II, chap. LI.

Sven Hedin as Explorer.

Every page of the book reveals the strong individuality of the bold and intrepid explorer, and his insatiable ambition. Sven Hedin is a tourist with an eye for beauty in nature, a geologist, a mineralogist, a scientist with a varied knowledge of natural phenomena and the use to make of them, a photographer, an artist who can draw landscapes and human figures, a chartist and surveyor and astronomer, and a dauntless traveller who is as much at home on the snow-driven mountain peaks of the Trans-Himalaya as on the foaming waves of the storm-tossed lakes. He also possesses a working knowledge of several languages, and combines with an

iron constitution a capacity for organisation and leadership of a rare order. He felt the call of the mountains as every great explorer in those desolate and little known regions of the earth must do, and the ambition to be first in the field spurred him on when moods of despondency came over him. The spirit of every man who achieves something great in the world, must, we suppose, be cast in the same heroic mould.

"It was a bitter experience now, when we had looked down on the great unknown country crossed only by Nain Sing's route of the year 1871, to see all the grand discoveries, of which I had dreamt so long, blown away like mist. And it was especially irritating to think that others might come here later and rob me of these conquests."

But this mood of disappointment did not last long. Many a time during his awful journeys over the Roof of the World, he converted failure into success by sheer force of will, and wrested victory almost from the jaws of defeat.

"With every new pass on the watershed of the gigantic rivers of India which I have the good fortune to cross, my desire and hope became ever greater to follow its winding line westwards to regions already known, and to fill up on the map the great white blank north of the Tsangpo. I know very well that generations of explorers will be necessary to examine this mighty intricate mountain land, but my ambition will be satisfied if I succeed in making the first reconnaissance."

Passages in this strain abound, but those who would detect in them the characteristic egoistic note of the self-assertive West would do well to remember that he who, greatly daring, achieves much for the cause of science and posterity, must have a strong motive power to feed his impulse, and that motive power in the case of almost all eminent men (except perhaps the very highest) is fame, "the last infirmity of noble minds." The youth of India are once more coming to be conscious of their mighty potentialities. They are beginning to feel that what others have done, they, too, can do. The pilgrimages of ancient India may be converted into geographical expeditions. Rabindranath says truly enough in one of his immortal songs, "তোমারি পতাকা যারে দাও তারে বহিবারে দাও শক্তি"

—he whom Thou investeth with the glory of carrying Thy banner, thou also givest the power to bear it. Let our young men go forward in the confidence that the power to do great deeds will come to them if only they have the courage to undertake them.

Favoritism in Education.

In the year 1914-1915 there were in the Bengal Presidency 17,36,967 pupils in all kinds of colleges and schools. For their education Rs. 87,02,910 was spent from Provincial Revenues. In the same year there were 10,074 pupils in European schools. For them the sum of Rs. 11,85,239 was spent from Provincial Revenues. Roughly, therefore, Government spent Rs. 5 per head for the Indian pupils and Rs. 118 per head for the European pupils. As Europeans and Anglo-Indians do not pay taxes at a rate 24 times the rate at which Indians pay, as they pay at exactly the same rates at which Indians pay, the provincial contribution towards their education should not be so high. They get from the Provincial Revenues a total amount which is about one-eighth of what Indian pupils get. But the Europeans and Anglo-Indians do not in the aggregate contribute to the public treasury anything like one-eighth of what the Indians contribute. Nor are the Europeans and Anglo-Indians backward classes in the sense in which the aborigines and the "depressed" and "untouchable" classes are backward.

In the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1914-1915, we could not find any information regarding the amount, if any, spent by Government specially for the education of the backward classes mentioned above. There are 63 pages of tables appended to the Report, of which 20 are devoted to European education. There is not a single table to give us any statistical information about the education of the backward classes. There is no member of the legislative council belonging to these classes to elicit such information by putting a question or two. In spite of what Government officials and non-official members like Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the Imperial Council in the course of the debate arising out of Mr. Dadabhoi's resolution on the subject, it cannot be denied that both Government and the educated public have been guilty of indifference to the educational requirements of the backward classes.

Indian Legislative Councils.

The candid speech made by the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar during the last budget "debate" in the Madras Legislative Council has made educated Indians

think of what the country has gained by the "reformed" and "enlarged" legislative councils instituted according to the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The honorable member observed in the course of his speech :—

My efforts have all been in vain. Anxious to learn for myself I asked that the full correspondence with the Government of India and the High Court might be placed on the table. The Government replied that they were not prepared to do so. I wrote to the Secretary to the Government to put me in possession of the statistics on which they based the statement in the G. O. that the despatch of business in the Madras High Court in the recent years compared not unfavourably with the work of the same Court in earlier years and with the works of other High Courts and Chief Courts in India. I got the curt reply : "Government regret that they cannot undertake to collect books for, and supply them to, Hon'ble Members of the Legislative Council." I must confess that this reply robbed me of my breath.

Other honorable members can relate similar experiences. The question that naturally arises is, are the councils of any use? The reply cannot be entirely in the negative. They have been of great use to the official classes in knowing what the people want. The officials have thereby been forewarned and enabled to strengthen their own position beforehand. A very small amount of real good to the people has also resulted; though it may be questioned whether the price paid for it in the shape of time and energy and dissensions between parties in the country has not been very exorbitant. But the greatest good that has resulted is the disillusionment that has come to the people and to even many of the most gullible and gushing of our leaders; though we are afraid all of them have not yet been thoroughly disillusioned. We speak of this as the greatest good, as there cannot be a greater good fortune than to be brought face to face with the reality. When we see the bare face of truth and fact, we are in a position to take steps to improve our condition and advance.

Famine in Bankura.

The declaration of famine by Government in the Bankura District has led many persons to enquire whether there is still any need of or scope for private charity. Our answer is: "There is need of far greater help than ever before. The declaration of famine by Government, itself shows that the distress has become more widespread and has intensified.

Government help does not reach all the persons or classes affected."

These are not the mere *a priori* conclusions of a Calcutta sentimentalist not conversant with the facts. They are based on knowledge derived from those who have seen the distressed villages, people and cattle.

We print below portions of a communication which we have received from a very competent and reliable observer who has seen the district quite recently:—

"We have been looking forward to the declaration of famine by Government in the hope of getting a more extensive relief to the distressed people and of getting better facilities for the supply of water for the men, cattle and the fields; and we rejoiced when Government did declare it from the 1st April, believing there would be a change in the policy and extent of relief that was being rendered. But when up to the third week of April no such change was noticed and appeals for help and extended relief operations continued to reach the private relief agencies, it was considered necessary to see things with one's own eyes.

"It had been hoped that in view of the declaration of famine by Government, it might be possible for the private agencies to withdraw in favour of Government, whose resources were practically unlimited. But that hope has not been realized. On the contrary, the demand on the help of these agencies has doubled and trebled, and at the same time the declaration of famine by Government has synchronized with a slower flow and decreasing volume of subscriptions and donations.

"What I found was this—

"(1) The distress is now worse and more acute than it has been ever before; and it will grow still worse till there is copious and widespread rainfall.

"(2) Gratuitous relief in most of the centres would have to be given to double the number receiving such help up till now, and still there would be many more left who would urgently require such help. Along with the regular ticket-holders, there are always about half as many who are extremely distressed without any means of subsistence.

"(3) Government help is, as before, given to (according to our point of view) a very limited number of people,—leaving far too many absolutely unattended to.

"(4) Government policy is to see that no one dies of starvation (a difficult thing to prove and often not practicable), and its help is limited to (a) gratuitous relief of the aged and the infirm, (b) remuneration for work to able-bodied men, (c) undertaking of public works like roads, &c. This leaves a very very large number of women and children and also of men unattended to; for a large number of them come under class (b) and practically there is no or very little work for the majority of them. This is my clear impression, though I cannot quote statistics.

"(5) I have found in almost all the villages I visited the utter desertion and desolation of homes—the men having left the district or been taken away to tea-gardens. There has been a brisk traffic in the recruitment of coolies, and I was told that about a lakh of people have already been drafted to the tea-plantations.

"(6) Government is not holding itself responsible for giving the people water facilities;—at least there is no anxiety visible in official circles regarding water scarcity. The distress due to scarcity of drinking water is most heart-rending; for I have seen and known numerous villages without any suitable well or tank for drinking water or water for cooking purposes. Result—cattle dying off, and the people do not know what a wash is, and the women have to travel for miles in the scorching sun to dig a little water out of the dry sandy beds of rivers and carry home a pitcher of water all the way to quench their thirst or cook their food.

"(7) Clothes are urgently needed. The Weavers' Relief Committee under its kind-hearted and sympathetic president Mr. Tindall, the District Judge, is rendering great help in the matter: but even that is hardly adequate.

"(8) Outbreaks of fire, which cannot be extinguished promptly for want of water, are becoming common, and the distress caused thereby requires immediate attention.

"(9) Many schools are about to be closed on account of the pupils' and peoples' inability to contribute their usual fees and subscriptions and donations.

"(10) The distress amongst the middle class is very severe, and a considerable

amount of help and tactful handling are necessary in the matter.

"For all these and many other reasons, more private agencies should, if possible, come into the field, and those who are already working should extend their spheres of work and increase the amounts of help.

"Our duty lies clear before us:

"There are thousands and thousands of our sisters and brethren almost dying for lack of water and food (which is worse than death) and dragging a most pitiable existence. Oh! those weebegone, melancholy, despondent faces! Private relief-work is work of the heart, and it is heart that is required when you deal with the distressed. Human life does not go out very easily; and I think the worst punishment ever devised for the worst criminals is to keep them just alive! How can we eat and drink and live in ease and comfort when our own people are living so miserably. There are numbers of people who will not beg if they can get any work to do. Government is willing to give them work. Private associations should try their best to get work for them from Government; they should save the schools from death; they should give the villages wells and tanks, and they cannot give too many. Famine would be impossible in Bankura if the land were properly canalized and irrigated in other ways."

Relief Work by the Bengal Social Service League.

We are informed by the enthusiastic and indefatigable honorary secretary of the Bengal Social Service League that in addition to giving gratuitous relief from its many centres in Bankura, the League has already sunk 20 wells and is investigating into the need of at least as many more; and at least two tanks are going to be re-excavated. The League has helped the sufferers from fire in five villages with cash for reconstruction of huts, and with implements such as hand-looms, fishing nets, bellows, &c.

Famine Relief by the Bankura Sammilani.

The recipients of gratuitous relief from the three centres of the Bankura Sammilani have doubled in number. The dried-up tank of which we published a photograph in our last number has been re-excavated,

and three wells are being sunk in three villages. The re-excavation of other tanks and the sinking of more wells is under consideration. The giving of help for the construction of a conduit from a small river with a perennial flow is under the consideration of the committee. Many persons whose houses were burnt down in a conflagration have been helped with cash to reconstruct their houses. Many widows and others have been helped with advances to earn their living by husking paddy. Many middle class families who are unwilling to receive gratuitous relief have been helped in a different way.

A brief interesting account of the Bankura district has been published. Requests for copies, enclosing a half-anna stamp, should be addressed to Mr. Kishidranath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Hon. Secretary, Bankura Sammilani, 20 Sankharitola East Lane, Calcutta.

Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai.

On the 8th of April Bombay lost a jewel of a woman in the person of Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai. As the *Gujarati* of that city rightly observes, "by this sad event, an irreparable loss has been caused both to our city and western India." We learn from the same paper that Mrs. Sakkai throughout her life remained a staunch Hindu and did her utmost in all possible ways to help forward the cause of ideal womanhood in India.

Mrs. Sakkai distinguished herself by her exceptionally bright intelligence even as a girl student, and though born in a rich family, shed lustre in idealizing the home life in her husband's family. She also contributed her rightful share in elevating the status of many a Gujarati lady by her life-long labours of love in their cause. Mrs. Sakkai was unfortunate in losing all her own children in their very prime of life, but the Almighty compensated her enormously by giving her the utmost satisfaction in the discharge of self-imposed duties towards her sisters. The force of her magnetic influence was felt by all persons who came in contact with her. During her short public career of thirteen years, she was instrumental in infusing a new and vigorous spirit into the lives of the women of Bombay. Similarly, her influence was perceptibly felt in many parts of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar. The services rendered by Mrs. Sakkai for the Gujarati Hindu Stree Mandal, have been recognized by the Managing Committee of the Mandal at the end of their twelve years' report in these terms:—"We have no hesitation in mentioning publicly that the success which our Mandal has hitherto achieved is practically due to Mrs. Jamnabai Nagindas Sakkai." Mrs. Sakkai's services to the Seva Sadan of Bombay were gracefully acknowledged in a resolution of condolence passed by its Committee on the 10th last,

which was as follows:—"That this meeting wishes to place on record its feeling of profound sorrow, great regret and heavy loss at the death of one of its distinguished Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Jambabai N. B. Sakkai. The deceased was connected with the Society from its very beginning upto the time of her death and during that period not only rendered disinterested, self-sacrificing, exemplary and invaluable services to the Society, but also freely helped it with her purse. Her life-long work was to relieve distress and uplift the women of India and in her they have lost a sincere friend and a staunch supporter." The Jain Community has also passed a resolution of condolence, in appreciation of Mrs. Sakkai's services in furthering the progress of education among the women of the Jain community and resolved to keep an enlargement of Mrs. Sakkai's photograph in the Jain Ladies' Institution. The deceased was connected not only with these institutions but also with several others. All these she helped both by her personal labours and the free use of her purse. Mrs. Sakkai throughout her life remained a staunch Hindoo and did her utmost in all possible ways to help forward the cause of ideal womanhood in India. Her exemplary character, her public spirit and her numerous but unostentatious deeds of charity proved a potent force in furthering the cause of the emancipation of Indian women in general and Hindoo women in particular. Mrs. Sakkai, unlike many Hindoo widows and in enlightened response to her husband's last desire, took an active part in the philanthropic and other public activities of our city. Duty was Mrs. Sakkai's watchword and she discharged the same with fearless devotion but without courting public applause. She was a familiar figure on many a platform in Bombay. By her death our city and our country has lost a remarkable Hindu lady. Her nobility was shown by her many good deeds and is further demonstrated by the way in which she has bequeathed a portion of her wealth by her last will and testament. The discriminating and broad-minded spirit in which Mrs. Sakkai has distributed a sum of Rs. 18,000 for various deserving philanthropic institutions of our country shows in an unmistakable manner Mrs. Sakkai's catholic outlook on life.

Mrs. Sakkai's noble, unselfish and strenuous life ought to be a source of inspiration to Indian women all over the

country. In Bengal and other parts of the country particularly, where Hindu orthodoxy is wrongly held to be synonymous, among other things, with the immurement of women within the four walls of the Zenana and where the Hindu ideal of womanhood is supposed to require that woman should do nothing more than cooking, sweeping, scrubbing and nursing in her home (which are certainly not derogatory), the activities of Mrs. Sakkai should be widely known. When her biography is published, we hope her relatives, friends and admirers will get it translated into Hindi and Bengali.

Raising of College Fees in the Central Provinces.

By a Government order College fees have been raised in the Central Provinces. It is well-known that owing to the steadily rising high prices of the necessities of life, the cost of living has enormously increased, without a corresponding increase in the incomes of the people. Education has not made sufficient progress in any part of India,—certainly not in the Central Provinces. Government ought to make it easier for people to educate their sons and daughters. But we find instead a contrary policy adopted. British officials in India seem to think that it is like an incontrovertible and invariable law of nature that education ought to be paid for adequately by its recipients. They willfully ignore the fact that elementary education is free in almost all civilized countries, that secondary education, too, is free in many, and that even university education is free in the State Universities of the United States of America, and probably somewhere else too.

A PRAYER

Keep me at your door ever attending to your wishes,
and let me go about in your kingdom accepting your call.
Let me not sink in the depth of languor,
Let not my life be worn to tatters by penury of waste,
Let not doubts encompass me,—the dust of distractions,
Let me not pursue many paths to gather many things,
Let me not bend my heart to the yoke of the many,
Let me hold my head high in the fearless pride of being your servant.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(20) *Publishing.*

MY writings so far had been confined to the family circle. Then was started the monthly called the *Gyanankur* (Sprouting Knowledge) and, as befitted its name it secured an embryo poet as one of its contributors. It began to publish all my poetic ravings indiscriminately, and to this day I have, in a corner of my mind, the fear that, when the day of judgment comes for me, some enthusiastic literary police-agent will institute a search in the inmost zenana of forgotten literature, regardless of the claims of privacy, and bring these out before the pitiless public gaze.

My first prose writing also saw the light in the pages of the *Gyanankur*. It was a critical essay and had a bit of a history.

A book of poems had been published entitled *Bhubanmohini Pratibha** Akshay Babu in the *Sadharani* and Bhudeb Babu in the *Education Gazette* hailed this new poet with effusive acclamation. A friend of mine, older than myself, whose friendship dates from then, would come and show me letters he had received signed *Bhubanmohini*. He was one of those whom the book had captivated and used frequently to send reverential offerings of books or cloth† to the address of the reputed authoress.

Some of these poems were so wanting in

* This would mean "the genius of Bhubanmohini" if that be taken as the author's name.

† Gifts of cloth for use as wearing apparel are customary by way of ceremonial offerings of affection, respect or seasonable greeting.

restraint both of thought and language that I could not bear the idea of their being written by a woman. The letters that were shown to me made it still less possible for me to believe in the womanliness of the writer. But my doubts did not shake my friend's devotion and he went on with the worship of his idol.

Then I launched into a criticism of the work of this writer. I let myself go, and eruditely held forth on the distinctive features of lyrics and other short poems, my great advantage being that printed matter is so unblushing, so impassively unbetraying of the writer's real attainments. My friend turned up in a great passion and hurled at me the threat that a B. A. was writing a reply. A B. A. ! I was struck speechless. I felt the same as in my younger days when my nephew Satya had shouted for a policeman. I could see the triumphal pillar of argument, erected upon my nice distinctions, crumbling before my eyes at the merciless assaults of authoritative quotations; and the door effectually barred against my ever showing my face to the reading public again. Alas, my critique, under what evil star wert thou born ! I spent day after day in the direst suspense. But, like Satya's policeman, the B. A. failed to appear.

(21) *Bhanu Singha.*

As I have said I was a keen student of the series of old Vaishnava poems which were being collected and published by Babus Akshay Sarkar and Saroda Mitter. Their language, largely mixed with Maithili, I found difficult to understand ;

but for that very reason I took all the more pains to get at their meaning. My feeling towards them was that same eager curiosity with which I regarded the ungerminated sprout within the seed, or the undiscovered mystery under the dust covering of the earth. My enthusiasm was kept up with the hope of bringing to light some unknown poetical gems as I went deeper and deeper into the unexplored darkness of this treasure-house.

While I was so engaged, the idea got hold of me of enfoldng my own writings in just such a wrapping of mystery. I had heard from Akshay Chowdhury the story of the English boy-poet Chatterton. What his poetry was like I had no idea, nor perhaps had Akshay Babu himself. Had we known, the story might have lost its charm. As it happened the melodramatic element in it fired my imagination; for had not so many been deceived by his successful imitation of the classics? And at last the unfortunate youth had died by his own hand. Leaving aside the suicide part I girded up my loins to emulate young Chatterton's exploits.

One noon the clouds had gathered thickly. Rejoicing in the grateful shade of the cloudy midday rest-hour, I lay prone on the bed in my inner room and wrote on a slate the imitation *Maithili poem Gahana kusuma kunjha majhe*. I was greatly pleased with it and lost no time in reading it out to the first one I came across; of whose understanding a word of it there happened to be not the slightest danger, and who consequently could not but gravely nod and say, "Good, very good indeed!"

To my friend mentioned a while ago I said one day: "A tattered old manuscript has been discovered while rummaging in the *Adi Brahma Samaj* library from which I have copied some poems by an old Vaishnava Poet named Bhanu Singha,* with which I read some of my imitation poems to him. He was profoundly stirred. "These could not have been written even by *Vidyapati* or *Chandidas*!" he rapturously exclaimed. "I really must have that MS. to make over to Akshay Babu for publication."

Then I showed him my manuscript book and conclusively proved that the poems could not have been written by either *Vidyapati* or *Chandidas* because the author happened to be myself. My friend's face fell as he muttered, "Yes, yes, they're not half bad."

When these Bhanu Singha poems were coming out in the *Bharati*, Dr. Nishikanta Chatterjee was in Germany. He wrote a thesis on the lyric poetry of our country comparing it with that of Europe. Bhanu Singha was given a place of honour as one of the old poets such as no modern writer could have aspired to. This was the thesis on which Nishikanta Chatterjee got his Ph. D.!

Whoever Bhanu Singha might have been, had his writings fallen into the hands of latter-day me, I swear I would not have been deceived. The language might have passed muster; for that which the old poets wrote in was not their mother tongue, but an artificial language varying in the hands of different poets. But there was nothing artificial about their sentiments. Any attempt to test Bhanu Singha's poetry by its ring would have shown up the base metal. It had none of the ravishing melody of our ancient pipes, but only the tinkle of a modern, foreign barrel organ.

(22) Patriotism.

From an outside point of view many a foreign custom would appear to have gained entry into our family, but at its heart flames a national pride which has never flickered. The genuine regard which my father had for his country never forsook him through all the revolutionary vicissitudes of his life, and this in his descendants has taken shape as a strong patriotic feeling. Love of country was, however, by no means a characteristic of the times of which I am writing. Our educated men then kept at arms' length both the language and thought of their native land. Nevertheless my elder brothers had always cultivated Bengali literature. When on one occasion some new connection by marriage wrote my father an English letter it was promptly returned to the writer.

The *Hindu Mela* was an annual fair which had been instituted with the assistance of our house. Babu Nabagopal Mitter was appointed its manager. This was perhaps the first attempt at a reveren-

* The old Vaishnava poets used to bring their lame into the last stanza of the poem, this serving as their signature. Bhanu and Rabi both mean the Sun. Tr.



AT ONE NOON THE CLOUDS HAD GATHERED THICKLY
From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore

MY REMINISCENCES

tial realisation of India as our motherland. My second brother's popular national anthem "*Bharater Jaya*," was composed, then. The singing of songs glorifying the motherland, the recitation of poems of the love of country, the exhibition of indigenous arts and crafts and the encouragement of national talent and skill were the features of this *Mela*.

On the occasion of Lord Curzon's Delhi durbar I wrote a prose-paper—at the time of Lord Lytton's it was a poem. The British Government of those days feared the Russians it is true, but not the pen of a 14-year old poet. So, though my poem lacked none of the fiery sentiments appropriate to my age, there were no signs of any consternation in the ranks of the authorities from Commander-in-chief down to Commissioner of Police. Nor did any lachrymose letter in the *Times* predict a speedy downfall of the Empire for this apathy of its local guardians. I recited my poem under a tree at the Hindu Mela and one of my hearers was Nabin Sen, the poet. He reminded me of this after I had grown up.

My fourth brother, Jyotirindra, was responsible for a political association of which old Rajnarain Bose was the president. It held its sittings in a tumble-down building in an obscure Calcutta lane. Its proceedings were enshrouded in mystery. This mystery was its only claim to be awe-inspiring, for as a matter of fact there was nothing in our deliberations or doings of which government or people need have been afraid. The rest of our family had no idea where we were spending our afternoons. Our front door would be locked, the meeting room in darkness, the watchword a Vedic *mantra*, our talk in whispers. These alone provided us with enough of a thrill, and we wanted nothing more. Mere child as I was, I also was a member. We surrounded ourselves with such an atmosphere of pure frenzy that we always seemed to be soaring aloft on the wings of our enthusiasm. Of bashfulness, diffidence or fear we had none, our main object being to bask in the heat of our own fervour.

Bravery may sometimes have its drawbacks; but it has always maintained a deep hold on the reverence of mankind. In the literature of all countries we find an unflagging endeavour to keep alive this reverence. So in whatever state a parti-

cular set of men in a particular locality may be, they cannot escape the constant impact of these stimulating shocks. We had to be content with responding to such shocks, as best we could, by letting loose our imagination, coming together, talking tall and singing fervently.

There can be no doubt that closing up all outlets and barring all openings to a faculty so deep-seated in the nature of man, and moreover so prized by him, creates an unnatural condition favourable to degenerate activity. It is not enough to keep open only the avenues to clerical employment in any comprehensive scheme of Imperial Government—if no road be left for adventurous daring the soul of man will pine for deliverance, and secret passages still be sought, of which the pathways are tortuous and the end unthinkable. I firmly believe that if in those days Government had parades a frightfulness born of suspicion, then the comedy which the youthful members of this association had been at might have turned into grim tragedy. The play, however, is over, not a brick of Fort-William is any the worse, and we are now smiling at its memory.

My brother Jyotirindra began to busy himself with a national costume for all India, and submitted various designs to the association. The *Dhoti* was not deemed business-like; trousers were too foreign; so he hit upon a compromise which considerably detracted from the dhoti while failing to improve the trousers. That is to say, the trousers were decorated with the addition of a false dhoti-fold in front and behind. The fearsome thing that resulted from combining a turban with a *Sola-topee* our most enthusiastic member would not have had the temerity to call ornamental. No person of ordinary courage could have dared it, but my brother unflinchingly wore the complete suit in broad day-light, passing through the house of an afternoon to the carriage waiting on outside, indifferent alike to the stare of relation or friend, door-keeper or coachman. There may be many a brave Indian ready to die for his country, but there are but few, I am sure, who even for the good of the nation would face the public streets in such pan-Indian garbs.

Every Sunday my brother would get up a *Shikar* party. Many of those who joined in it, uninvited, we did not even

know. There was a carpenter, a smith and others from all ranks of society. Bloodshed was the only thing lacking in this *shikar*, at least I cannot recall any. Its other appendages were so abundant and satisfying that we felt the absence of dead or wounded game to be a trifling circumstance of no account. As we were out from early morning, my sister-in-law furnished us with a plentiful supply of *luchis* with appropriate accompaniments; and as these did not depend upon the fortunes of our chase we never had to return empty.

The neighbourhood of Maniktola is not wanting in Villa-gardens. We would turn into any one of these at the end, and high- and low-born alike, seated on the bathing platform of a tank, would fling ourselves on the *luchis* in right good earnest, all that was left of them being the vessels they were brought in.

Braja Babu was one of the most enthusiastic of these blood-thirstless *shikaris*. He was the Superintendent of the Metropolitan Institution and had also been our private tutor for a time. One day he had the happy idea of accosting the *mali* (gardener) of a villa-garden into which we had thus trespassed with: "Hallo, has uncle been here lately!" The *mali* lost no time in saluting him respectfully before he replied: "No, Sir, the master hasn't been lately." "All right, get us some green cocoanuts off the trees." We had a fine drink after our *luchis* that day.

A Zamindar in a small way was among our party. He owned a villa on the river side. One day we had a picnic there together, in defiance of caste rules. In the afternoon there was a tremendous storm. We stood on the river-side stairs leading into the water and shouted out songs to its accompaniment. I cannot truthfully assert that all the seven notes of the scale could properly be distinguished in Rajnarain Babu's singing, nevertheless he sent forth his voice and, as in the old Sanscrit works the text is drowned by the notes, so in Rajnarain Babu's musical efforts the vigorous play of his limbs and features overwhelmed his feebler vocal performance; his head swung from side to side marking time, while the storm played havoc with his flowing beard. It was late in the night when we turned homewards in a hackney carriage. By that time the storm clouds had dispersed and the stars

twinkled forth. The darkness had become intense, the atmosphere silent, the village roads deserted, and the thickets on either side filled with fireflies like a carnival of sparks scattered in some noiseless revelry.

One of the objects of our association was to encourage the manufacture of lucifer matches, and similar small industries. For this purpose each member had to contribute a tenth of his income. Matches had to be made, but matchwood was difficult to get; for though we all know with what fiery energy a bundle of *khangras** can be wielded in capable hands, the thing that burns at its touch is not a lampwick. After many experiments we succeeded in making a boxful of matches. The patriotic enthusiasm which was thus evidenced did not constitute their only value, for the money that was spent in their making might have served to light the family hearth for the space of a year. Another little defect was that these matches could not be got to burn unless there was a light handy to touch them up with. If they could only have inherited some of the patriotic flame of which they were born they might have been marketable even today.

News came to us that some young student was trying to make a power loom. Off we went to see it. None of us had the knowledge with which to test its practical usefulness, but in our capacity for believing and hoping we were less than none. The poor fellow had got into a bit of debt over the cost of his machine which we repaid for him. Then one day we found Braja Babu coming over to our house with a flimsy country towel tied round his head. "Made in our loom!" he shouted as with hands uplifted he executed a war-dance. The outside of Braja Babu's head had then already begun to ripen into grey!

At last some worldly-wise people came and joined our society, made us taste of the fruit of knowledge, and broke up our little paradise.

When I first knew Rajnarain Babu, I was not old enough to appreciate his many-sidedness. In him were combined many

* The dried and stripped centre-vein of a cocoanut leaf gives a long tapering stick of the average thickness of a match stick, and a bundle of these goes to make the common Bengal household broom which in the hands of the housewife is popularly supposed to be useful in keeping the whole household in order from husband downwards. Its effect on a bare back is here alluded to.—Tr.



MY FOURTH BROTHER, JYOTIRIND
From a drawing by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

By the courtesy of
Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

MY REMINISCENCES

opposites. In spite of his hoary hair and beard he was as young as the youngest of us, his venerable exterior serving only as a white mantle for keeping his youth perpetually fresh. Even his extensive learning had not been able to do him any damage, for it left him absolutely simple. To the end of his life the incessant flow of his hearty laughter suffered no check, neither from the gravity of age, nor ill-health, nor domestic affliction, nor profundity of thought, nor variety of knowledge, all of which had been his in ample measure. He had been a favourite pupil of Richardson and brought up in an atmosphere of English learning, nevertheless he flung aside all obstacles due to his early habit and gave himself up lovingly and devotedly to Bengali literature. Though the meekest of men, he was full of fire which flamed its fiercest in his patriotism, as though to burn to ashes the shortcomings and destitution of his country. The memory of this smile-sweetened fervour-illuminated lifelong-youthful saint is one that is worth cherishing by our countrymen.

(23) *The Bharati*.

On the whole the period of which I am writing was for me one of ecstatic excitement. Many a night have I spent without sleep, not for any particular reason but from a mere desire to do the reverse of the obvious. I would keep up reading in the dim light of our school room all alone; the distant church clock would chime every quarter as if each passing hour was being put up to auction; and the loud *Haribols* of the bearers of the dead, passing along Chitpore Road on their way to the Nimtollah cremation ground, would now and then resound. Through some summer moonlight nights I would be wandering about like an unquiet spirit among the lights and shadows of the tubs and pots on the garden of the roof-terrace.

Those who would dismiss this as sheer poetising would be wrong. The very earth in spite of its having aged considerably surprises us occasionally by its departure from sober stability; in the days of its youth, when it had not become hardened and crusty, it was effusively volcanic and indulged in many a wild escapade. In the days of man's first youth the same sort of thing happens. So long as the materials which go to form his life have not taken on

their final shape they are apt to be turbulent in the process of their formation.

This was the time when my brother Jyotirindra decided to start the *Bharati* with our eldest brother as editor, giving us fresh food for enthusiasm. I was then just sixteen, but I was not left out of the editorial staff. A short while ago, in all the insolence of my youthful vanity, I had written a criticism of the *Megha-nadabadha*. As acidity is characteristic of the unripe mango so is abuse of the immature critic. When other powers are lacking, the power of pricking seems to be at its sharpest. I had thus sought immortality by leaving my scratches on that immortal epic. This impudent criticism was my first contribution to the *Bharati*.

In the first volume I also published a long poem called *Kavikahini* (The Poet's Story). It was the product of an age when the writer had seen practically nothing of the world except an exaggerated image of his own nebulous self. So the hero of the story was naturally a poet, not the writer as he was, but as he imagined or desired himself to seem. It would hardly be correct to say that he desired to be what he portrayed; that represented more what he thought was expected of him, what would make the world admiringly nod and say: "Yes, a poet indeed, quite the correct thing." It was a great parade of universal love, that pet subject of the budding poet, which sounds as big as it is easy to talk about. While yet any truth has not dawned upon one's own mind, and others' words are one's only stock-in-trade, simplicity and restraint in expression is not possible. Then, in the endeavour to display magnified that which is really big in itself, it becomes impossible to avoid a grotesque and ridiculous exhibition.

When I blush to read these effusions of my boyhood I am also struck with the fear that very possibly in my later writings the same distortion, wrought by straining after effect, lurks in a less obvious form. The loudness of my voice, I doubt not, often drowns the thing I would say; and some day or other Time will find me out.

The *Kavikahini* was the first work of mine to appear in book form. When I went with my second brother to Ahmedabad, some enthusiastic friend of mine took me by surprise by printing and publishing

it and sending me a copy. I cannot say that he did well, but the feeling that was roused in me at the time did not resemble that of an indignant judge. He got his punishment, however, not from the author, but from the public who hold the purse strings. I have heard that the dead load of the books lay, for many a long day, heavy on the shelves of the booksellers and the mind of the luckless publisher.

Writings of the age at which I began to contribute to the *Bharati* cannot possibly be fit for publication. There is no better way of ensuring repentance at maturity than to rush into print too early. But it has one redeeming feature: the irresistible impulse to see one's writings in print exhausts itself during early life. Who are the readers, what do they say, what printers' errors have remained uncorrected, these and the like worries run their course as infantile maladies and leave one leisure in later life to attend to one's literary work in a healthier frame of mind.

Bengali literature is not old enough to have elaborated those internal checks which can serve to control its votaries. As experience in writing is gained the Bengali writer has to evolve the restraining force from within himself. This makes it im-

possible for him to avoid the creation of a great deal of rubbish during a considerable length of time. The ambition to work wonders with the modest gifts at one's disposal is bound to be an obsession in the beginning, so that the effort to transcend at every step one's natural powers, and there-with the bounds of truth and beauty, is always visible in early writings. To recover one's normal self, to learn to respect one's powers as they are, is a matter of time.

However that may be, I have left much of youthful folly to be ashamed of besmirching the pages of the *Bharati*; which shame me not for their literary defects alone but for their atrocious impudence, their extravagant excesses and their high-sounding artificiality. At the same time I am free to recognise that the writings of that period were pervaded with an enthusiasm the value of which cannot be small. It was a period, to which if error was natural, so was the boyish faculty of hoping, believing and rejoicing. And if the fuel of error was necessary for feeding the flame of enthusiasm then while that which was fit to be reduced to ashes will have become ash, the good work done by the flame will not have been in vain in my life.

KOJU'S LOYALTY

MITSUNAKA Minamoto, Lord of the Horse to the Emperor Murakami, had a boy Bijo, who was sent to a certain monastery in the mountains called the Chuzonji Temple to study. But being reckless and wild by nature, Bijo did not apply his mind to study; on the contrary, he spent his time from morn till night in the practice of military exercises and even in quarrel-making. Now when Mitsunaka came to full knowledge of his son's behaviour, he despatched Nakamitsu, his trusted retainer, to the temple to summon him back home to Kyoto. On Bijo's return, Mitsunaka at once called him to his presence to reprimand him. He exclaimed: "My sole reason for not recalling you sooner from the temple was that I wished to indulge you in the pursuit of your studies. You must have

learned to read the holy scriptures. Now let me listen to your reading of them."

He bade his son sit before the desk with the sacred text written in gold letters. Bijo could not spell out, alas, even one letter of the book, since he had never touched his hand at the temple to either a penmanship book or a sutra; so he remained silent and distressed. Even though he was unable to write, Mitsunaka said to him that he supposed he must have learned verse-making; Bijo's reply was in the negative. "And how about music?" Mitsunaka asked. Bijo could not make any answer to his question. Mitsunaka, who was from the beginning somewhat irritated, now grew enraged, and glaring at his son, he exclaimed:

"Can it be that you have never listened to one word of your father? You young

KOJU'S LOYALTY

fool, you drive me wild. How can I point you out to strangers as my child? What a shame to have such a son as you!"

No sooner were the words uttered, than out from the scabbard flew his sword; he was darting forward when good Nakamitsu rushed in between, checking the bloody scene. Nakamitsu begged his master to be merciful, saying that although his reproof was merited, he would entreat him to show some consideration. And he respectfully asked Mitsunaka to hand over his sword into his hand.

"If you wish I will give you this my sword," said Mitsunaka, whose anger was not yet appeased. "But be not slow to slay Bijo with it: I will never let you alone, all the gods look on me and hear my words, if you ever pity Bijo or contrive a plan for sparing his life."

Nakamitsu thinking it of first importance to calm his mind even for the moment, said, but with no confidence in his own words, that Mitsunaka's commands should be obeyed. Mitsunaka entered within the inner room.

Nakamitsu now being left alone became lost in thought. How, although he had promised Mitsunaka, could he slay his master's son? He resolved that he would in any case persuade Bijo to make a temporary escape. Presently he came to the place where Bijo was hiding, and said:

"There was neither word to say nor way to act, seeing the lord my master in such a rage."

"By your kindness here at this moment I am alive. But I have overheard my father's words commanding you to slay me; haste you now and strike off my head, and show it to my sire."

Nakamitsu, moved to admiration by the courageous expression of the young boy, urged him to agree to his plan, assuring the boy that when his father's mind grew calmer he would certainly be forgiven. But Mitsunaka's inquiries as to whether his order had been executed came fast in succession. Nakamitsu knowing not what to do was only thinking of the penalty of a previous life written in the Holy Scripture: that he was fated to slay his master's son, he thought, was nothing but a retribution for the sins of his former existence. He shed many tears; but Bijo, recovering his brave spirit, said that idle speech and crying would only make the hour grow late. He pressed on Nakamitsu

to strike off his head speedily. Nakamitsu said with tears:

"Were I but of like age with you, young my lord, I would redeem your life at the cost of mine own: My life in which I put little import cannot serve at this great moment. Alas, how sad!"

Koju, son of Nakamitsu, a young boy of like age with Bijo, who was looking on at this sad scene from somewhere behind, made his sudden appearance, saying:

"Father, the words you have just spoken have found their way to my ears. Why do you not strike off my head? Be quick, slay me, and show my head to the master as the head of my lord Bijo."

"Bravely spoken, Koju. Such are the very words that I expect to hear from my son. I will wrap your head with a thin cloth, and present it to the master in the darkness of night, keeping it at some distance from him; though he be maddened and fearless, his father's eyes will surely grow dim and he will not dare examine the head closely. Koju, be ready to be a substitute for young my lord."

Nakamitsu held up his sword, now standing behind his son Koju; but Bijo rushed forward to clasp Nakamitsu's sleeve, and held him back, declaring:

"Even should you slay Koju, I will kill myself at once!"

"But it is only an unwritten vow of a warrior that he shall lay down his lesser life for his lord."

Thus saying, Nakamitsu again stood behind Koju, who, with firm determination, stretched forth his neck, and joined his hands in prayer; but the father hesitated to bring down his sword upon Koju's young head. Here was Bijo, son of his master, whom he was commanded to slay; and there was his own son, to whom he had imparted his own flesh and blood, and whose head he should have; and both of them striving for death, with Nakamitsu between. It was only natural for Nakamitsu to feel dismay; but encouraged by Koju who said that his martial honour would only be perfected through his dying for his young lord, and that it were kinder of his father to make misery short by striking quickly, Nakamitsu sent down his murderous sword upon Koju's head. A flash, a moment, alas, the young head dropped at his feet. Oh, what a horror!

He summoned a servant and commanded

him to lead Bijo away at once to some safe place of shelter. Then he made his presence before Mitsunaka, announcing that his master's command had been obeyed; and when the head of Koju was unveiled to view, Mitsunaka who never dreamed that it was some other boy's, gazed sadly on it with many tears in his eyes, and asked Nakamitsu how were his last moments, and if he had behaved like a coward. Nakamitsu replied:

"Not so, my master. As I stood aghast, holding up my sword in hand, your son called out saying: 'Why does Nakamitsu thus delay?' Oh, my lord, those were his last words."

"I have something to say to you, Nakamitsu. As you know well, I had no child except Bijo; and since I have lost him, I should like to adopt your Koju as my heir. Go quickly and call him here."

"I thank you for your words. But Koju in despair at being suddenly separated from young my lord, cut off his locks and assumed a priestly guise; he has vanished nobody knows whither. I too, would crave permission for my leave-taking to enter into a temple for a holy life of prayer."

Then Mitsunaka went on to say that, swayed by the madness of a moment, he had commanded Nakamitsu to slay Bijo; and since Bijo had received from Nakamitsu such a fatherly protection, Mitsunaka thought what grief should be in Nakamitsu's heart in losing both his children at once. Although Bijo was a boy whom he had cast off, still Mitsunaka recalled that it was his own son all the same; so he announced that a proper funeral rite for him should be performed.

* * * * *

Bijo, who had by the kindness of Nakamitsu escaped the perilous moment, had taken refuge with Genshin, abbot of the Eshinin Monastery on Mount Hiyei. Genshin duly began to think that it would not be right to leave the matter as it was; he accompanied Bijo one day to Mitsunaka's palace in the capital, where he first met Nakamitsu, to whom he spoke the words of condolence for poor Koju. Then the priest appeared in Mitsunaka's presence. When he said that he had something to say about Bijo, Mitsunaka replied that he had commanded Nakamitsu to slay the boy, for he was undutiful in conduct. Genshin proceeded:

"It is that I would discourse of, my lord. Be calm and deign to give me your attention while I speak. Although you commanded that Bijo's head should be cut off, Nakamitsu could not prevail on himself to kill one to whom, as his lord, his reverence was bound through the Three Worlds. Nakamitsu slew his son Koju and saved Bijo's life. I would humbly supplicate you to forgive one for whose welfare Nakamitsu's heart of loyalty was beautifully expressed."

Then the priest called out Bijo from the place where he was lying hidden. On seeing him unexpectedly, Mitsunaka's anger mingled with shame blazed again, and he exclaimed:

"You coward, you craven! What reason have you to live, letting Koju be sacrificed? Why did you not kill yourself, you scum?"

The priest, begging him to put all other thoughts aside, said that, if it were only as an act of piety to Koju's soul, he should refrain from cursing his son. The priestly language of his entreaty gradually softened Mitsunaka's stony hard mind, and he at length allowed the priest's request. Nakamitsu, glad to see the hearts of father and son again intertwined, brought out a cup and wine which he first offered to hold. Genshin then asked Nakamitsu to rise and dance some lucky piece on this happy occasion. Nakamitsu now adjusted his own dress and started to dance. While dancing, he could not help thinking that, if Koju were but here on this day, he would let the two dance together, while he would beat the time, and would shed tears of joy instead of grief. But he soon recovered his spirit, deeming it a warrior's shame to be seen crying, and that tears were inappropriate to such glad occasion; and once more he danced spiritedly. Genshin thinking it was for him and his disciple to depart, rose up and said farewell, while Nakamitsu rising to see them off, walked close to Bijo's palanquin, and whispered his fatherly counsel into his ears:

"Dear young lord, you should be earnest in study."

He was thinking that if Koju were alive, he would certainly see Bijo along to his temple. But Bijo is alone today. How bitterly in heart Nakamitsu cried!

YONE NOGUCHI.

NEW LIGHTS ON MARATHA HISTORY

IN SALUTATION TO MY FATHER'S SPIRIT

(AGHORNATH CHATTOPADHYAY).

Soldier and saint, singer and mystic sage,
O subtle jester, golden-hearted child,
Selfless, serene, untroubled, unbeguiled
By trivial snares of pride or grief or rage,
O splendid dreamer in a dreamless age
• Whose pure alchemic vision reconciled
Time's changing message with the undefiled,
• Deep Vedic wisdom of thy heritage !
Farewell, farewell ! my father and my friend,
Whose spirit knew not birth or death for end,
But only Truth for ever-living goal !
And hail to thee in thine ethereal flight
From hope to hope, from height to heav'nlier height
Lost in the rapture of the Cosmic Soul !

SAROJINI NAIDU

Hyderabad, Deccan.

NEW LIGHTS ON MARATHA HISTORY

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., P.R.S.

§1. *When, how and why was Shahji imprisoned by the Bijapuris ?*

THE authentic Persian history of Bijapur, entitled *Basatin-i-Salatin*, states that while the Bijapur army under Nawab Mustafa Khan as supreme commander and Malik Raihan and Shahji Rajah as his lieutenants, invaded the Karnatak and besieged Jinji, a quarrel broke out first between the two Muslim generals, and then between Mustafa Khan and Shahji. "Shahji, withdrawing his head from obedience to the Nawab, began to oppose him, till at last the Nawab decided to arrest him. One day he made Babaji [= Baji] Rao Ghorpure and Aswant (or Yeswant) Rao Asad-Khani get their forces ready and sent them very early in the morning to Shahji's camp. It so happened that Shahji, having passed the preceding night in feast and merriment, was sleeping

in bed in the morning. As soon as the two Raos arrived and he learnt of their purpose, he in utter bewilderment took horse and galloped away from his house alone. Babaji Ghorpure gave chase and caught him, and brought him before the Nawab who threw him into confinement. His contingent of 3,000 cavalry was dispersed, and his camp was thoroughly looted. . . . At the arrest of Shahji, Malik Raihan grew more suspicious of the Nawab than before, and took precautions to guard against any attempt to seize his person. . . . When a full year had passed since the commencement of the siege of Jinji, a mortal illness seized the Nawab and it was protracted; treatment produced no effect and he daily grew worse. So, Malik Raihan reported the matter to Adil Shah . . . who ordered (his wazir) Khan Muhammad to hasten to Jinji with his 7,000 troopers and re-

place Mustafa Khan in the command of operations, and also sent from Court Afzal Khan to bring Shahji away and an eunuch and Malik Itibar Khan to attach the property of Shahji and the deceased noble Khairiyat Khan. These were still on the way when the Nawab died on 3rd Ziqada 1058 (=9 Nov. 1648) . . . Malik Raihan guarded the captive Shahji till the arrival of the party from the Court. . . . The siege was pressed on, till at last on 17 Dec. 1649 Raja Rup Nayak, the lord of Jinji, capitulated." (Pp. 309—311 of Major B. D. Basu's MS.)

On P. 328 it is distinctly stated that Shahji was arrested in the month of Rajab 1058 A.H. (=12 July—10 Aug. 1648 A.D.), i.e., three months before the death of Mustafa Khan. It is, therefore, clear that (i) Shahji was arrested not on 6th Aug. 1647 as Mr. Sardesai writes (*Marathi Riyasat*, i. 207), but a year later. (ii) Baji Ghorpure did not arrest Shahji by treachery as is asserted by the Maratha chroniclers. (iii) Shahji was not imprisoned by order of Adil Shah, but by the commander-in-chief at Jinji without his master's knowledge or consent, and the cause of the arrest was not Shivaji's usurpation of Bijapuri forts in the Konkan, but Mustafa Khan's hostility to Shahji—probably based on a false accusation by spies that he was intriguing with the enemy and ruining his master's cause, (the very accusation against Malik Raihan). The Bijapur history which is bitterly hostile to Shivaji and calls him *nimak-haram* and *badzat* (p. 376), does not say that Shahji was put in prison as a means of coercing his rebel son. The earliest life of Shivaji extant, viz., Sabhasad's, is silent about Shahji's captivity, and ascribes Adil Shah's remonstrance with the father for the son's offences to a later period, 1659. (*Shahhasad Bakhar*, p. 10).

The release of Shahji was effected shortly after 30 Nov. 1649, on which date Shah Jahan wrote two letters to Shahji and Shivaji (Rajawade, viii. Nos. 3 and 4), saying that he had issued orders on Bijapur for the release of Shahji, 'not remembering his past misdeeds.' These letters cannot be later forgeries because they state a fact which is known only to those few who have made a minute study of Shah Jahan's movements by plodding through the voluminous Persian histories of his reign. The Emperor says, "I am

soon going to Delhi;" in fact he was on that date at Lahore and reached Delhi soon afterwards. No modern fabricator could have added this little touch.

\$2. *The Treaty of Purandar, 1665.*

The terms of the agreement made between the Mughal general Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Shivaji at Purandar on 13 June 1665, are distinctly and repeatedly given by Jai Singh in his despatches to Aurangzib, as the Emperor made particular inquiries about them. Early in August, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor: "Your Majesty has asked—'What promises and agreements have been made by Shiva? What oaths, considered solemn by Hindus, have been sworn by him? How did you compose your mind about his [possible] ill-faith, when allowing him to go away?' My liege! when I dismissed Shiva, I took from him oaths no stronger than which a Hindu can possibly take and the violation of which is believed to make a man accursed and doomed to perdition. We agreed to the following conditions: (a) Shiva should be content with the 12 forts, large and small, and the land yielding one lakh of *hun* (i.e., 5 lakhs of rupees) which I had left to him as a mark of Imperial grace, and he should never act disobediently nor plunder the Imperial dominions. (b) Wherever in the *subah* of Deccan he is ordered on a service, he should perform it. (c) His son Shambhuji, with the rank of a Commander of five thousand, and accompanied by Netuji, who is surnamed the Second Shivaji, should [always] attend on the *subahdar* of the Deccan. (d) If lands yielding 4 lakhs of *hun* in Tal-Konkan and 5 lakhs of *hun* in Balaghat Bijapuri (i.e., uplands) are granted to Shiva by the Emperor and he is insured by a *farman* the possession of these lands after the [expected] conquest of Bijapur [on which Jai Singh was about to set out], then he would in return pay the Emperor 40 lakhs of *hun* in yearly instalments of 3 lakhs. (e) 23 forts with territory yielding 4 lakhs of *hun* in Balaghat and Tal-Konkan Nizam Shahi (i.e., the former territory of the extinct kingdom of Ahmadnagar) will be taken away from Shiva and annexed to the Mughal empire." (*Haft Anjuman*, Benares MS., 66b—67a.)

A little later Jai Singh writes:—"Your Majesty has replied, 'Bijapuri Tal-Konkan

is granted to Shiva, but no order will be issued by me about Bijapuri Balaghat being given to Shiva. If he can take it, let him wrest it from Adil Shah.' True, such a remark is equivalent to an order from your Imperial grace, but Shiva, out of extreme obedience to your wishes, will not venture to undertake the conquest of the latter territory unless he gets a definite *sanad* to that effect.... The standard revenue of these mahals was 9 lakhs of *hun* in former times. But it will now fall short of that sum, even after the pacification of the country and the settlement of *ryots*.... Adil Shah had offered to cede this territory to Shiva if he allowed his brother's son to enter the Bijapur service. But Shiva in reliance on the sanctity of my promises and in hopes of the Emperor's liberality, declined.... I pray that Shiva's request may be granted and it may be entered in the Imperial *farman* that 9 lakh *hun* worth of land in Bijapuri Tal-Konkan and Balaghat are bestowed on Shiva, on condition of his paying 40 lakhs of *hun* by fixed instalments." (*Ibid*, 70 a & b.)

Still later Jai Singh writes: "My liege ! You have graciously accepted my recommendation about the demands of Shiva.... He reached my camp on 27th September, 1665, and welcomed the Imperial *farman*. He promised to accompany me in the Bijapur expedition with the troops of his son's *mansab*, and, in addition, 7000 expert infantry....

"As for the land worth one lakh of *hun* annually which the Emperor has left to him out of the old Nizam Shahi dominions, he very humbly submits that he has no other source of income except this; because the *ryots* of Bijapuri Tal-Konkan have been unsettled by the hostility of Adil Shah. As for Bijapuri Balaghat, though he (i.e., Shiva) can occupy it before our march on Bijapur, yet during that expedition [in which Shiva must be present] the *ryots* will disperse and cultivation will cease. Shiva, therefore, prays that he may be granted villages and mahals yielding one lakh of *hun* in the Nizam Shahi territory.... But after much enquiry I learn that there is an immense difference between the former (i.e., theoretical) revenue and the present (i.e., actual) yield of the Nizam Shahi parganahs. Therefore, instead of at once ceding to Shiva villages with a theoretical revenue of one lakh *hun*, I have decided that at first the entire

Nizam Shahi territory, except the 12 forts in Shiva's possession, should be administered by the Crown lands department, so that the true facts about its revenue may be learnt [by our collectors]. At the end of one year, mahals yielding one lakh [in actual collection] will be selected for Shiva out of this tract. In the meantime, to meet the expenses of Shiva's contingent during the coming war against Bijapur, I have agreed to pay him two lakhs of rupees in cash, as a substitute of the *jagir* [from which he is to be kept out for this one year].

"As for the *jagir* due to Shambhuji, I told Shiva plainly that so long as I was not assured of the payment of the annual instalments of 3 lakhs of *hun*, out of the 40 lakhs agreed upon as his fee [for the possession of Bijapuri Tal-Konkan and Balaghat], I could not grant any *jagir* to his son. He very loyally replied, 'Although the land for which these 40 lakhs have been promised, has not yet been fully taken possession of by me, and although the real income from it can be known only after taking full possession, yet I shall supply the contingent of troops which my son's *mansab* (rank in the army) makes it necessary for him to keep under his banner; and I pray that the salary of his *mansab* may be taken as an equivalent of the instalment of tribute due from me to the Imperial Government.' I have agreed to these proposals, as Shiva can render very valuable help to us in the impending war [with Bijapur]." (*Ibid*, 74b-76a.)

It is clear from the above that the treaty was really an agreement between the Mughals and the Marathas for the partition of the Bijapuri kingdom between them. Shiva was to conquer his portion either before or during the war, and the Mughals agreed not to claim this portion after the conquest of Bijapur on the ground of their being heir to all the lands of Adil Shah, but to confirm Shiva in possession of it, in return for a fee of 40 lakhs of *hun*. The two robbers here agree as to how the booty should be divided, in anticipation of the territorial brigandage they are just going to commit. Not a word is said about Shiva being given the right to levy *chauth* on Bijapuri territory, as is asserted in the Marathi accounts. (*Sardesai*, 317). No promise was made by Jai Singh or his master to confer on Shiva the viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan, as the *Bakhars* allege

(*Sabhasad*, 38), and the idea of such a promise appears to me to be extremely improbable.

Some account of the places mentioned in the treaty is necessary to assist the reader's comprehension of the real state of affairs. *Tal-Konkan* is 'the low land lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, i.e., the coast strip, while *Balaghat* (Marathi, *Ghat-matha*) is the highland on the top of these hills. In the 16th century and a part of the 17th, these two regions had been divided between the Nizam Shahi (or Ahmadnagar) and Bijapuri kingdoms,—the former holding the northern half and the latter the southern. But the repeated shocks of Mughal invasion from 1599 to 1633 utterly shattered the Nizam Shahi kingdom and its fragments were seized by its neighbours. The treaty of 1636 made a partition of the dominions of this extinct kingdom between the Emperor of Delhi and the Sultan of Bijapur, the latter getting Nizam Shahi Tal-Konkan and Balaghat. (For details see my *History of Aurangzib*, i. 38-39, and *Haft Anjuman*, 67b.) As the result of Aurangzib's invasion of Bijapur in 1657, Adil Shah agreed to cede to the Mughals Nizam Shahi Tal-Konkan and Bijapuri Balaghat. (*History of Aurangzib*, i. 278 and *Haft Anj.*, 67b.) But the war of succession broke out soon afterwards and Adil Shah refused to yield the promised territory. But this region was never effectively occupied and administered by the Bijapuris; Shiva had, long before 1665, seized several places in it. In fact it was now a no man's land which the Mughals offered to Shiva.

§3. *The Captivity of Shahu or Shivaji II, 1689-1707.*

Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, was captured by the Mughals on the fall of Raigarh, on 19 Oct. 1689 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 331) and kept a prisoner of state in the Emperor's camp in the Deccan. He was never sent to Delhi, nor was he taken care of by Zebunnissa, as is asserted by Col. L. W. Shakespear in his recently published *Local History of Poona* and Sardesai in his *Marathi Riyasat*, i. 620. Zebunnissa lived at Delhi as a captive under her father's wrath from 1681 to her death in 1702, and she never once went to the Deccan after her father's accession to the throne in 1658. It was not Zeb, but her younger sister Zinat-un-nissa who manag-

ed Aurangzib's household in the Deccan during his 25 years' stay there (*History of Aurangzib*, i. 70), and this princess might have taken pity on the boy Shahu, though no mention of it is made in any history. I give the known facts of Shahu's prison-life below:—

"Itiqadkh, the conqueror of Raigarh and son of the *wazir* Asad Khan, brought Shahu and his father's family to the Imperial presence on 23 Nov. 1689. The Emperor graciously ordered that suitable tents should be pitched for Shambhuji's mother and other relatives in the *gulalbar* (circle of the imperial residence) and they should be made to dismount there with all honour and privacy. Her servants and dependents were lodged close to the prime minister's camp. Annual pensions were settled on all of them according to their ranks. Shahu, aged nine years, was given the *mansab* of a Commander of Seven Thousand, the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, jewels, horse, elephant, kettle-drums and standard." (*M. A.* 332.)

"About July 1699, the prisoners were joined by the captured family of Rajah Ram (*Ibid.*, 407).

"About Oct. 1700, the Emperor learnt that as Hindus did not take cooked food in prison, Rajah Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, used to eat sweetmeats, fruits and *pakkanna*, instead of cooked food. His Majesty sent word to Shahu, 'You are not a prisoner; you are living in your own house. You should therefore eat cooked food.'" (433).

"In 1703, Shahu received many costly presents and was sent to make his bow to Kam Bakhsh. His tent was also ordered to be pitched near Kam Bakhsh's residence." (473).

"In 1704, Shambhuji's daughter was married to Muhammad Muhiuddin, a son of Sikandar Adil Shah, receiving a dowry of Rs. 7000 from the Emperor. The marriage of Shahu was settled with the daughter of Bahadurji." (482).

"June 1705, Rajah Shahu, by command of the Emperor, went to and came back from the house of Firuz Jang Bahadur (the Nizam's father) with the troops of Hamiduddin Khan (an Imperial general of high rank)." (495).

"25 Jan. 1706, Shahu, who was residing within the *gulalbar*, was for some political reasons ordered to accompany the army of Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang,

who was sent to recover the fort of Bakhshenda-Bakhsh or Kondana," [which was effected about 16 March next]. (511).

The fate of Shambhuji's widow Yessubai was very sad. She was confined in a

fortress, and the Muslim governor of it took advantage of her helpless condition. When her shame could no longer be concealed, the Emperor learnt of the scandal and punished the licentious *qiladar*.

IN AMERICA WITH MY MASTER

VISIT TO AMERICA.

THE time now arrived to make preparations for our visit to America. Some difficulty arose, however, about booking our passage. Though the War had been declared only three months ago, yet there were disquieting news of several vessels and a battleship having been mysteriously sunk in the Irish Sea and in the Channel. It could hardly be believed that the Germans could have the daring to send their submarines to such distances from their base. Subsequent events have shown that their apprentice hands were even then at work. Great insecurity was felt in taking a voyage across the Atlantic, and the three ships, the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic* and the *Cymric*, in one of which we thought of taking our passage, were, as is well known, torpedoed and sunk. We, however, decided to take our passage in the American liner *SS. Philadelphia*, which was not a very sea-worthy vessel and in which we had all the sufferings of a tempestuous voyage across the Atlantic.

For the first time I met a certain kind of Americans of whom I had heard but had hitherto no actual experience. Two distinct types of Americans are to be met with, one belonging to the old Puritanic stock, quiet and dignified, having inherited the older culture of Europe; the other is the flamboyant Yankee type, who looked down upon the rest of the world as effete and decadent. There was one of these latter variety on board the ship,—a rich successful lawyer, who by his fluent talks kept his compatriots spell-bound with admiration for their great country. He gave out bewildering and novel statistics showing how his small State of Maryland alone held 87 out of 100 of the greatest inventions of the world as regards material prosperity. America, he

said, held 90 per cent of the total wealth of the world. "We do not go in for such foolish and antediluvian things as 120 ton guns and super-dreadnaughts with which Europe is trying to settle their differences. Why?" he continued with his nasal intonation, "Because we have something which is a secret of which the world is unaware. Artillery can send explosive shells to a maximum distance of 20 miles or so; but we have invented something which is nothing more than a harmless looking piece of brick; water does not wet it, fire does not explode it. We throw it out by a catapult and the impact of its fall sets the chemicals to work and *then* for a radius of 200 miles things simply vanish into space!" After this I had grave doubts whether we had anything worth showing to people accustomed to such wonderful things. The extraordinary part of it was that most of his compatriots swallowed all these wholesale. Fortunately there were some who were less gullible.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

We arrived at New York by the end of November and drew out plans for the extensive lecture tour. Already some of the leading journals in America had given brief accounts of my Master's remarkable experiments. The majority of professors in the American Universities had their training in Germany and were imbued with orthodox views. As my Master's work controverted the results of the leading German physiologists, the path that lay before him was likely to be a difficult one. The first Discourse was before the Columbia University. This is perhaps the richest University in the United States. We can hardly realise its enormous resources, the recurrent annual expenditure being 7 crores of rupees! Money is no

obstacle for endowment of research, and they have ransacked the whole world in the selection of their professorial staff. My Master's new methods of inquiry are so extremely delicate and require such high experimental skill that even in the American laboratories few ventured to repeat them. Professor Harper of the Columbia University was an exception and had been successful in repeating some of the standard experiments. He regarded these of such importance that my Master's Electrical Research on Irritability of Plants formed the subject of regular lectures at the Columbia University in the summer term.

Of the many distinguished scientific men who met my Master, I may mention the name of Professor Loeb of the Rockefeller Institute. His work on *Artificial Fertilisation* by purely chemical stimulus, marked a great advance in recent Biological science. He was intensely interested in my Master's discoveries in plant-life which bridged the gap between the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

The lecture before the University was very enthusiastically received. At the conclusion of the discourse the President spoke of the unique character and fundamental importance of the work which had even in such a short time attained a classical rank. They had hitherto been obliged to send their post-graduate students to Germany. They would regard it as a privilege if they were allowed to send their scholars to India, the very fountainhead of new lines of investigation. Americans are eminently practical. Dr. Bose would in his next visit be gratified to find how many-sided were the activities which the great stimulus of his Discourse had evoked among the American men of science. My Master received the following official letter from the University of Columbia.

"Our students here in Columbia have been most deeply interested in your work and for them I wish to express the thanks of the department for your most interesting and stimulating lectures and demonstrations. Your automatic recording apparatus makes it possible to attack by quantitative methods the fundamental problems of plant growth and response to stimuli and the results you have obtained offer for the first time from plant organisms materials for a truly general physiology of both plants and animals. In

this field of response to stimuli no such instruments of precision have hitherto been available for plant physiologists. It is to be hoped that facilities may be provided in your laboratory for the reception of foreign students who are desirous of familiarising themselves first-hand with your apparatus and methods."

Professor Marquette from the physiological Department wrote :

"I take the liberty of inquiring as to the chances of our being able to obtain one of your remarkable Resonant Recorder this year. I am anxious to have the use of one of these epoch-making instruments for our Physiological Laboratory."

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The most important yearly event in American science is the Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, where all the leading scientific men of the United States, representing different branches of science meet to discuss the most important advances that have been made. The Meeting of 1914 was held in the University of Pennsylvania. My Master received a very cordial invitation to deliver an address illustrated by the records of his instruments. We had been accustomed to the cold in Europe but we had no conception of what that meant in America. There had been a very heavy snow-fall and the lowering of temperature was so great that the rivers were frozen solid. It appeared almost hopeless to revive the vital activity of our plants. But every opportunity was offered at the greenhouse attached to the Physiological Department for the success of the demonstration. The temperature of the hot-house was raised to its maximum: but even that was not enough and we had to keep several additional heaters in operation to revive our benumbed plants. When visitors came they were at first overcome with excessive heat, but this did not deter their unflagging interest in the experiments.

The assembled scientists were profoundly impressed by these wonderful and unexpected revelations in plant life. Scientific leaders eagerly came round to express their enthusiastic appreciation and to shower on him invitations to all the leading Universities in different parts of the United States. Professor Ganong, the celebrated Plant Physiologist whose

different types of apparatus have hitherto been accepted in different parts of the world as the standard instruments for research, was equally enthusiastic and spoke of the relative crudity of his own inventions compared with the instruments whose marvellous performance he witnessed that day. At the ensuing reception the assembled scientists were unanimous in declaring that the most important event of the session was my Master's Discourse. Telegraphic accounts of the Discourse appeared in all the leading papers in America with prominent head lines, a specimen of which is given below :

"INDIAN PROFESSOR LINKS PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

"CALCUTTA SCIENTIST GIVES STARTLING DEMONSTRATION.

"New, unsuspected and even startling similarities between the behaviour of plants and animals were revealed at the University of Pennsylvania before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Dr. J. Chunder Bose, the Indian scientist, made an extraordinary and impressive figure among the hundreds of the assembled scientists. In the opinion of his compeers, he placed himself, by his experiments, among the foremost of the biological investigators."

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,
PHILADELPHIA.

In the Eastern Coast of the United States there are three great cities, among whom great rivalry exists as regards pre-eminence. Philadelphians take pride in their descent. Every respectable Philadelphian is supposed to have in his possession a bit of the "Mayflower", the old ship in which their great Pilgrim Fathers made their voyage to the new country. They are, however, looked down upon by their go-ahead New York rivals, as being extremely slow. It is said that no oyster is served in a Philadelphia Restaurant because the staid Philadelphian can never overtake the comparatively quick-footed mollusc! There is another story current that a Philadelphian on a visit to New York was raised by an express lift to the top of the 57th storey of the Woolworth Buildings. At that inconceivable height, being afraid that the moon might strike his head, he lost his balance and toppled over. But the very fall started the

automatic alarm at the Fire Brigade station which was so instantaneous in its efficiency that they had ample time for their spreading net to catch and save the hapless Philadelphian, on whom even the force of gravity was relatively inoperative in inducing acceleration! The saying goes that, at Philadelphia one is asked, "Who is your ancestor?" at New York "What is your bank account?" and at Boston "What have you done?" According to these rival claimants, the rest of the world does not exist.

There is no doubt that at Philadelphia they established the oldest Philosophical Society of America under the inspiration of Benjamin Franklin. At this great Institute is preserved the original appliances by which Franklin made his memorable discoveries in Electricity. It was he who first drew from the clouds the electric fluid and proved that the force that lay in the lightning discharge was the same force that makes a pith marionette dance before a rubbed piece of amber. In the Hall of the Institute is to be seen the original draft of the Declaration of American Independence.

My Master received an invitation to address this historical Society from the President Dr. W. W. Keen, who is known all over the world as one of the most daring and successful surgeons in operations of the brain. His daughter Miss Keen is equally famous for her explorations in the frozen North. A great reception was organised in Philadelphia in my Master's honour and my Master's Discourse before the Philosophical Society was received with great enthusiasm.

The following notice of the lecture appeared in the Philadelphia Press. "Another addition was made yesterday to the list of great scientific achievements, when Dr. J. C. Bose, the Hindu scientist, before the distinguished gathering of surgeons and botanists successfully anæsthetised a plant and then measured its nerve reactions. The mere success of the operation which was the first of its kind, was acclaimed marvellous by those present. He showed how some plants would respond to one three-millionth part of a standard electrical stimulus while the tip of the human tongue was unable to perceive a stimulus ten times as strong. Even more noteworthy, it was declared, was the wide synthetic generalisation which Dr. Bose reached."

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

One of the most important events of our visit to America was the Address before the New York Academy of Sciences. For the accommodation of the unusually large audience the lecture was organised to take place in the big Hall of the Natural History Museum. Perhaps no museum in the world possesses such rare and valuable specimens, arranged for popular instructions as that of New York. Here are to be seen the unique specimens of original fossils of the extinct giant saurians, before which elephants would appear like pigmies. There are also skeletons of monsters found embedded in the earth's crust, which marked the primeval era when reptiles were becoming transformed into birds. These giant reptiles were provided with wings, the memory of which must have been given rise to the tradition of the fabulous roc, carrying as its prey elephants in its talons. There is also exhibited the trunk of a wonderful tree-giant, the transverse section of which proved its incredible age. For it clearly shows the annual rings from which its life has been exactly determined. Since it sprouted many epochs have passed but it stood an immutable witness of the birth and decay of many civilisations. There is a little flag fixed about the middle of the radius of its concentric zones, that was the time when William the Conqueror imposed Norman supremacy on Saxon England. A little more towards the centre another flag marks the time of invasion of Julius Cæsar, and successive flags marked the backward procession of ages which witnessed the cataclysms of the world's history,—the sack of Jerusalem, the destruction of Nineveh, the fall, and the preceding climax of the Egyptian civilisation in the hoary past. It was at the Hall of this great Institute that Master's coming lecture was to be delivered. It had aroused very keen interest among the intellectual circles of the great city and in response to enquiries the Academy of Science issued the following bulletin:—

"Professor Bose's Discourse before the Academy concerns the possibility of revealing the hidden history in the life of plants by means of their own autographs. A plant gives an answering signal to a questioning shock, and that signal can be automatically converted into an intelligent script, and there are no physiological

phenomena in the animal which are not duplicated in the plant. The experiments to be shown include measurements of perception time of the plant, the speed of its nervous impulse and the reaction to various drugs, anaesthetics and poisons, and prove the existence of the throbbing, pulsating organs. Finally, it will be shown how the plant exhibits convulsive movement at the moment of death. These researches open out lines of work which would materially advance agriculture, physiology and medicine."

The success of the lecture more than realised the expectations that had been raised and the following official letter of thanks was received from the President of the Academy.

"Dear Professor Bose,

I cannot tell you how greatly indebted to you we are for your splendid lecture on 'Plant Autographs.' The phenomena you so clearly demonstrated and with such marvellous apparatus, the action of plant towards various drugs and its response to shock,—was set forth so lucidly that everyone was absorbed by the novelty of it. Your audience hesitated to leave the hall even after the lecture was over. It was one of the most interesting lectures ever delivered in the Academy. We wish you every success in this field, so original, and for which you are so eminently fitted. The British Government showed its wisdom in sending you on a special mission to speak in the United States."

NIKOLA TESLA.

Of the many distinguished men who were present at my Master's lecture at New York I may specially mention Nikola Tesla. My Master's first Discourse before the Royal Institution followed that of Tesla and it was remarked that the two great scientists working in two different parts of the globe had something in common—great imagination which pierced through the shell that shrouded the mystery of Nature. Referring to my Master's Discourse the *Electrician* observed that

"In many ways the lecture recalled Nikola Tesla's Discourse, in which the enthusiasm of the individual was as interesting as the experiments. The fates, however, were kinder to Prof. Bose than to Mr. Tesla. All the experiments succeeded exceptionally well. The degree of Prof. Bose's absorption in the matter in hand may be measured by

the fact that he was bold enough to calmly remark to a Royal Institution audience at 9.50 p. m. "I will now pass on to the proper subject of my address "the polarisation of the Electric Ray." The lecturer had, however, meanwhile kept everyone fully interested by describing his ingenious Receiver expatiating on the reliability and efficiency of his apparatus for the "Electric Ray"; exhibiting the electrical opacity of water and electrical transparency of liquid air."

Since Nikola Tesla produced the astonishing effects by his high frequency oscillating electric disturbance in space giving rise to, wireless illumination, his work has gone further. He has made streams of incessant zigzag lightning discharges, over 30ft. in length, play round him, while he sat unmoved in complete safety. He is now dreaming of causing such powerful electric disturbance in the Earth itself that it would, he thinks, be possible to tap from it energy even at great distances. He asked for a card of admission and wrote back: "I am looking with keen interest to your lecture, hoping that nothing will prevent me from taking advantage of so rare an opportunity." After the lecture he spoke how my Master's work had made him realise that all matter is alive. He appeared to be deeply impressed with the concepts of Indian philosophy.

The Editor of the *Scientific American* himself came to take notes of the experiments and photograph the apparatus, and a leading illustrated article extending over several columns appeared in that scientific journal, from which I reproduce a short paragraph:

The dramatically interesting investigation on Plant Autographs is highly significant. It was conducted by Prof Jagadish Chunder Bose as a continuation of a remarkable series of studies which culminated in positive proof that inorganic matter is as responsive to crucial electrical tests as organic matter. The investigations prove further that there is no difference between plant and animal life in response to environment, and the barrier long supposed to exist between the two is purely arbitrary. There is but one matter, one science, one truth, and all outwardly different matters, all sciences and all truths are part of a great unity. It is poetically fitting that this should have been taught by a descendant of Hindu philosophers. In this remarkable investigation, the synthetic intellectual methods of the East co-operate with the analytic methods of the West in a single mind. In science, at least, all nations meet on a common ground of understanding, although half the nations of the world are at war.

The Editor also contributed a striking popular article to a leading American

Magazine from which are given the following quotations:

"By a remarkable series of experiments, conducted with instruments of unimaginable delicacy, the Indian scientist has discovered that plants have a nervous system. He has discovered that a cabbage or a radish responds to external forces very much as a human being does: that it winces at a blow, is tired by exertion, is intoxicated by alcohol, stupefied by chloroform, and degenerates through laziness. His experiments promise not only to revolutionise plant physiology, but to open great new fields of experimentation in applied sciences such as medicine and scientific agriculture.

"All this work on the effect of gases, poisons, drugs, and currents on plants was inspired, he it remembered, by the belief that there is but one kind of matter in the universe, whether it be a complex man or a simple iron ore. In these boundless regions, beginning with the inorganic, proceeding to organic life and its sentient manifestations, this Indian scientist had been seeking an underlying unity amid chaotic and bewildering diversity.

"He subjected all matter to questioning shocks, and discovered that there is no difference in the reply. Patiently he added fact to fact in his explorations in the realms of living and non-living, and was amazed to find the dividing frontier vanishing. At last he reached a new conception, which includes in one magnificent sweep the dust beneath our feet, the protoplasmic ooze floating on a stagnant pool, and man himself."

Other leading journals also gave accounts of these remarkable results. In *Current Opinion* there appeared a long article in its Science and Discovery Section. *The Literary Digest* wrote a very appreciative article on "How the work on Professor J. C. Bose, now on a visit to the United States, astonished scientific men, by his marvellous experiments on plant life, where the plants were made to reveal the history of their experience by means of autographic records." The characteristic feature of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* is the publication of the most important scientific discoveries of the age. The series is contributed only by the leaders of science to whom the discoveries are due. The article on *Positive Electron* was contributed by Sir. J. J. Thomson and that on *Radio-Activity* by Sir William Ramsay. The Editor of the Magazine wrote to my Master for an article on his recent discoveries, which has been regarded as one of the greatest contributions in Biology since Darwin. *Harper's Magazine* thus announced my Master's article "Are Plants like Animals" in their March number.

"Dr. J. C. Bose of Calcutta, has astonished the scientific world with his remarkable discoveries about plants. He shows that they go to sleep and awaken,

Pangs of the Turnip, the Intoxication of the Carrot and Death Agonies of the Potato.

APHYSICIAN has been busy
till the end of physical botany
the ripens are appetizing and
no deliriousness follows, but
how far they will spread.

Plants have become too susceptible
to narcotics, stimulants and to both in
which they were human analogues, they
are susceptible to pain and to pleasure.

This is the astonishing news brought
out of India to enlighten the scientific
world of the West. Dr. J. Chunder Bose
is the man who has set upon the
scientific minds of Europe. With his
specially ingenious apparatus and his same
looking apparatus he has revealed the
pains and pangs of the turnip, the carrot
and the potato. He has shown that the
potato feels its own death pangs.

And it is all done on a scientific basis
and is all done on a scientific basis.
There is no doubt. For the first time
the laboratory and the field are
united in the laboratory of the turnip,
the carrot and the potato. The turnip
is the first when subjected to a dose of
the poisonous or stimulant of any kind
to show that the heat of a plant can
be recorded by such means. It is the
first of its kind.

To a young man, J. Chunder Bose,
there is an important corner, perhaps
the most important of an individual's life.



are subject to anaesthetics and that they show a nervous response to various stimuli. This is the first popular account of his wonderful experiments."

So much as regards serious journals. But the demand of the public press was so great that facts and inferences had to be published by the writers from their inner consciousness, since my Master would not grant any interview. Thus in their special Sunday editions appeared illustration in colours exhibiting "Pains and Pangs of the Turnip, the Intoxication of the Carrot, and Death Agonies of the Potato." The illustration reproduced shows how the drunken carrot collided against the lamp post and numerous other equally characteristic human incidents in the life of the plant.

Versifiers were not to be left behind. And so numerous poems appeared in America

and elsewhere, of which the following may be regarded as typical :

SENSITIVE.

Be kind to the hypochondriacal plant !
Its nervous and ladylike qualms.
Its delicate frailty you surely must grant,
For it faints at all songs except psalms.

Be firm with a rubber plant ! Put it away
When your friends come to make you a call.
It is dreadful to find how a secret will astray,
When you thought no one knew it at all.

Then be good to the plants ! For a great botanist
Says their sensitiveness is intense !
They are shocked if a girl should chance to be
kissed,
And will die at a moral offence.

NOW PLANTS HAVE A CHANCE.

[Prof. J. Chunder Bose of Calcutta has shown that plants respond to anaesthetics and stimulants, —News Item.]

No longer does the gentle rose, in palsied, pallid
fear,

Avoid the deadly pruning knife or clumsy garden
shear,

No longer does she hide her head as she is
tidied up ;

Or wail to weeping heavens above, alike an
injured pup.

Instead she blandly smiles a smile that's cheerful,
wise and warm.

Then takes a long refreshing sniff of good old
chloroform.

THE NIGHTINGALE AND THE ROSE.

The nightingale, according to Arabic poets, is the personification of eloquence, and to the Persian, the Passionate Lover, of the Rose. Omar Khayyam makes it prescribe wine to the beloved as a remedy].

Divorce thy eloquence, O nightingale !
Ved Silence for a Bride ; forsake the vale ;
Repair to cages, with thy anthem,—Love ;
Nor tell—as wont of yore—thy Pehl'vi tale ;

Henceforth, with dumbness greet New Year's Day,
Sing not the Rose, that masterpiece of May—
She hides no more thy secret in her scent,
She may soon speak them out to Bose—she may.

Aye ! suffer thy beloved rose to pine ;
Wine can't her paling cheeks incarnadine.
Wine is a poison to the rose—says Bose.
Alas ! to thy melodious : "Wine ! Wine ! Wine !,"

Nay ! nightingale ! nay, Lover of the Rose !
Part not thy eloquence—thy heart disclose
And sing thy songs of Love—but end them thus ;
Long live ! Long live ! this Life Revealer Bose !

W. F. Boustamy.

BASISWAR SEN.

'AHINSA PARAMO DHARMA"—A TRUTH OR A FAD ?

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THERE is no religion higher than truth, nor a course of conduct nobler than "*Ahinsa Paramo Dharma*". Rightly understood and rightly applied to life, the latter makes a man a saint and a hero. Misunderstood and misapplied, it makes a man cowardly and craven, base and stupid. There was a time when the Indians understood it rightly and made only the proper use of it and they were a race of truthful, noble and brave people. Then came a time when some good people, thoroughly well-intentioned and otherwise saintly, made a fad of it, placed it not only at the top of all other virtues, but made it the sole test of a good life. They overdid it not only in their own lives but converted it into a supreme national virtue, at the cost of everything else. All other virtues which ennoble men and nations were thrown into the background and subordinated to this, according to them, the supreme test of goodness. Courage, bravery, heroism, all lapsed. Honor and self-respect were thrown into the shade. Patriotism, love of country, love of family, honor of the race were all extinguished. It was this perverted use or misuse of *Ahinsa*, (non-killing) or its exaggerated importance at the cost of everything else, that brought about the social, political and moral downfall of the Hindus. They forgot that manliness was as good a virtue as *Ahinsa*. In fact the former was in no way inconsistent with the latter, if rightly applied. They overlooked the fact that individual as well as national interests made it incumbent that the weak should be protected against the strong, and that the aggressor and the usurper, the thief and the scoundrel, the lustful villain and the infamous violator of woman's chastity, the ruffian and the cheat, should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm. They ignored the fact that humanity required that the fear of righteous indignation and of the consequences that flow therefrom, should deter the soul of the evilly disposed people from harming innocence, violating purity and depriving others of their just rights. They failed to realize the importance and

the sublimity of the truth that whosoever allows or tolerates forceful dominance of evil or tyranny and oppression, in a way abets and encourages it and is partly responsible for the prosperity and strength of the evil-doer.

"*Ahinsa*" overdone and misapplied is a gangrene that poisons the system, enervates the faculties and converts men and women into half-lunatic, hysterical, unnerved creatures, good for nothing that requires the energetic pursuit of noble ends and noble virtues. It converts *men* into *mono-maniacs* and cowards. The founders of the Jain religion were saintly people, pledged to a life of self-abnegation and self-mortification. Their followers, the Jain *Sadhus*, are amongst the most saintly people who have achieved the greatest possible success in killing passions and subduing desires both of the senses and the mind. The Tolstoyian *Ahinsa*, is a product of a few years only. The Jain *Ahinsa* has been known and practised in India for three thousand years. There is no country on the face of the globe which contains so many and such profound *Ahinsa-ists* as India does and which she has been having for centuries. Yet there is no country on the face of the globe which is so downtrodden, so bereft of manly virtues, as India of to-day is or as India of the last fifteen hundred years has been. Some people may say that it was not the practice of *Ahinsa* that brought about this fall but the desertion of other virtues. I am, however, inclined to insist that the perversion of this truth was *at least one of those causes* that resulted in India's forsaking the path of honor, manliness and virtue. The worst is that people who profess an absolute faith in the doctrine, prove by their own practice that a perverted use of such a truth necessarily leads to a life of hypocrisy, unmanliness and cruelty. I was born in a Jain family. My grandfather had an all-covering faith in *Ahinsa*. He would rather be bitten by a snake than kill it. He would not harm even a vermin. He spent hours in religious exercises. To all appearances, he was a very virtuous person, who held a

high position in his fraternity and commanded great respect. One of his brothers was a *Sadhu*, a high priest who was an exalted leader of his order. This last-named gentleman was one of the "noblest" types of ascetics I have ever met with in my life. He lived up to his principles and excelled in the mortification of the flesh and in keeping down his passions and desires. Yet according to the best standards of ethics, his life was barren and unnatural. I loved and respected him, but I could not follow his creed, nor did he ever show any anxiety to make me do it. His brother, however, *i.e.*, my own grandfather, was a different sort of person. He believed in *Ahinsa*, that perverted *Ahinsa* which forbids the *taking of any life under any circumstances whatsoever*, but he considered all kinds of trickeries in his trade and profession as not only valid but good. They were permissible according to the ethics of his business. I have known many persons of that faith who would deprive the minor and the widow, of their last morsel of food in dealings with them but who would spend thousands in saving lice, or birds or other animals standing in danger of being killed. I do not mean to say that the *Jains* of India are in any way more immoral than the rest of the Hindus. Or that *Ahinsa* leads to immorality of that kind. Far be it from me to make such an unfounded insinuation. In their own way the *Jains* are a great community, charitable, hospitable, and intelligent and shrewd men of business. So are some of the other communities among the Hindus. What I mean is that the practice of *Ahinsa* in its extreme form has in no way made them better than or morally superior to, the other communities. In fact, they are the people who pre-eminently suffer from hooliganism and other manifestations of force, because they are more helpless than others, on account of their inherited fear and dislike of force. They cannot defend themselves, nor the honor of those dear and near to them. Europe is the modern incarnation of the divine right of force. It was good for Europe to have given birth to a Tolstoy. But the case of India is different. In India we do not advocate force and violence for purposes of oppression or usurpation or aggression. India, I trust, will never come to that. But we cannot afford to be taught that it is sinful to use

legitimate force for purposes of self-defence, or for the protection of our honor and the honor of our wives, sisters, daughters and mothers. Such a teaching is unnatural and pernicious. We condemn political assassinations; nay, we may go further, and even condemn illegal or unlawful force in the attainment of a lawful object, but we cannot afford to sit silent when a great and a respected man tells our young men that we can only "guard the honor of those who are under our charge, by delivering ourselves into the hands of the men who would commit the sacrilege" and that this is "far greater physical and mental courage than delivering blows." Suppose a Russian assaults our daughter. Mr. Gandhi says that according to his conception of *Ahinsa*, the only way to protect the honor of our daughter is to stand between her and her assailant. But what becomes of the daughter, if her assailant tells us and then completes his diabolical intention. According to Mr. Gandhi, it requires greater mental and physical courage to stand still and let him do his worst than to try to stop him by matching our force against his. With great respect for Mr. Gandhi, this has no meaning. I have the greatest respect for the personality of Mr. Gandhi. He is one of those persons whom I idolize. I do not doubt his sincerity. I do not question his motives. But I consider it my duty to raise an emphatic protest against the pernicious doctrine he is reported to have propounded. Even a Gandhi should not be allowed to poison the minds of Young India on this subject. No one should be at liberty to pollute the fountains of national vitality. Not even Buddha, much less Christ, even preached that. I do not know, if even the *Jains* would go to that length. Why! honorable life would be impossible under such conditions. A man who has such a faith cannot consistently resist any one acting as he likes. Why did Mr. Gandhi then injure the feelings of the white men of South Africa by raising the standard of revolt against their cherished policy of excluding the Indians from that country? To be logical he should have left the country bag and baggage and advised his countrymen to do the same as soon as the South Africans expressed a wish to exclude them. Why, under such circumstances, *any resistance* would be *hinsa*. After all physical *hinsa* is only a development of mental *hinsa*.

If it is a sin to contemplate the worsting of a thief or a robber or an enemy, of course, it is a greater sin to resist him by force. The thing is so absurd on the face of it, that I feel inclined to doubt the accuracy of the report of Mr. Gandhi's speech. But the press has been freely commenting on the speech and Mr. Gandhi has issued no disclaimer. In any case I

feel that I cannot sit silent and let this doctrine go as an unquestioned sublime truth to be followed by young India, so long as the speech remains uncontradicted or unexplained. Mr. Gandhi wants to create a world of imaginary perfection. Of course he is free to do it, as he is free to ask others to do it. But in the same way I consider it my duty to point out his error.

INDIA AND WAR

JOHN Bright used to declare that he was never sure that he was right so long as "The Times" did not say that he was wrong. This interesting maxim of John Bright applies to some of the Conservative papers in England, when they talk about India. When they happen to discuss India's shortcomings, we should be disposed to think, that India has really done some great thing to deserve the notice of those worthy critics. Among those papers "The Morning Post", it seems, has now taken the lead. Just about the sittings of the Indian National Congress at Bombay, presided over by one of the most trusted officials of the Government of India, the paper described India as a nuisance (!) to the Empire; now it comes forward to say that India has practically given very little help, and that it should contribute to the *National Debt*, just following the example of *Nigeria*, which has resolved to pay £6 millions towards the cost of the war and the paper says that India has so far done almost nothing to help the Empire in this terrible war. "The Morning Post" has secured an interview from Sir John Hewett, who was once the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and from the stuff provided by Sir John to the representative of the paper, it attacks India in such an astounding manner. Sir John speaks of the desirability of bringing the poor people of India, to a realisation of this terrible war, by putting on them heavier financial burdens than they have to bear at present and says that India has given but little help in the prosecution of this terrible war. Sir John, who enjoyed a salary greater than that of the Cabinet

Ministers of England, during his regime as a Lieutenant Governor of a province, and even now enjoys a fat pension from India, should certainly have prevented himself from vilifying this country in the way he has done. Well, what has he to say? He says:—

"We hear of Australia being ready to spend 50 millions sterling in its troops on one year and of Canada aiding the Mother Country by raising for her use 25 millions. In the meantime, what has India done? The Government of India have been thinking in sixpences. Sir William Meyer, the Finance Minister of India, speaking to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce in depreciation of the proposal that India should raise a large national War Loan, said that the first duty of those whom he was addressing was to India, and that they should use their superfluous cash in subscribing to Indian Government Loans."

Sir John *hears of Australia being ready* to spend 50 millions sterling on the troops in one year, while the Government of India have been thinking in six-pences! That this should have come from a former Lieutenant-Governor of India is rather strange, because, the facts stare him full in the face. Sir John ought to realise whether the Government of India have been thinking in six-pences or millions of sterling. What else would be a better antidote to restore his clarity of vision, than the following telling words of the victim of his attack, I mean Sir William Meyer, the Finance Member of the Government of India, in his Budget Statements on the last March 1916?—

"The Indian Army still continues to play a conspicuous part, side by side with representatives of every portion of the Empire, in the great war which the King Emperor and his Allies are waging for the cause of liberty and right. Nor, as I indicated in my speech in the closing budget debate last March,

is this the only respect in which India has borne her share of the Empire's burdens. She has rendered invaluable aid by recruiting and training large numbers of soldiers; by furnishing supplies of all sorts—foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment and munitions; by training and despatching horses: by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet; and by fitting out transports. The total value of the supplies and services of all sorts which she has thus undertaken on behalf of the War Office amounted, including some similar expenditure brought to account at home, to about £10 million in 1914-15 and is estimated at about £18 million in 1915-16 and £20¼ million in 1916-17. These figures include also the outlay in civil departments on the manufacture of munitions which is now in full progress."

India's critics forget that if Indian troops had not been present in the Western front during the first months of the war, the Germans would have swept everything before them. India alone could then send soldiers at a moment's notice; the self-governing colonies were then nowhere in the seats of war. But India's salt has the property of making many mean-minded fellows ungrateful, so we need not complain.

Some of the houses in England have the terrible experience of having been bombed; Sir John says that India has been largely free from these terrors of the air. Quite so; but, India did enjoy the terror of the German Cruiser Emden, which shelled Madras for more than half an hour. We should also bear in mind that the Government spends a major part of £5,000,000 a day in England, which has made a goodly bulk of the British people to have booming business on account of the war. Sir John borrows some of his arguments from the Hon. Mr. M. De P. Webb of Karachi who alone out of the whole Anglo-Indian world has the audacity to challenge India's contribution to the war. His argument is that India should help the Empire by raising a £25 million War Loan in India, to be spent *in India*. It would have been all right had the Hon. Mr. Webb stopped by saying only that, but he makes a mess of his argument when he says that compared to the help of the self-governing Colonies, India's help is little or insignificant. He says that, barring two-thirds of the people, who are too poor to pay, the remaining 100,000,000 people of India earn £200,000,000 every year; they should voluntarily set apart 10 p.c. of their income every month for the War Loan account, so that they would be able to hand over to the state at the end of one

year a loan of £20,000,000, to be called the Indian National War Loan, to be spent *in India*, and that the Government of India should pay at least 5 p. c. interest for the same. The scheme of Mr. Webb aims at profit to the investors for their surplus cash, and profit to India including Anglo-India—merchants, contractors and the like, from War business.

To talk of 100,000,000 people who earn an aggregate of £200,000,000 in the course of one year, paying 10 p. c. from their gross income, is sheer folly on the part of Mr. Webb, because it is almost impossible to maintain 100,000,000 people on £200,000,000 for one year, in the face of an all-round rise in prices, not to speak of their saving a penny. Correspondents bewail in *The Times of India* and other Anglo-Indian papers, of Europeans, officials and non-officials alike, spending 200 and 300 rupees every month, in dances and dinner-parties, treating and the like. It is these people, who can save and invest their cash for the benefit of the Empire and themselves. Mr. Webb bewails of great sums of money going out of India, for investment in British and French War Loans. He should be proud of it, because it is helping the Allies to win the war, against the German Barbarians.

Sir John Hewett in his interview remarks that the Imperial Indian Relief Fund has only helped the Empire to the extent of Rs. 100,000,000. He should remember that there are scores of War Relief Funds scattered all over the Indian Continent, helping the Empire in their hundred different ways. Not to talk of gifts of comforts to the soldiers by the Women's Branches of the War Relief Fund, there is a continuous stream of individual gifts from the princes and the people of India, gifts of Aeroplanes, and Motor-Ambulances, Hospital-ships and Red-cross gifts, too innumerable to mention in this brief article. These sums of money and war-gifts, if we count the total cost, amount to at least 25 to 30 millions sterling. Bombay alone maintains five fully-equipped War hospitals. But all these gifts are nothing in comparison to the help given by 300,000 fighting soldiers of India, who are cementing the union of India and the Empire with the sacrifice of blood. These soldiers who are helping the Empire to bring the war to a victorious end, are maintained in the battle-fields, by the

people of India, contributing to their expenses, in a splendid and self-sacrificing manner. The non-official representatives of the people brought forward a resolution in the Viceroy's Legislative Council to share the burdens of the Empire, by paying the usual cost of that splendid army. Till the end of March, India has paid £11,000,000 for the maintenance of that army, which fights for the liberty of the Empire, and they will willingly pay £8,000,000 more in the current year for the same purpose. Notwithstanding this splendid aid the critics come forward with the sorry exhibition of their theories that India has not helped the Empire, in the hour of crisis.

It is needless to remind the British people, who are the guardian-angels of the liberties of the small nations, that all this sacrifice of blood and treasure has been spontaneously and willingly undergone by the Indian people, though they are not given the primary rights of British Citizens, the right to bear arms, the right to volunteer, and the right to have commissions in the army. Can the policy of the state be more suicidal to itself than this denying of rights at such a juncture? India's formidable armies would have thrashed the Germans out of Belgium and France in no time, as they helped the French in driving away the Huns from the Marne. Will the Government now take a lesson?

"VOX POPULI."

NOTE BY THE EDITOR. To the above we add the following which we wrote in the April number of the REVIEW in 1915.

"The help rendered by India should not be measured only by the money and men contributed by her since the war began. Other facts should also be taken into consideration. India has for long years before her war given opportunities to English military officers to obtain invaluable experience of warfare and paid them handsome salaries and placed ample resources at their disposal to acquire this experience. It will not be denied that though Lord Roberts did not take an active part in this war, he was very useful during the months of the war that he lived through. Lord Kitchener is now at the head of affairs, having supreme control of the operations in his hands. India had a great part in the making of Lord Kitchener. He acquired much of his experience here. India paid him to acquire this experience and

placed vast resources at his disposal to enable him to do so and make for himself a name. We suppose this should be considered part of India's contribution to the war. We need not mention the names of officers of lesser note.

"As regards the actual contribution in men, ammunition and money made during the war, it should be remembered that if the Indian army were larger and if there were more money in the public treasury, India's contribution, too, would have been larger. The Indian people are not to blame that the contribution is not more than it has been, nor would it have been to their credit if it had been more. For it is not for them either to give or to refuse to give. The rulers of India have not been able to make a larger contribution in men and money and ammunition, on behalf of India, not because India stood in the way—she has no power to do so, but because it was not possible for the men in power to take more from her, for the very simple reason that she is poor and her standing army in her present pecuniary condition could not be very much larger. It is not the object of the present note to discuss why she is poor in spite of an industrious and teachable population, a fertile soil and vast mineral resources. Suffice it to say that part of the explanation lies in what the ruling caste does and refrains from doing. So, while it is a fact that those Indians who have been able to make themselves articulate in the matter, have supported the employment of India's resources to further the cause of the Empire, the real fact to be remembered is that India neither did nor had the power to set a limit to her contribution,—she having no effective voice in either giving or not giving. The actual strength of her standing army and the state of her public treasury set the limit automatically.

"As for private contributions by the princes and people of India, the Review of Reviews for October said: 'Rich men [of England] are indeed bestowing alms, but when compared with the donations of Indian princes these contributions sink into insignificance.'

"We have already said that the help rendered by India should not be measured by the contribution she has made since the beginning of the war; we must look into past history, too, to form a correct

estimate. History teaches us that but for India the British Empire would not have been the wealthy and powerful state that it is. And in acquiring India, Great Britain did not spend a single pice of her own. India was won entirely with Indian money and mainly by Indian soldiers. Indian soldiers have fought in other parts of the Empire, too. We suppose these are contributions. We do not and cannot say that India placed her resources at the disposal of the British people out of generosity;—India cannot take any credit for it. We mention it simply as a fact which nobody can truthfully gainsay, that India has been the making of the British Empire.

"Readers of Mill's History of India as continued by Wilson know that England could not have derived any advantage from the invention of the power-loom if Indian money had not enabled her to work them. Indian money thus lay at the foundation of her manufacturing progress and prosperity. We need not enter into the history of the decay of Indian industries on the one hand and the rise of British industries on the other in the days of the East India Company.

"India's wealth has made Great Britain rich in various ways. India's wealth has found its way to Great Britain through various channels. It has been the practice, held to be justified by the past and existing laws of war, of conquerors in all ages and countries to appropriate to themselves the portable wealth of the conquered as far as practicable. This took place in those parts of India which were acquired by conquest. That is one channel, and though this is a matter entirely of past history, the untold wealth which thus became Britain's has continued to fructify in British hands up to our own day. Another channel is that of commerce and manufacture. The bulk of the export and import trade in food-stuffs, raw materials and manufactures and of the manufacturing industries of India are in British hands. That means hundreds of millions every year for British pockets. The means of inland, river, canal, coasting and trans-oceanic transport are almost entirely in British hands. The highest and most

lucrative public appointments are held by the British, and only a few of the next highest are held by Indians. With quite insignificant exceptions here and there, the British men who obtain wealth from India by public service and pensions, and by trade, manufacture and dividends, spend the bulk of their gains outside India.

"Under all these circumstances, it is deep-dyed ingratitude to accuse India of niggardliness in her war contributions, as some Anglo-Indian papers and Mr. Abbot have done. If England is spending most, most of her wealth has been directly or indirectly derived from our shores. We, however, take no credit for making Great Britain rich. She has grown rich by means of her sons' manhood, enterprise, business capacity, patriotism and some other qualities of a different kind. It should also be remembered that if England spends most it is she who stands to gain or lose most by success or failure.

"One more observation and we have done. It is a just principle that responsibilities should be proportionate to rights. It will be clear from what we have said above that India has done more for the Empire than any of the Colonies. But if she had done less, could anybody justly demand more from her? The colonies are treated as partners in the Empire. They can treat Indians just as they like, and openly declared opposite Imperial policy notwithstanding. But while they are looked upon as partners, India has been hitherto looked upon as a property. The hope* has been held out that after the war her position would improve. When she comes to have that promised higher status, it would be graceful to demand contributions from her equal to those of any other parts of the Empire, though the demand may betray shameful ignorance of contemporary and past history."

* Latterly British statesmen have ceased, as if by common consent, to speak of "the changed angle of vision" or of the position of India after the war! They now only praise India's loyalty.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

OUR EDUCATION

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THE more an *educated* Indian mixes with foreigners in Europe and America, the more keenly does he feel the defects of his education. The consciousness of comparative ignorance and lack of proper upbringing creeps on him bit by bit, and gets on his nerves. He begins to look down upon himself and therein faces a great danger which in this age of *boastful self-confidence* (grown almost to a science in the West), is real and substantial. This age has no use for meekness and humility or for self-sacrifice in the oriental sense. This is an age of self-assertion. We are living in times when "*boosting*," self-laudation, and self-advertising pays. It will not do for us to make too much of our shortcomings and defects. That breeds want of confidence and leads to dependence. Fully conscious of that, I cannot help taking my countrymen into my confidence, as to how I feel about the so-called education we receive in our schools and colleges.

In this respect, private institutions maintained and managed by non-official agencies are as bad as, if not worse than, Government institutions. Oftener than not, the former are only a bad copy of the latter. Competing for the honors of University examinations and Governmental recognition, they neglect the special objects for which they were started, or the special mission which they have in the education of the nation. Everything in India must bear the stamp of Government approval or the seal of Government recognition, and the managers of the private schools have neither the time nor the inclination nor even the means to disregard it. Having been closely connected with the management of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, from its very conception up to 1910, covering the best part of my life and a period of over a quarter of a century, I know how the managers are forced by circumstances to drift downstream. They start with grand ideas, about absolute self-help, and in-

dependence of official control and official approval. Visions of national education, physical education and many other kinds of education, are requisitioned for the collection of funds and an appeal to the public. Bit by bit, however, it begins to dawn on them, that they had counted without their host; that to create a demand for the sort of education they want to impart they will have to toil and wait for years before they can show any results. The collection of funds, however, depends on results. So in seeking for immediate results they start by *postponing* action on their principles, pending the accumulation of funds, until at last the funds and the popularity of the institution become their sole or at least principal objects. The needs of the nation and the principles of sound education, for which they had started, fall into the background.

In the meantime, the demands of the Department of Public Instruction and then the demands of the University begin to tell heavily, and gradually their approval becomes one of the mainsprings, if not the only mainspring, of their conduct. At first the Department and the University try underhand means to kill their independence, but eventually they start on a campaign of reconciliation by a combination of recognition and threats. This last proves effectual, so effectual, that it brings the managers to their knees, making them almost abject in their submission. Then the last chain in the link is put on, *viz.*, an appeal to the personal ambitions of the conductors, which brings an utter collapse of the principles which had inspired the founders. Let me not be misunderstood. I have the highest respect for the managers of the D. A. V. College. One of them I idolize; the others I love. It is not my object to criticise or to find fault with them. What I maintain is that the circumstances are such as to make it almost impossible to resist. As one of those who guided or controlled the des-

tinies of the College for a quarter of a century, I assume the fullest responsibility for the drift downwards. There are other institutions in the country which started with similar principles but which have failed to keep up to their spirit. The struggle is unequal and I do not blame them for their failure. The most recent of them is the Hindu University experiment. With the constitution of its governing body and with the history of its foundation before us, it would be unreasonable to build any big hopes on it. The Hindu University will have fine buildings, may have a fine staff, but it can only be a Hindu edition of the other Universities in India. The incidents connected with its opening ceremony are not very inspiring. It is almost impossible to bring about a radical change in the system of education in India, unless there is a substantial change in the attitude of the Government towards education and in their educational policy. The remedy is in the hands of Government and Government alone. The education of a nation cannot be undertaken, even to a moderate degree, by private agencies, however enterprising and spirited the latter may be.

But what are the principal defects which make us feel so small in the presence of the foreign educated person?

Firstly, our education has no marketable value outside India. Even in India it makes us absolutely dependent on Government, or on professions which are after all so much allied with the work of administration, *viz.*, law, teaching, or office-work, as to justify their being styled semi-Governmental. The full significance or insignificance of this kind of education is not felt and properly realized unless one faces the necessity of earning a livelihood anywhere outside of India. I have seen practical illustrations of it in the U. S. A. An Indian matriculate, or F. A.-passed, or Bachelor of Arts finds that the only way by which he can earn a livelihood in the U. S. A., if the expected remittance from home does not arrive, or is delayed or even stopped, is by seeking a job to wash dishes, attend on the table, do menial work in families or go out in the fields or on the roads as an unskilled laborer. Even here he finds that he is greatly handicapped by the education he had received in his native country. He was never trained to work with his hands. After

10 or 15 years of literary education received in Indian schools or colleges he finds it extremely hard to learn the use of his hands for the purpose of washing dishes or sweeping the room or doing other kinds of daily work in open fields or on roads. That so many of them are eventually able to earn *something* to keep themselves going, is very creditable to their power of endurance. But it is pathetic to see men of education being bossed by absolutely illiterate countrymen of theirs who fare much better in manual labour. Their practical knowledge of agriculture does them good service. Then their physical condition is always better than that of the so-called educated men. So the former are heads of gangs and the latter work under them and put up with all sorts of humiliation.

An educated Hindu is generally at sea if he has to earn his living anywhere outside of the province of his birth. He is besides helpless like a baby in several other respects. Very rarely, if at all, does he know anything of cooking, of stitching, or of first-aid. Most of them can neither swim nor row. They do not know even the rudiments of the art of self-defence, because no one has ever devoted a thought to that part of their education. The only thing they know is the use of the English language for ordinary purpose. This, no doubt, saves them from being altogether stranded in countries where English is spoken.

Secondly, looking at the cultural side of education, they have no notion of it. They have no ear for music; nor any eye for a picture or a painting. The Bengalees and the Mahrattas, thanks to their family influences, are better in this respect than the Panjabees or the U. P. men. Ask a Northern Indian to entertain an audience and it is a sight to see him making excuses. He cannot sing; he cannot play; he cannot recite; he cannot even tell a story. Take him to a concert or an exhibition of Fine Arts and he feels as if he is in a prison. He cannot appreciate, nor enjoy, nor admire. In his lonely hours he does not know how to relieve the monotony of his solitude by humming a tune. The only thing he can do is to prattle of the past greatness of India without even knowing what that greatness consisted in, or sometimes to sneer at it. A Panjabee youth is a pathetic sight in a group of boys and girls determined on "*good time*." He can make

no contribution to the common mirth of the party. He can only sigh. Asked to recite some poetry, he may be able to repeat a few verses of Tennyson or Shakespeare in humble accents. But as to Punjabee poetry or Urdu poetry or Sanskrit or Hindi poetry, he never considered himself so foolish as to waste time on it. The folklore of his country, he has never heard of. Sometimes he meets foreign gentlemen or ladies who know of his country's folklore or mythology better than himself, and then his humiliation or discomfiture knows no bounds.

We hear all kinds of theories put forward by the rulers of India to improve the quality of the education imparted in Indian schools and colleges, but when we come to practical measures we find them exhausted in exaggerated emphasis on good buildings, a slight increase in the salaries of teachers and great emphasis on a superior and a better knowledge of English. The Indian administrators' standard of excellence of education is generally measured by the scholars' proficiency in English language and literature. In their eyes that alone is the principal aim of an Indian's education. We often hear of Sir James Meston's thundering on quality in preference to quantity, but we have not been told what is his standard of quality. We do not know if the U. P. Schools are now, since Sir James Meston's accession to the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra, turning out better men, than before—men better able to fight the battle of life vocationally, men who will be able to earn a living in any country and under any circumstances, men with a knowledge of the foreign languages of the world, men with finer tastes and finer bodies. When one compares the educational methods in India with those prevailing in Japan, one is inclined to think that we in India are 50 years behind Japan, though the Japanese in their turn are no less than 25 years behind Europe and America. The Japanese education makes an ample provision both for mind and body. Their system of physical culture is perfect. They insist on a young man learning the art of self-defence to perfection. They teach him fencing, boxing, archery, shooting, swimming and running. All kinds of schools, religious or secular, general or professional, common or special, vie with one another in

the provision they make for physical culture. They amply provide for Tennis, Cricket, Football, Hockey and Baseball, but what they insist on, are the games that make a man efficient for offence as well as defence. Then, every Japanese lad knows how to sing and play and how to draw. They have an instinct for beauty, but the development of the taste to perfection is done by education. It is a part of a young Japanese' education to know something of everything for the ordinary needs of life—a bit of cooking, a bit of sewing and stitching, and so on. The Japanese are at the present moment everywhere on earth, from the North Pole to the South Pole, from Japan to California. They are readily accepted in domestic service and so are the Chinese; but the Hindus (including the Mohammedans) are so clumsy that it is with difficulty they find a job to keep their souls and bodies together. Why? Because they are lacking in the training which makes a man useful, even though he may not be an expert in any particular line.

I am sure we want Sanskrit scholars and scholars of the English language. We want scientists, philosophers, doctors, jurists, historians, economists, scholars in every branch of human knowledge, but above all, what we want are sensible men who can look to their ordinary needs and comforts under any circumstances in which they may be placed; men who can depend on themselves when cornered; men who can turn a pie by laying their hands to anything which may come handy in time of need. That is the kind of education upon which the edifice of higher and a university education should be raised. Even in the higher spheres what the country needs more than anything else are better mechanics, more efficient carpenters, skilful electricians, resourceful chemists, men who will enable the country to compete with the outside world in the output of their industries. The promoters and leaders of the Hindu University cannot put the country's money in their hands to a better use than lead in laying the foundation of a useful system of education. We have quite enough of grammarians or lexicographers or orators,—men who can talk a lot about philosophy and religion and spirituality but who fail to realize that a hungry stomach is not the best condition for sound thought. A nation,

helpless, dependent, wanting in common sense, looking to others for the necessities of life, can only *talk* of religion but they can never *live* it. We have had enough and to spare of *the philosophy of religion*. What we now need is a *living* religion which will inspire us to nobler deeds and higher ideals in the life of the world in which we live and breathe, than in the life which is known to occultists and clairvoyants only. We want thought but even more life. We want spirit, but just now, even more body. We want high ideals, but even more, practical ideals. For God's sake, let us not put the cart before the horse.

The world has enough of admiration for our philosophy, for our mysticism, for the knowledge of the spirit developed

by our ancestors. Yet they hold us in contempt all the same, as we are lacking in those things which go for self-respect, self-assertion, self-confidence and self-dependence. It is a critical time in the life of our nation, and we cannot be too careful in laying out ideals for *immediate realization* and in chalking out lines of national activities for the amelioration of the condition of our people. In our present condition we are the most despised people on the face of the earth. Even our educated men fail to inspire respect because of the lack of true education.

Oh! Our Education! Is it not tragic that we should at times feel that in the battle of life we might have done better without it.

20th April, 1916.

EVILS OF SMOKING

AN ADDRESS BY RAI BAHADUR DR. U.N. BRAHMACHARI, M.D., Ph. D.

Delivered at the Quarterly Public Meeting of the Anti-Smoking Society, March, 1916.

THERE are various kinds of drugs which are used for smoking. But this evening I shall confine myself to the effects of smoking tobacco.

Before I describe to you the baneful effects of smoking tobacco, I would like to say a few words about the origin of this drug and its introduction into society.

Tobacco is prepared from the leaves of several species of *Nicotinia*, a genus of the plants, belonging to a family which include the tomato, potato and deadly nightshade.

The question as to the original home of the plant is one of great interest and has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The problem of its introduction into India is naturally a matter of still greater importance for the purpose of this evening's meeting here. Briefly speaking the question resolves itself into deciding between the claims of the old and the new world as the home of the plant which is now equally common in both.

Many botanists have ascribed to one variety of this plant an eastern origin and no doubt the plant has the appearance of

being perfectly wild in many parts of the world. Most authors of the 16th century speak of this species as a plant introduced from foreign countries. The evidence for a non-American origin of tobacco appears, according to most authorities, to be of a very slight character and they come to the conclusion that tobacco reached the East *via* Europe and ultimately from America. It is generally believed that it was first introduced into India by the Portuguese in the early years of the 17th century. The reference to the use of tobacco in ancient books of India is meagre, though one finds reference to various kinds of smoking in some of the earliest works in India. Still it is doubtful whether the view generally held that it was introduced into India from the West is a correct one. I quote here a few passages which would tend to throw doubt upon this generally accepted theory of introduction of tobacco into India.

कलङ्क सन्नेष्टन धूमपानात्

सा दम्भयुधि सुखरोग हारी ।

विष्णु विद्यासागराचार्य ।

संविद्या कायकटय तामकटं चपुखूरं
अहिमेन खण्ड्यैरसं तारिकं तरिता तथा ।
इत्यहो सिद्धयानि यथा सूर्याष्टकं प्रिये ।

कुशाचय तन्त्र

But we shall not waste time in this academic discussion and pass on quickly to study its baneful effects.

At the present day there is an extensive tobacco industry in India. The total area cultivated in India in 1905 was upwards of one million acres and the value of its export for the same year was more than one hundred thousand pounds.

In small doses tobacco causes a sensation of heat in the throat and a feeling of warmth at the stomach. In over doses the prominent symptoms are excessive and distressing nausea, vomiting and sometimes purging, extreme weakness, and relaxation of the muscles, depression of the vascular system, feeble pulse, pale face, cold sweats and fainting, convulsive movements, followed by paralysis and a kind of torpor terminating in death.

In habitual smokers the practice when employed moderately provokes thirst, increases the secretion of saliva and mucus and is supposed to produce a peculiar soothing effect on the mind which has made it so much admired and adopted. But the smoking of the drug by those who are unaccustomed to it, sometimes gives rise to disastrous effects. Cases are on record in which fatal results have followed smoking in individuals unaccustomed to its use. These dangerous results are due to a most dreadful active principle contained in tobacco which is known as nicotine.

There can be no doubt as to the harmful effect produced by the drug in the young. Its use by the young is to be strongly condemned. In them even in small quantities, it may give rise to vertigo, nausea and often vomiting with feeling of uneasiness in the region of the stomach, general weakness, unusual muscular relaxations, depression of the pulse, coolness of the surface and faintness. In excessive doses, the pulse becomes sometimes slow, sometimes frequent but oftentimes small, extremely weak and irregular. As stated before, there may be fatal results, which have sometimes occurred in less than an hour, especially in the young and the unaccustomed. So dangerous are its actual principles in tobacco that its application

to abraded surfaces of the body has sometimes been attended with dangerous results.

The practice of habitual smoking in excessive doses is dangerous and especially so in the young and individuals of nervous temperament. In excess, it is often very injurious, greatly impairing the vigour of the nervous system and of the health generally and probably shortening life, if not directly, at least by rendering the system less liable to resist noxious agents. The effects most frequently induced are dyspepsia, defective nutrition, paleness and emaciation, general debility and various nervous disorders, of which the most frequent are palpitation of the heart, hypochondriacal feelings and neuralgic pains, especially of the head and eyes. Very great habitual excess has been held by some to be capable of directly inducing a condition prominently marked by muscular tremors, obstinate wakefulness and hallucinations. Even insanity has been attributed to the excessive habitual use of tobacco.

There are many diseases which are referable to the use of tobacco and it may be of interest to my audience to know some of these. There is the tobacco amblyopia in which there is a gradual loss of sight equal in both the eyes and if its use is still continued there may be atrophy of the disc. Then there are various functional disorders of the heart induced by tobacco, as shewn by bradycardia arrhythmia and palpitation, angina pavis in the heart, weakening of coats of blood-vessels and overstress of the heart. Chronic pharyngitis and laryngitis and cancer of the larynx and the lips may follow its excessive use. Chronic gastritis may result, with its attendant symptoms, such as loss of appetite, coated tongue, paleness, anaemia, emaciation, headache, constipation and depression of spirit. In many, chronic cough develops due to congestion of the air passages which may lead to various diseases of the lungs, such as phthisis or chronic bronchitis.

Besides Nicotine, tobacco contains Pyridine bodies which also are poisonous. They excite the medulla and cord more readily and may produce general convulsions.

Such then, gentlemen, are the baneful effects of the so-called fragrant weed upon the system. The habit of smoking tobacco has been forbidden from time to time.

The actual date of its introduction among that nation of smokers, the Dutch, is somewhat uncertain. For some years after its introduction among the Dutch, it held a wonderful reputation as a panacea. Before long, all classes, both rich and poor, spent a considerable part of their leisure in indulging in the new habit of smoking tobacco. After some time active opposition to tobacco began to make itself felt in Holland. The General and Provincial Governments attempted to check the habit by the issuing of severely worded proclamations and the imposition of heavy duties; the municipal authorities imposed fines on persons found sucking tobacco; the governors of orphan asylums and religious institutions forbade tobacco under pain of instant dismissal or even imprisonment; and finally it was made impossible for the country's military and naval defenders to obtain any tobacco at all.

Similarly the measures adopted for the suppression of tobacco smoking were exceedingly drastic in several other European continental countries.

In Russia the herb was solemnly cursed and declared unclean by the ecclesiastical authorities and in 1630 it was forbidden by royal proclamation. The people, however, disregarded the patriarchal ban and the order of the Little Father, with the result that three years later it was forbidden under the penalty of losing one's nose. In 1641 the Czar ordered that on the third conviction for smoking tobacco, the offender should have his nostrils split and be banished to Siberia for long. In 1655 the Czar absolutely prohibited smoking under the penalty of death. Still the habit prevailed and the Russians are one of the most inveterate smokers in Europe.

Thus smoking of tobacco has been forbidden in European countries from time to

time. In England, the sale of tobacco has been recommended to be forbidden among children, and I understand that smoking by youths under 20 has been suppressed in Japan. I hear the religious people in Belgium do not smoke.

I hope the attempts of your society will be crowned with success and measures will be adopted to prohibit its use among the school and college boys. But in this respect the parents and guardians of the youths are more likely to be helpful than the State. Let your appeal go to them that they might join you in your noble cause.

When the plant was first introduced into Europe, it was supposed to possess almost miraculous healing powers and was designated as *herba panacea*. We read of the divine tobacco of Spenser and the holy herb Nicotian of William Lily. But the miraculous healing powers of the herb are myths and tobacco has vanished from the British Pharmacopœia.

I forbid the young and the unaccustomed to taste this weed, which has now become such a favourite article of luxury in all parts of the world. I would say to you that to smoke tobacco is to create a drug habit which is useless and in many cases prejudicial to the health of the individual. The world will not in any way suffer if smoking were prohibited to-day except the interested parties who grow and sell this so-called fragrant weed. It is an unnecessary luxury which has slowly crept into society and should be given up. If you succeed in eradicating the habit of smoking among school boys and college youths they will avoid it when they grow older and thus slowly and surely tobacco will cease to be used by the old as well as the young.

"THE KING OF THE DARK CHAMBER"*

OF the three later dramatic compositions of Sir Rabindranath it is the "Raja" or "The King Of The Dark Chamber" wherein we discover a unique work in which the dramatic and the lyrical

elements are blended together in perfect rhythm and harmony. Unlike the other two sister compositions it has an well-defined plot running through it, which at once rouses our interest and sustains it. This has probably been suggested by an old Jataka story called the "Kusa Jataka" ("The Jataka" edited by V. Fousboll, vol V.—No. 531) in which such important modifications have been made that we can claim for

* *The King of the Dark Chamber*: a Translation of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's "Raja." MacMillan & Co.

the poet a great amount of originality even on this account. Before discussing the other aspects of the work it may be desirable first to compare the story of the poet with the story of the Jataka with a view to appreciate the value of those changes through which the poet has so remarkably realised his purpose, which is so entirely different both in ideal and execution from that of the original story.

The story as it appears in the "Kusa Jataka" may briefly be summarised as follows:—

A certain king has no heir, but at length by the favour of Sakka, his chief queen Silabati miraculously gives birth to two sons. The elder—Kusa, is ill-favoured but supernaturally wise. He only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned. Such a princess being found, Silavati the mother of the prince Kusa, at once thought that as the bride was so lovely she would not in all probability like to remain with her ugly son, so she stipulated with the Madda king, the father of the bride, that she is not to look upon her husband's face by daylight till she has conceived. Prince Kusa, however, being desirous to look upon the beautiful face of his consort Prabhavati, disguises himself as an elephant-keeper and a groom in the stable and satisfies his desire. Again, one day when Prabhavati told her mother-in-law that she wanted to see King Kusa, she was directed to look upon him through an window when he was expected to make a solemn procession through the city. The next day the queen mother had the city decked out and ordered her second son, the beautiful prince Jayampati, clad in a royal robe and mounted on an elephant, to make a triumphal procession through the city. Standing at the window with Prabhavati she said, "Behold the glory of your lord," and she, mistaking Jayampati for Kusa, was elated with joy. But King Kusa, disguised as an elephant-keeper, was seated behind Jayampati and gazing at Prabhavati as much as he would in the joy of his heart deported himself by gesticulating with his hands. When the elephant had passed then the queen mother asked if she had seen her husband. "Yes lady, but seating behind him was an elephant-keeper, a very ill-conducted fellow who gesticulated at me with his hands." Musing on the matter she thought, "This elephant-keeper is a bold fellow, and has no proper respect for the king. Can it be that he is the King Kusa? No doubt, he is hideous and that is why they do not let me see him." So she sent her hump-backed nurse to ascertain the fact: King Kusa, however, on noticing her, understood the whole thing and strictly charged her not to reveal his secret and let her go. She came and told Prabhavati just as Kusa had directed and she believed. Once more the king longed to see her and hid himself upto his neck in the lotus pool, standing in the water with his head shaded by a lotus leaf and his face covered by its flower. Prabhavati, who had been taken to the side of the pond by the queen mother, longed to bathe and, seeing that lotus, stretched forth her hand, eager to pluck it. Then the king putting aside the lotus leaf took her by the hand, saying "I am King Kusa." On seeing his face she cried, "A goblin is catching hold of me" and then and there swooned away. On recovering her consciousness she decided to go away from her ugly husband to her paternal kingdom. The king hearing this thought, "If she cannot get away, her heart will break, let her go; by my own power I will bring her back again." King Kusa then followed her there and under variety of menial disguises of a

potter, basket-maker, gardener and cook tried in vain to win back her affections with the assistance of the hump-backed nurse. Now the god Sakka finding the miserable plight of Kusa sent messengers to seven kings as if they came from King Madda to say, "Prabhavati has thrown over King Kusa and has returned home. You are to come and take her to wife." The seven kings came and finding that all the seven kings had been invited for only one woman, became enraged and wanted to fight with the Madda king, who consequently became very much frightened. He said that after casting off the chief king in all India she returned here and as a result of that has brought this mishap on me; I will slay her and after cutting her body into seven pieces send one to each of the seven kings. This terrified Prabhavati greatly and she went to her mother's chamber and related to her the whole thing. Her parents being aware of the whole situation sent Prabhavati to beg pardon of him (Kusa) and she came and fell in the mud at the feet of the King Kusa in his workman's dress and asked his forgiveness. He pardoned her and placed her on an elephant beside him and went to meet the seven kings in stately array. Thereafter he bestowed the seven sisters of Prabhavati in marriage upon the seven kings and returned home with Prabhavati.

The story of "Raja," however, takes the marriage of Sudarshana with the invisible king as an accomplished fact and all at once lands us in the midst of an universal quest after the invisible king, for not only is Sudarshana anxious to meet him, but all the citizens and the seven stranger kings are seeking to find him in vain. The queen is allowed to come into the presence of the king only in darkness and in her extreme anxiety to see the king her lord in daylight has her eyes dazzled by the sight of the false king in triumphal array. Afterwards when she sees the actual king she cannot bear to see his ugly face and hurries to her own paternal kingdom and is followed there by the seven kings every one of whom was anxious to get possession of her by fair fight. Her father is taken prisoner in the fight and her pride is humbled. It is at this juncture that the king comes, all the other kings fly away and he accepts his repenting queen at her knees and goes out with her in the light of day.

A comparison of the two stories and a critical study of the "Raja" will make it clear to any reader that the modifications adopted by the poet and the manner in which he has given expression to it have completely changed their purpose. The Jataka tale is not anything more than a love story wherein we feel interested in the passionate love of Kusa and slightly repelled by the vanity of his beautiful queen and are glad that after all they are both reconciled. The same important links of the story find their place here also, but the creation accomplished is incomparably higher and greater. The resultant dominant emotion here is not as in the other case a mere amorous pleasure, the joyous strain of the sensuous within us, but a quest, a pulsation, a throbbing after the Eternal within us. The elements constituting the static interest of the story have been touched here with the naive skill of the poet in such a manner that all the pent-up longings of our spirit are set in motion. It is not merely a drama of a system of events or a play of passions which we enjoy on the basis of sympathy, but one in which the supremely lyrical in us pour its contents in the same cup in which the dramatic elixir is drunk. In every turn of the drama, the lyrical longing after the transcen-

dental, the insatiable search after the Infinite, the ceaseless resonance of "Where" in all our intellectual scrutiny enlivens our heart to the very verge of intoxication. But still we are aware that it is not the mere lyrical breeze, the heaving emotion of life pulsating through Nature and man, which characterises his later master-piece "Phalguni." But here is the simultaneous satisfaction of the dramatic and the lyrical in man, the simultaneous feasting of the eye and the palate in the sweet and ripe creation of Nature. Here it is that we see that with the superficial development of the plot and the characters of the drama there develops *pari passu* in a deeper region in a much subtler strain a soul drama which constitutes the lyrical element of the piece. It is not an allegorical composition of which we can only say that "more is meant than meets the ear," but this is a creation in which the suggestion that lies deep and the play that floats on the surface are bound together in the same strain, so that the growth of the latter involves the growth of the former, though we have to confess at the same time that the content of each is independent of the other. The dynamic of the mythic process reflects that of the transfiguration and the value of each grows through mutual reflection and re-reflection.

The government that earthly kings impose upon their subjects is only marked by misplaced restrictions upon individual freedom, arbitrary laws and arbitrary limitations, crooked ways, and self-contradictory measures. To this, however, the supreme order that runs through the process of universal Nature presents a striking contrast before our view. There the process is so simple, the actions are so automatic and living that whenever we stand face to face with these mysteries we ask ourselves, Is there any Creator? Is there any master who dominates and lords over this magnificent kingdom? We ponder over it, calculate, reason and doubt. We protest and ignore the reality of a supreme master; still there is no response; no punishment is directly inflicted upon our disloyalty. Thus from the wonder and the quest comes the doubt, and from doubt comes the negation, and it seems that instead of running towards the Master, we are taking just the opposite course and are flying away from him, and are puffed up with vanity; our eyes are blinded with the glitter and the blaze of hollow ambition. In a word we are lost. But there is no way to be lost, and to run away from him is but a step of running towards him. There are no ways but those that run towards him. The negation contains within itself the germ of its own criticism, contradiction and destruction. Vanity contains within itself the elements of its own destruction and leads of itself to submission. Modesty follows pride, contentment follows ambition and Faith follows atheism. The drift of our life which apparently took us away from Him, one day crushed our pride, powdered into dust the armour of our vanity and brought us low at His feet wailing and repenting for our sins and praying to be forgiven. It is this which constitutes the inner tragedy of our soul, which marks the death of Man and the birth of the Spirit or the Holy Ghost. This optimistic scheme pervades the poet's mind not only here but in his other works as well; we are told in the "Phalguni" that the shivering, dreary winter is transformed into the flowery freshness of the smiling spring, that life was only re-invigorated and rejuvenated through death, and further in the Gitanjali, that Failure in us had its complement in the supreme realisation in the hand of God who in His own timelessness holds the perfection of our Being

which could not manifest itself through the obstructions of the temporal order of this Universe. But this optimism which is at once deeper than that of Browning and more sublime and pervading than that of Tennyson is not manifested here merely as such but as evolving through a dialectic. Thus the doubt manifests itself in two spheres, the subjective and the objective, and grows therein until with its growth the very seed of its destruction also grows and expands and ultimately nullifies it and through it the supreme end of the quest is realised. The quest which eventually is transformed into doubt is first seen among the individual citizens until it gradually grows and grows and pervades the minds of the kings of Kanchi, Kosal, &c., and this it may be remarked is the direct antithesis of the former. The first germs of Negation which may at first be noticed among men as individuals, soon exceed their bounds, develop and creep into the Social Mind, States as represented by the kings (as here of Kosal, &c.) and constitute the vanity and arrogance of Nations, which are manifested in the supreme contempt for anything higher than the Will of Man; and the punishment of such a course of things is brought through greed and ambition which bring with them internecine war and devastation and those that survive are brought on their knees to submission before the mighty Being who with his unseen presence rules the destinies of the world. But in direct antithesis with this development and dissolution of Doubt in the Objective sphere, we have to notice its progress in the Subjective sphere as exemplified in the vanity and anguish of Sudarshana.

Apart from the quest after the Master in the objective course of things, there is the quest after Him in man's own heart. He feels His presence in the deepest region of his heart, not however with the definiteness and clearness of direct vision, not in all the concreteness of his nature as upholding in his regal splendour the kingdom of the universe, but as a mere feeling, a mere pulsation after the Infinite which can neither establish itself "beyond doubt," nor affiliate itself with His nature as the Great King of the Universe. To be brief, it is merely subjective as such, which cannot save man from the grip of Doubt. He cannot reconcile the order of the universe with his own indefinite feelings, and loses faith in it, is filled with vanity, ambition and immodesty and is drawn out by the phantom glitter of the day; his peaceful and happy nook is set on fire and his very existence is in danger through the storm and fury of an objective struggle. Sir Arthur's round table was dispersed by those who followed "wandering fire." Man says, "if this that I find in my heart is God, why should it not establish itself in the exterior order, in riches and power which I long to attain?" He is duped by Mammon, forfeits his peace and happiness,—the product of his own vain passion—in which his very soul is often pawned. But there are no ways but those that lead to him, and even this revolt which heaps miseries on miseries does but lead him to submission; he finds that in running away from him hunting after the false lord of riches and power, he is on the very verge of ruin from which nothing else can save him; he throws himself on his knees before him and clings to him, with all the humility of his heart, and finds to his satisfaction that all his fears are dispelled. Then and then alone when all his vanities are vanished, his pride humbled, and his mind filled with his glory can he eternally return back to Him and see Him pervading his "within and without."

Go anywhere you will, you cannot be lost; the inherent contradiction of your fault must lead you to the right. The superiority of this optimism over that of Browning consists in this that he did not know the dialectic nature of Faults, but only believed that Faults presuppose a perfect condition of things in another life in Heaven.

The book contains twenty scenes and they are arranged in such a way that every scene dealing with the exterior world, the objective sphere, the kings and the citizens, is alternated by another scene dealing with the development of the plot in the inner harem, so far as Sudarshana is concerned. Thus the development of the Idea through its Negation both in the objective world of Realities and the subjective world of inner experiences, in the very same stride and movement, is brought clearly by force of suggestion before our view. We are made to feel that the same vanity which creeps into individuals creeps into societies as well, and they are brought into relation with each other through the same course of development of the germ of Sin in both, they proceed in their course by the same dynamic, and suffer; but ultimately out of their very suffering the Christ of their deliverance comes before their view, the inherent contradiction of Sin corrodes and eats itself up, and man and society in their fullest submission lay themselves at the feet of their Lord and achieve their supreme realisation.

There are five characters in the drama: (1) the King of Kanchi, (2) the Queen Sudarsana, (3) Surangama, the maid, (4) the grandfather, and (5) the invisible king himself. Of these the characters of the King of Kanchi and Sudarshana are similar in this that while the former through his vanity ignores The King, the latter through love of greediness and pride was attracted by the illusive show of a false king, felt herself bored at the presence of the real King, her husband, thought Him ugly and flew away from Him. This inherent weakness of her character first dissolved the peace and happiness of her sweet home, made her a beggar and an unwelcome guest at her father's place, brought upon herself and her father all the troubles of a foreign invasion of the seven kings under the leadership of the King of Kanchi, whose lust she had excited by offering her own garland to the false king at the time of the pompous procession of The King, her husband, at her home. This Nemesis, this curse of Duryasa, was not however a *Dieu-Ex-Machina*, extraneous to the conception of the drama, but was the poisonous exhalation of her own sin. The pride of the King of Kanchi was also humbled by the appearance of the King himself at the critical moment. The peaceful end of the drama, the supreme grace which followed the whole-hearted submission of Sudarshana, reminds us therefore of the whole history of a *Paradise Lost and Regained*.

The characters of Surangama and the Grandfather are similar in this, that the former with the right instinct of a devotee and the latter with the true instinct of a poet with the utmost loyalty of their hearts had not only never lost their faith in Him but felt themselves pervaded with His presence. No temptation could shake them. His royal ensign as the Thunder in the Lotus, the Terrible in the Tender was familiar to them. They were the born Holy. The King himself, however, never appears on the stage, but it is His self-sustained activity and calmness which is the source of all movement in the characters of the drama. He is the absolutely passive and the supremely active. Thus the Grandfather

speaking of Him says that we are all kings and this is the bond which connects us with Him:—

"We are all kings in the kingdom of our King.
Were it not so, how could we hope in our heart to meet Him?"

We do what we like, yet we do what he likes;
We are not bound with the chain of fear at the feet of a slave-owning king.....

We struggle and dig our own path, thus reach his path at the end.

We can never get lost in the abyss of dark night.
Were it not so, how could we hope in our heart to meet him?"

He is the supreme freedom which is the cause of all freedom and movement in us.

Neither slander nor praise can touch him. Wherever we meet with the grandfather surging and foaming with the joy of loyalty and fired with the poet's and the prophet's zeal, we feel a new awakening in us. Our hearts dance with his dance in the joy of the same harmony in which sorrow and joy, good and bad, death and birth, and bondage and freedom are dancing in eternal bliss.

We have taken a long time in describing the nature and the value of this transfiguration in this masterly work but could not at the same time draw the attention of our readers to the charming lyrical aspect of the play by quoting illustrative passages from it, as most of the beauty and elegance of the original has been lost in the translation. To those who have read "Raja," the translation cuts a very sorry figure and we feel that it had rather been never undertaken at all. The very best passages have often been omitted, and the general rendering is so crude and heavy, that it would indeed be a pity if we wished to demonstrate the fine lyrical effusion in the rapturous and quickening language of the poet by any quotations from it. In our review, therefore, we have only considered the general plan of the play and have not tried to take its estimate in its purely literary character, as it would be vain to do it on the basis of this poor translation.*

In conclusion it may not be out of place to point out that "Raja" being essentially a work of Art and "thing of beauty and joy for ever", the transfiguration involved in the life-criticism of the drama through its own peculiar story should never be misunderstood as that which the poet primarily wishes to communicate to us as a lesson for which the drama has been taken up merely as an excuse. For the transfiguration is merely the re-shining, the resonance, from the form or the tune of the drama itself; what the Sanskrit rhetoricians would call an "Anuranana" or "Vastudhwani". Its relation with the drama is like the melody which sticks to our ears long after the song has actually died away. The dramatic spectacle captivates our senses, the lyrical flow sets our very being in a whirl-pool, we have no time to think, we are led on and on, when the scene closes, the spectators rise, and in the bustle of the crowd we prepare to return home; but yet the joy haunts on us like a thin misty cloud; and we know not whether we are glad or sad. What does it all mean? What is the deeper truth that underlies it? From the

* I have personally ascertained it from the poet that he had no hand in the translation though he has erroneously been put as the translator on the title page of the translation.—S. D. G.

drama we return back to the strife of our own moral nature on which some new side-light has now been thrown ; we ponder, think, and are absorbed, while some lines are probably still ringing in our ears :—

"We struggle and dig our own paths, thus reach
his path at the end.

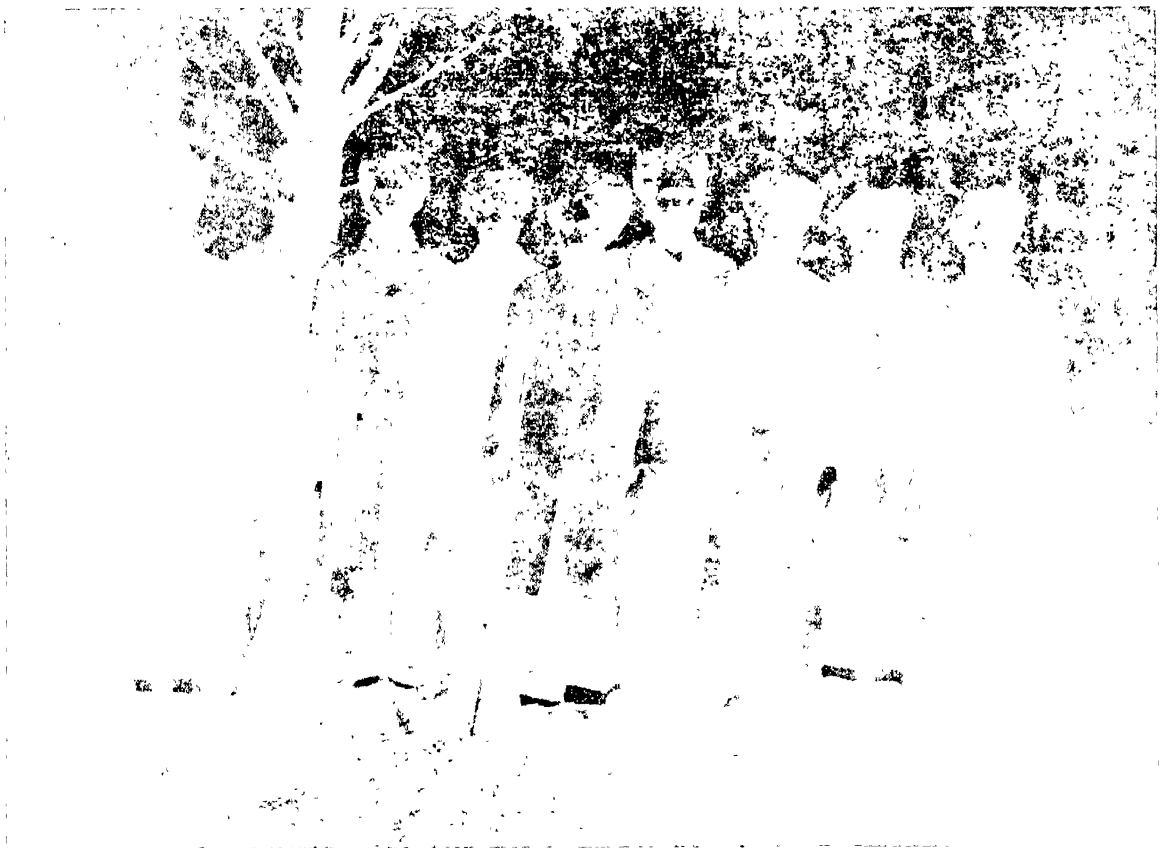
We can never get lost in the abyss of dark night.
Were it not so, how could we hope in our hearts
to meet him ?"

SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA.

INDIANS AT WAR

THE tragic fall of Kut must have come as a fearful blow to Indians in India—more so I think than to Indians and friends of India in England. Even though, when weeks ago, we first heard of General

Townshend's plight, we never thought he would be forced to surrender, we never dreamt that things would get to such a fearful pass that he would be unable to hold out. When one overheard, perhaps,



Some wounded warriors of the 15th Sikhs, one of the most famous regiments.
Taken at Netley Hospital.

on tram or bus or in the train, the business man discussing the state of affairs in Mesopotamia with a friend, you would invariably hear the remark, "Oh ! but

everything will be all right. The Indian troops are there !" And it was this quiet and perfect confidence in the Indian troops that somehow brightened the gloom that



Members of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps photographed with some of the wounded Indians.
Taken at Netley Hospital.

seemed to hang like a pall over everything and everybody. And when it was officially stated that General Townshend had been forced to surrender, people whispered here that "things must have been awfully bad, —not even the Indian troops could hold out." And it is a real and genuine sadness that has taken possession of the hearts of the British people to-day, a sadness born of a real affection and admiration for the Indian warriors who are taking such a splendid part in the battle for Right against Might.

Ever since the beginning of the War when India, in one stupendous and spontaneous burst of patriotism, offered her troops and her money to the Empire, the Indian Warrior has reigned supreme in the hearts of the British public. Whether it be the haughty mien of a handsome Sikh, or the quaint face and merry eyes of a little Gurkha, they are all an object of worshipful admiration. Perchance it is that there is a certain halo of romance which envelopes the form of an Indian

Sepoy, but whatever it is, they have come and conquered the hearts of the British public. The very thing that statesmen and politicians have been striving so strenuously to accomplish for so many years, namely, a better understanding between the people of Britain and the people of India, has been brought about in this singular way. The exploits of the Indians in Flanders, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia are stories that will be handed down to the generations yet to come, and sung to the babe in the cradle and told to the child at the mother's knee when this Great War has become a thing of the dim past—a nightmare at which we shall look back with relief to know it is over.

And it is, no doubt, somewhat cheering to know that, as far as possible, the British Government have done all that they possibly could for the comfort of the Indian troops. The arrangements for the sick and wounded have received especial consideration, and one cannot but marvel that such a state of perfection could be arrived at



Some members of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps who have been serving with the Indian Contingent at Netley since the beginning of the War.

under the circumstances. When it was first rumoured that Indian troops were on their way to fight in Flanders, there were many people who thought the British Government were doing a very foolish thing. "But if they are wounded or ill, what about their caste, who will look after them?" they wailed; and they prophesied heaps of trouble for the Government. But these well-meaning and short-sighted people have been distinctly surprised, and no doubt a little hurt, to find that no such thing has happened.

But although the British Government showed great fore-thought in dealing with the many problems arising from the bringing of Indian troops to Europe, yet to a great extent the praise does not belong to them. Their burden was lightened in a most unexpected manner by the wave of patriotism that swept over Great Britain, and the spontaneous outburst of love for their countrymen that came from the hundreds of young Indian Students—

Medical, Law, and Engineering—who asked the Government to be allowed "to do something." And well have they done their "something." The Government saw a way out of their difficulty at once, and banded these young men together into a corps called "The Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps." Trained as dressers and hospital orderlies they were then sent to attend the Indian wounded, first at Netley Hospital, and later in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

The glimpse the writer had of an Indian hospital is not easily forgotten. Imagine a large two-storeyed building standing in its own grounds. Along the front of the building stretched a verandah, half a mile in length, and on this verandah walked, sat, or lay Indian warriors in all stages of convalescence. The wards were cool and airy and filled with sweet perfumed flowers which scented the air, and, as a tall Pathan confided to the writer in a whisper, "smelt like India." A Sikh with



Wounded Indians playing Chess.

a dreamy far-away look in his eyes, lay on a bed half-way down a ward, and was chanting in a low voice some sacred song of his own race, the refrain of which was taken up and repeated by a comrade in a bed opposite. Sikhs, Pathans, Jats, Gurkhas—they were all there. All looked happy and contented. And among them moved the slim young Indian Student Dressers, who tended these men as though they had done it all their lives. And when one considers that in India these same young men would not be allowed to perform the smallest menial duty, it is all the more credit to them that they should so easily adapt themselves to the circumstances in which they have been placed. There are many touching incidents showing that the Indian Sepoys themselves appreciate the care and devotion of these young men. One badly wounded Gurkha was being attended to by the son of a very well-known gentleman of Calcutta. There was a look of great distress on the little Gurkha's face, and, unable to bear it any

longer, he cried out, "Oh, no, Babu Sahib, you mustn't do it; what would your father say!" And a Sikh remarked that "it's a wonderful war to bring the Babu Sahibs to serve us."

The cooking of food for the Indian troops is also a matter that has received the most careful attention. Everything is carried out according to the strict rules of the different castes, and no man's caste is in any way offended. The cooking and preparing of the food by Indian cooks, under the vigilant eyes of members of the Volunteer Corps, is carried out with the greatest of care, and the brightly polished cooking utensils and boards made snowy white with much scrubbing, gives the place a look of perfect cleanliness.

In the beautiful grounds surrounding this retreat are shady trees and pleasant walks, and seats in abundance. Here the convalescent Indian can sit and read, or play his favourite game, or stroll among the flowers and shrubs and think of home. I know he thinks of home because I can

see the look of wistful sadness in his eyes, although his lips may smile. He is thinking of that day, when after the War, he will return to that land which is not to be compared to any other land, that land

of great rivers and plains and wonderful mountains, the land he calls "home."

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VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH INDIA

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

IT is a valuable book which Mr. John Matthai of Madras has written, on Village Government in British India, and which has been published by the well-known London publisher, Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. Our friend Mr. Sydney Webb, has contributed an illuminating preface, in which he points out with great force, how much undue insistence is laid on "the cleavages of castes" in thinking about and discussing the successful introduction of representative institutions in India. Mr. Matthai's book makes it clear that the village councils, which administered the affairs of the villages in pre-British days, were generally composed of men of different castes, exercising jurisdiction over all castes. He points out, by actual examples, how even the *Shudras* were allowed to take part in these village councils, thus demolishing the theory that the Caste System prevailing in India is an insuperable obstacle to the successful working of democratic institutions. Mr. Sydney Webb points out how the Caste System had "in fact, permitted a great deal of common life" and how its existence was made "compatible with active village councils."

Mr. Webb also points out that "the vote by ballot" and "party government" are not the only methods of bringing administration under popular control. Indian Village Councils performed that function quite successfully in their own way. In the opinion of Mr. Webb, it is a pity that the aspirations of so many Indians for Indian Self-Government, and especially those of Indian students should contemplate so exclusively what concerns India as a whole. After all, he continues, it is the local government of a village or a municipality that touches most nearly the lives of the people, and the Dominion Governments of the British Empire are self-governing, essentially because they run their own local governments. But Mr. Webb evidently seems to ignore the fact that indigenous local government having been destroyed by the present system of government, it is in the power of the central government alone, now to create such institutions with sufficient powers to make them successfully perform the functions of local government. Therefore, it is necessary for Indian politicians to agitate for the proper constitution of the central government, ~~as~~ until that is achieved and the central government placed on a popular basis, there can be no hope of local government being placed on a really popular foundation.

Mr. Matthai's book gives sufficient indications of his having covered a large area in getting the material for his book. We have nothing but admiration for the excellent way in which he has done his work. The

historical portion of the book is especially valuable as a powerful reply to those who contend that popular institutions are foreign to the genius of the Hindus and that under their own government they had never enjoyed the advantages of an impartial administration of justice, and a system of public education and public sanitation, etc. Mr. Matthai has collected sufficient material to show that Ancient India was quite familiar with all these institutions, and that even in centuries immediately preceding the introduction of British rule, all the communal interests of the people were properly looked after by communal councils, not necessarily based on caste distinctions. Reading between the lines, one can easily see how village sanitation and village education have suffered by the change of government and how ruinous has been the change in the system of administering justice.

Mr. Matthai has done well in bringing the different chapters of his book up to date, and including in them the provisions of British laws and British codes on the points covered by the chapters; but it should not be forgotten for a moment that theory is very different from practice, that the rules laid down in different codes, though they read very well, are far from being practised in the same spirit.

There is one subject on which the present writer can speak from personal knowledge, viz., "Famine Relief". I have had personal experience of the administration of famine relief in three big famines, during which I took part in organizing private relief, and I know full well how short the official relief fell and how different the actual relief given was, from the spirit of the codes.

It is extremely necessary that Indian students and scholars should give proper attention to the social and political institutions of their country with a view to use the experience and the lessons of the past in the evolving of the future. There is a good deal in the social and political thought of the Hindus and Mohammadans that deserves careful study and that would amply repay the labour spent on it. Moreover it is necessary to point out to the world that in claiming representative institutions we do not ask for the moon and that when the West was mostly enveloped in darkness, India had evolved a system of social thought which can give points to the modern world.

In order to encourage research work on these lines, it seems desirable that books like the one under review should command a good sale.

April 23, 1916.

SINO-JAPANESE BUDDHISM AND NEO-HINDUISM

SECTION 1.

THE ALLEGED EXTINCTION OF BUDDHISM
IN INDIA.

THE name Buddha, either as that of the Great Teacher of the sixth century, B. C., or as that of a God, has not been much in vogue among the followers of what is called Neo-Hinduism, i.e., those who accept as their bibles the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. It has, therefore, been held among Orientalists that Buddhism whether as *Hinayanism* or as *Mahayanism* is extinct in India, the land of its birth.

This is a very superficial and erroneous view of the actual state of things. For, taking the evolutionary view of Sociology, it would appear that Buddha has been immortal in Indian consciousness both as a teacher and as a divinity. In the first place, Hinayanism, i.e., *Nirvanism* or Cessation-of-Misery-ism, or the Doctrine of Renunciation or Self-sacrifice, or Philanthropy and Social Service, or Asceticism and Monasticism, is still practised by the Hindus who do not call themselves Buddhists, as much as by the professed Hinayanists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Secondly, Mahayanism, which alone I have called Buddhism, as the worship of the deities named Buddha, Avalokiteswara, etc., is as great a living religion of the modern Hindus who have no Buddha in their pantheon as of the Buddhists of Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan.

Let us apply what is known as the *philosophical method* to the elucidation of this problem. If the deities of the neo-Hindu pantheon, male and female, were catalogued and studied alongside of the "Gods of Northern Buddhism," i.e., the so-called Buddhistic deities of trans-Himalayan Asia, it would appear

1. that in many cases, the same deity exists in all the countries under different names.

2. that the purposes of invocation and the modes of worship are more or less identical.

3. that the folk-ideas associated with the deities and the efficacy of worshipping

them do not practically differ among these peoples.

4. that deities which seem to be special to India, China or Japan, having no analogues in the sister countries, are new creations adapted to local conditions, but easily assimilated to the entire system in each.

5. that if the Japanese and Chinese mythologies have any claims to be called Buddhistic, so do the Pauranic and Tantric of the Indians, though they practically ignore the name of Buddha.

Besides, a *historico-comparative* study of the mythologies of the races of the *Sangu* would bring out three important factors which have contributed to the building up of each:

1. The Cult of World-Forces common to Vedists (*Rita-ists*), pre-Confucian Chinese (Taoists) and the worshippers of *Kami* (Shintoists).

2. The Religion of Love and Romanticism which grew out of the first. This was born almost simultaneously in India and China as the worship of saints, *avatars*, heroes, Nature-Powers, etc., with the help of images; and transferred to the Land of the *Kami* in the very first stage of its history, where it found a most congenial soil, and where the race-consciousness might have developed it independently.

3. The Religion of the Folk which was the parent of the first two has ever been active in creating, adapting, and re-interpreting local and racial myths of the three countries down to the present day.

The Gods and Goddesses of the *Puranas* and *Tantras* are the joint products of all these factors; so, too, are the Gods and Goddesses of Buddhist China and Buddhist Japan. The present-day deities of the Hindus owe their parentage to the Mahayanic cult of mediæval Hinduism and are historically descended from the Gods of 'Northern Buddhism' in the same way as the pantheons of modern Japan and China continue the tradition of the 'Hinduism of the Buddha-cult.'

Thus, both philosophically and histori-

cally, Neo-Hinduism and Sino-Japanese Buddhism are essentially the same. The Vaishnavas, Shaivas and Shaktas of India should know the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists as co-religionists. Similarly the Sino-Japanese Buddhists should recognise the neo-Hindus of India as Buddhists.

The alleged "strangling" of Buddhism by Hindus is a fiction and cannot stand the criticism of the philosophico-historical method. The disappearance of Buddha and his host from present-day Indian consciousness belongs to the same category as that of Indra, Varuna, Soma, Pushan and other Vedic deities. And if in spite of this the Hindus have a right to be called followers of the Vedas, they have equal claims to be regarded as Buddhists (both Hinayana and Mahayana).

SECTION 2.

THE BODHISATTVA-CULT IN CHINA, JAPAN AND INDIA.

(a) TI-TSANG

The learned historical articles on "The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Jizo) in China and Japan" by M. W. De Visser in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (July, 1913 to December, 1914) supply enormous facts from which it would be obvious to students of Indology that the so-called Buddhist gods of China and Japan and the gods of neo-Hinduism in India are substantially the same. There are slight differences in name and function, in features of images and modes of worship. But people used to the mythology of the Puranas would notice a family-likeness and even analogues or identities in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist mythology. In some cases it is not possible to trace the historical connexion—but philosophically speaking, even there the identity is obvious and indicates a common mythological development among the three peoples on more or less independent lines.

In China Ti-tsang is described "as the compassionate priest, whose *khakkhara* shakes and opens the doors of hell, and whose precious pearl illumines the Region of Darkness." A Korean prince of the eighth century was declared to be a manifestation of Ti-tsang. Visser quotes the statements of a modern Japanese author on the history of the Ti-tsang cult in China: "From the time of the Tsin, Sung, Liang, Chin, T'sin and Chao dynasties (A.D. 265-589) the cases of those who

were saved by invoking and reciting the names of Kwanyin, Ti-tsang, Maitreya and Amitabha were so many that they are beyond description." The following is a picture of Ti-tsang in the Chinese work *Yuh-lih* (Calendar of Jade):

"After some pictures representing Shangti throning as judge of the dead, surrounded by his officials, and virtuous souls rewarded with heavenly joy, while the wicked are tortured by the demons of hell, we see Ti-tsang in the robe of a priest with the *urna* on his forehead, wearing a five-pointed crown and with a round halo behind his head. He rides on a tiger, and is escorted by his attendants, two young priests, of whom one carries his master's *Khakkhara*, whereas the other holds a long streamer adorned with a lotus flower. We read on the streamer: 'The Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, King Ti-tsang the Bodhisattva.' A boy leads the tiger with a cord."

(b) JIZO.

The Japanese have ever been as good Puranists and Tantrists as the neo-Hindus; or, what is the same thing, the neo-Hindus have been as good Buddhists as the Japanese.

In Japan Jizo is worshipped as a deity of the roads. Jizo in one form is the "Conqueror of the armies" and an *avatara* of an old Yamato Thunder-god. This Jizo represented on horseback is the tutelary god of warriors who used to erect his images on the battlefields and at the entrance to their castles. Jizo in another form is the giver of easy birth. There is "the custom of placing Jizo images before the house of a newly married couple in the bridal night." Jizo is believed to save the souls from Hell and lead them to paradise. He also healed the sick and many of his images were known for curing special diseases. He is also the special protector of the children.

It is superfluous to add that the Pauranic and Tantric Hindus with their three hundred and thirty million deities would recognise in these Japanese Jizos some of the objects of their love and devotion. The cult of these gods is not a matter for mere archaeological study in the great empire of the Far East. Any tourist would endorse the following remarks of Visser:

"Thus we see that New Japan goes on worshipping this mighty Bodhisattva and imploring his assistance and protection in all the phases of human life. The present day with all its western civilisation, sees our gentle, merciful Bodhisattva gloriously maintaining his mighty position and living in the people's heart like in the days of yore."

If this is Buddhism, it is sheer pedantry to say that Buddhism has been driven out of India "to seek Lavinian shores." This

most important Bodhisattva of China and Japan is historically none other than *Kshiti-garbha*, one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of Mahayanic pantheon, for the Chinese name Ti-tsang is the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit term. It is interesting to note that "his name is apparently seldom mentioned in Indian literature. Therefore we have to consult the Chinese Tripitaka for getting information about his nature." Further, "in the well-known Chinese work on India, entitled *Records on Western Regions made under the Great Tang Dynasty* (A. D. 618-907), and composed in A. D. 646 by the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hsien-Tsang (A. D. 602-664) we do not read one word about Kshiti-garbha. Also, *The Traditions on the Inner Law, by one who returned from the Southern Ocean to China*, written by another famous pilgrim I-tsing (A. D. 634-713) who in A. D. 671 started from China and returned in A. D. 695, does not mention Kshiti-garbha." It is probable, therefore, that Kshiti-garbha was not worshipped as such in India, and that the Ti-tsang-cult as well as Jizo-cult should be regarded as independent extra-Indian developments. The only items borrowed by the Chinese and Japanese seem to be the name, and, of course, certain theological notions recorded in the *Sutras*; but the elaboration is mainly original. And yet in the complex pantheon of the neo-Hindus there are deities which are the exact duplicates of Ti-tsang and Jizo, i.e., of the primal Kshiti-garbha. These and thousand other facts would lead to the conclusion that Mahayanic Buddhism lives in and through the so many cults of modern Hinduism, and that this Hinduism is essentially the same as Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The members of the Sino-Japanese pantheon are all to be found under new names in the Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakta and other pantheons of modern India.

(c) AVALOKITESWARA.

In fact, the Bodhisattva came into the Mahayanic pantheon with all the marks of recognised Neo-Hindu deities. Thus it is not difficult to identify Avalokiteswara with a Vishnu or a Brahma.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for the year 1894, Waddell contributed a paper on the genesis and worship of the

Great Bodhisattva Avalokita, the keystone of Mahayana Buddhism—and his *Shakti* or Energy, i.e., consort, Tara, the saviouress. His literary sources of information were Tibetan, and illustrations were drawn from the lithic remains in Magadha (Bihar, India). This was one of the first attempts to study the dark period of Indian Buddhism subsequent to Hsien-Tsang's visit (A. D. 645). The following is taken from that paper.

"Avalokita is a purely metaphysical creation of the Indian Buddhists who in attempting to remedy the agnosticism of Buddha's idealism, endeavoured to account theistically for the causes lying beyond the finite, and so evolved the polytheistic Mahayana form of Buddhism. * * The metaphysical Bodhisattva Avalokita ultimately became so expanded as to absorb most of the attributes of each of the separate Buddhist deities. His different modes were concretely represented by images of different forms and symbols; his more active qualities were relegated to female counterparts (Saktis), chief of whom was Tara."

The cult of Avalokita brought with it organised worship, litanies and pompous ritual. The style of the worship was similar to that for his consort Tara. It is divided into seven stages: (1) The Invocation. (2) Presentation of offerings. (3) Hymn. (4) Repetition of the spell. (5) and (6) Prayers for benefits present and to come. (7) Benediction. All this is thoroughly orthodox Brahmanic or neo-Hindu.

The introduction of Tara into Buddhism seems to date from the sixth century. Hsien-Tsang refers to her image in a few shrines; but "her worship must soon thereafter have developed rapidly, for her inscribed images from the 8th to the 12th centuries A.D. are numerous at old Buddhist sites * throughout India and in Magadha—the birth-place of Buddhism." This Tara might be a Lakshmi or a Durga or a Saraswati as the goddess of wealth, terror or wisdom or what not, according to the thousand and one manifestations of Energy.

(d) MOODS OF DIVINITIES.

An Adi Buddha is called *Vajrasatta* (whose essence is thunderbolt) in Sanskrit. He is the Buddha of supreme intelligence. He is worshipped in China as *Suan-tzu-lo-sa-tsui*, and in Japan as *Kongosatta*. Mrs. Getty gives the following account in her *Gods of Northern Buddhism*:

* Many have been unearthed in recent years by the archeologists of the "Varandra Research Society" in Rajshahi, Bengal.

"He has both a 'mild' and 'ferocious' form. The mild form has usually two arms and is seated on a lotus throne which is often supported by an elephant. The ferocious form has six arms, a third eye, and a ferocious expression. Above the forehead is a skull. His colour is red. In this form he is not supported by an elephant."

Not only are the characteristics and functions of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddhas identical with those of the Pauranic and Tantric deities, but the canons of art also are the same for Mahayanic as well as neo-Hindu iconography. Thus the ferocious and mild forms of the Buddhist deities are repeated in the non-Mahayanic, too. One common art-tradition* was utilised by the sculptors and painters to express the common spiritual consciousness.

The following remarks about icons in *Sukra-niti*, could be made by a *Puranist* or *Tantrist* as much as by a so-called Buddhist :

"The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and 'Yoga.' The human maker of images should, therefore, be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)." Chapter IV. Section iv. 147-50.

As for the moods of the divinities corresponding to which sculptors should select the forms of the images† the following is recorded by Doctor Sukra (IV. iv. 159-166):

"Images are of three kinds—'sattvika' 'rajasika' and 'tamasika.' The images of Vishnu and other gods are to be worshipped in the 'sattvika' 'rajasika' or 'tamasika' form according to needs and circumstances. The 'sattvika' image is that which has 'yoga mudra' or the attitude of meditation, the straight back, hands giving blessings and courage, and has the gods represented as worshipping it. The 'rajasik' image is that which sits on some 'vahana' or conveyance, is adorned with numerous ornaments, and has hands equipped with arms and weapons as well as offering courage and blessings to the devotees. The 'tamasika' image is that which is a killer of demons by arms and weapons, which has a ferocious and vehement look and is eager for warfare."

In *Sukra-niti*,‡ which is evidently neo-

Hindu, there is no mention of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or Avalokiteswaras. But readers of Getty's book and Waddell's paper would notice that the Mahayanist iconography also presents the same three-fold type.

It need also be added that Indian Aesthetics, whether called Hindu or Buddhist, crossed the Himalayas to enrich the art-consciousness of the Chinese. Thus in reviewing *Das Citralakshana* edited and translated by Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum, Chicago, Smith writes in *The Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (January-March, 1914).

"Laufer holds that the influence of Indian painting in China was not confined to Buddhist subjects, but that it extended to the composition and technique specially the colouring of painting in general."

And Abanindranath Tagore in his contribution on "*Sadanga* or the Six Limbs of Indian Painting as given by Batsayana (670 B.C.—200 A.D. ?)" in the same journal (for April-June 1914) remarks on the theory of "Six Canons of Chinese Painting" enunciated by the Celestial art-critic Hsieh Ho (5th century A. D.) as being eminently significant. There is thus one art-inspiration governing the so-called Buddhist and the so-called Hindu, i. e., all the peoples of India, China and Japan.

SECTION 3.

THE BUDDHISM OF CHINA AND JAPAN EUPHEMISM FOR SHAIVA-CUM-SHAKTAISM.

A few feminine divinities are being described according to Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

Tara as a goddess was known to the Chinese in the 7th century, A. D.

"Hsien Tsaung mentions a statue of the goddess Tara of great height and endowed with divine penetration, and says that on the first day of each year kings, ministers and powerful men of the neighbouring countries brought flower offerings of exquisite perfume, and that the religious ceremonies lasted for eleven days with great pomp."

The Japanese Tara "holds the lotus, and may be making 'charity' and 'argument' *mudra* or have the hands folded. Her colour is a whitish green.....She holds the blue lotus or the pomegranate which is believed as in India to drive away evil."

Ekajata or blue Tara is a ferocious form of Tara.

"She has from four to twenty-four arms, and is generally standing and stepping to the right on corpses—she has the third eye, is laughing horribly, her teeth are prominent, and her protruding tongue,

* See in the *Modern Review* (October 1915) A. N. Tagore's paper on "*Sadanga* or the six limbs of Painting." It is a contribution to the psychology of Hindu Aesthetics. Vide the works of Havell and Coomaraswamy on Hindu Architecture, Sculpture and Painting.

† See the paper on "Some Hindu Silpa-Sastras in their relation to South Indian Sculpture" by Hadaway in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (April-June, 1914).

‡ "*Sukra-niti*" translated from Sanskrit into English for "The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series" (Panini Office) by B. K. Sarkar.

according to the 'Sadhana,' is forked. Her eyes are red and round. Her hips are covered by a tiger-skin, and she wears a long garland of heads. If painted, her colour is blue, and her chignon is red. She is dwarfed and corpulent. Her ornaments are snakes."

Saraswati is worshipped by the Buddhists of China and Japan as the goddess of music and poetry.

"In Japan the goddess Benten is looked upon as a manifestation of Saraswati. Her full name is..... Great Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty. The white snake is believed to be a manifestation of Saraswati. The goddess is generally represented either sitting or standing on a dragon or huge snake, she has only two arms, and holds a 'biwa' or Japanese lute."

Red Tara is "the goddess of wealth and follows in the suite of the god of wealth Kuvera, but is not his consort or *Sakti*." Vasudhara, "goddess of abundance, is the *sakti* of Kuvera, god of wealth. She is always represented with one head, but may have from two to six arms, and wears all the Bodhisattva ornaments. When she has but two arms, the left hand holds a spike of grain, while the right holds a vase, out of which pours a quantity of jewels."

If the people of Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan are known as Buddhists because they worship these deities, the modern Hindus who follow the Tantras and Puranas are also good Buddhists. The Shaiva-cum-Shakta pantheon of neo-Hinduism can present duplicates of all these divinities and is in essence but an expression of Sino-Japanese Buddhism.

It is superfluous to add that the goddesses of Shiva's family, in fact, his consorts, e.g., Kali, Durga, Jagad-dhatrī, etc., are the sisters of some of the trans-Himalayan Taras, and that his daughter Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, also can be identified with one of them. Besides, the Hindu Lakshmi's sister, Saraswati, goddess of learning, is known by the same name among extra-Indian Buddhists.

Descriptions of some of the members of the Shaiva pantheon, with illustrations by painters of the modern nationalist school of Indian Art, are to be found in *The Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* by Nivedita and Coomaraswamy.

The following invocation of the Buddhist Tara given in Waddell's paper could be made by a neo-Hindu to his Durga :

"Hail ! O ! verdant Tara !
The Saviour of all beings !

Descend, we pray Thee, from Thy heavenly mansion, at Potala
Together with all Thy retinue of gods, titans, and deliverers !

We humbly prostrate ourselves at Thy lotus feet,
Deliver us from all distress ! O Holy Mother !"

So also the presentation of offerings to the Buddhist Shakti is in the characteristic spirit of India :

"We sincerely beg Thee in all Thy divine Forms
To partake of the food now offered !
On confessing to Thee penitently their sins
The most sinful hearts, ya ! even the committers
of the

Ten vices and the five boundless sins,
Will obtain forgiveness and reach
Perfection of Soul—through Thee !"

In the Buddhist hymn translated by Waddell, Tara is praised in her twenty-one forms as :—(1) Supremely courageous, (2) Of white moon brightness, (3) Golden coloured, (4) Grand hair piled, (5) *H'ung* shouter, (6) Best three-world worker, (7) Suppressor of strife, (8) Giver of supreme power, (9) Best bestower, (10) Dispeller of grief, (11) Cherisher of the poor, (12) Brightly glorious, (13) Of universal mature deeds, (14) With the frowning brows, (15) Giver of prosperity, (16) Subduer of passion, (17) Supplier of happiness, (18) Excessively vast, (19) Dispeller of distress, (20) Advent of spiritual power, (21) Completely perfect.

Such forms are known to the Puranists and the Tantrists also about their own *Shaktis* (Goddesses of Energy). The hymns also are identical.

Just as Buddhist divinities may be said to have been receiving worship as Shaiva deities in modern India, so also the Shaiva divinities may be said to have been receiving the worship of the Sino-Japanese Buddhists.

The great masses of gods and goddesses in Japanese Buddhism regarded as the manifestations of the supreme original divinity are thus described by Okakura :

"Fudo, the immovable, the god of Samadhi, stands for the terrible form of Shiva. He has the gleaming third eye, the trident sword and the lasso of snakes. In another form, as Kojin, he wears a garland of skulls, armlets of snakes, and the tiger-skin of meditation. His feminine counterpart appears as Aizen, of the mighty bow, lion-crowned and awful, the God of Love—but love in its strong form, whose fire of purity is death and who slays the beloved that he may attain the highest. The Indian idea of Kali is also represented by Kariteimo, the mother-queen of Heaven. Saraswati as Benten, with her 'vina' (lute), which quells the waves ; Kompira or the Gandharva, the eagle-headed, sacred to mariners ; Kichijoten or Lakshmi, who confers fortune and love ; Taigensui, the commander-in-chief (Kartikeya) who

bestows the banner of victory ; Shoden, the elephant-headed Ganesh, Breaker of the Path, to whom the first salutations are paid in all village worship —all these suggest the direct adoption of Hindu deities."

Trans-Himalayan Buddhism is really an euphemism for Shaiva-cum-Shaktaism.

SECTION I.

NEO-HINDUISM IN TRANS-HIMALAYAN ASIA.

There are other goddesses in Buddhist China and Japan besides Saraswati and Tara whose names are identical with those of the Pauranic and Tantric deities of India.

Among the deities worshipped by the Buddhists of China and Japan under the same name as by the Hindus of India may be mentioned—(1) Nagas and Garudas, (2) Kuvera and Lokapalas, (3) Mahakala, (4) Marichi, (5) Hariti. Thus not only is Shaivaism Buddhistic or Mahayanic but other Indian isms also are equally so. In other words, the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists are Hindus of the Pauranic and Tantric sects.

The following is taken from Getty :

"In China Yen-lo-wang (Yama) is not regent of the Buddhist hells, he is a subordinate under Ti-tsang and the fifth of the ten kings of hell, who reign over ten courts of judgment. They are represented in Chinese temples, standing when in the presence of Ti-tsang, and surrounded by representations of the torments of the different hells. He is believed to be assisted by his sister who judges the women, while he judges the men.

"In Japan Emma O (Yama) is regent and holds the same position as Yama in India. In both China and Japan the representations of Yama are practically alike, a middle-aged man with a fierce expression and a beard. On his head is a judge's cap, and he is dressed in flowing garments with the feet always covered. He is seated with the legs locked and in his right hand is the mace of office."

The twelve Japanese gods alleged to have been painted by the celebrated Kobo Daishi are: (1) Boten—(Brahma) attended by (2) the white bird *Ha Kuga* or swan; (3) Khaten—(Agni, Fire god); (4) Ishanna—(name of Rudra or Siva); (5) Thaishak—(Indra—a Vedic deity); (6) Futen; (7) Vishamon (Kuvera—Lord of wealth) whose consort is Kichijoten (Goddess of Fortune); (8) Emma (Yama)—riding on a buffalo, and bearing the great staff of death, surmounted by two heads; (9) Nitten (Suryya, the Sun-god); (10) Getten (the Moon-god); (11) Suiten (the God of waters on a tortoise); (12) Shoden (Ganesh).

Neo-Hinduism must be said to be flour-

ishing as much in Buddhist China and Japan as in modern India; or modern Hindus are Mahayanists still like the Chinese and Japanese.

The following picture of what may be regarded as Japanese Vaishnavism is furnished by Okakura :

"A wave of religious emotion passed over Japan in the Fujiwara epoch (A.D. 900-1200), and intoxicated with frantic love, men and women deserted the cities and villages in crowds to follow Kuya or Ipen, dancing and singing the name of Amida as they went. Masquerades came into vogue, representing angels descending from Heaven with lotus dais, in order to welcome and bear upward the departing soul. Ladies would spend a lifetime in weaving or embroidering the image of Divine Mercy, out of threads extracted from the lotus stem. Such was the new movement, which closely paralleled in China in the beginning of the Tang dynasty has never died, and to this day two-thirds of the people belong to the Jodo sect, which corresponds to the Vaishnavism of India.

Both Genshin, the formulator of the creed, and Genku, who carried it to its culmination, pleaded that human nature was weak, and try as it might, could not accomplish entire self-conquest and direct attainment of the Divine in this life. It was rather by the mercy of the Amida Buddha and his emanation Kwannon that one could alone be saved."

SECTION 5.

MODERN HINDUISM.

Haraprasad Sastri was probably the first to bring to the notice of scholars that mediæval Buddhism exists even now among the lower orders of the Bengalee people. The worship of the god Dharma is according to him nothing but the Mahayanic cult elaborated in the *Sunya Purana* of Ramai Pandit. The doctrine of *Sunya* or void, i. e., Nothingness, was a principal theory of one of the forms of mediæval Buddhism, and though generally associated with the name of Nagarjuna, may be traced back to Aswaghosha according to Vidhusekhara Sastri's communication in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1914). H. P. Sastri's contributions to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* No. 1, 1895, and *Proceedings of the Society* for December, 1898, supply interesting facts about Buddhism in modern Bengal.

Dines Chandra Sen in his *History of Bengali Literature* also refers to Buddhist elements in the literature and life of Bengal from the tenth to the seventeenth century. His remarks on the absorption of Buddhism by Vaishnavas who have followed Chaitanya the Reformer (A.D. 1483-1533) are also relevant to the present topic.

And in Nagendranath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*, one can see the various forms under which Buddhism is maintaining its existence even at the present day in some of the border districts between Bengal and Orissa.

Another work by a Hindu scholar may also be mentioned. Haridas Palit's *Adyer Gambhira*, written in Bengali language, deals with a folk-festival of the Shivaites in Northern Bengal. In this he has presented a historic treatment of the stages and processes in the evolution of the neo-Hindu Shiva-cult out of the Mahayanic and pre-Sakyan, i.e., Vedic elements. The modern Shiva is descended as much from the primitive Rudra as from the Yoga-Tantric Avalokiteswara, and has assimilated, besides, the characteristics of various popular deities. In fact, all the three factors mentioned in Section I., have contributed to the making of Shiva and his host.

Conclusions of these and other Indian scholars have been incorporated with my forthcoming * work *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture*.

If the religious beliefs and practices of all classes of the so-called Hindus were scrutinised, it would be found that, historically speaking, the foundations of every sect of the present-day Puranists and Tantrists are to be sought in that romantic religion of love, which expressed itself simultaneously in Mahayanism and also in the isms of the so-called Brahmanic order. And as has been pointed out in the preceding sections, philosophically, also, neo-Hinduism and Sino-Japanese Buddhism are the same. For if the Jodo sect of Japan be regarded as Buddhistic, the Vaishnava sects of India which are equal advocates of *Bhakti* or love and devotion are all Buddhists. If it is good Buddhism in China and Japan to worship a god of war, a patron-saint of children, a protector of roads, and so forth, the Hindus or Brahmanists of India who worship Kartika the warrior-god, and Kali the goddess of terror, Mother Sitala defender from smallpox, Mother Sasthi the protector of offsprings, and a thousand others, are equally Buddhists.

Regarding the Sino-Japanese Buddhism, therefore, the following brilliant suggestion of Sister Nivedita in her introduction

to Okakura's *Ideals of the East* may be taken as scientifically established :

"Rather must we regard it as the name given to the vast synthesis known as Hinduism, when received by a foreign consciousness. For Mr. Okakura, in dealing with the subject of Japanese art in the ninth century, makes it abundantly clear that the whole mythology of the East, and not merely the personal doctrine of the Buddha, was the subject of interchange. Not the Buddhising but the *Indianising* of the Mongolian mind, was the process actually at work—much as if Christianity should receive in some strange land the name of Franciscanism, from its first missionaries."

Are the Chinese and Japanese, then, Hindus? The answer is "yes." But at once the difficulty arises as to the answer to the question—"What is Hinduism?" Whatever it is, it is not the name of a religion. Strictly speaking, it is a convenient ethnological term adopted by foreigners to understand certain races of men, just as 'Barbarian' or *Mlechchha* or *Yavana* is used by certain Asiatic peoples to describe the European and other foreign races.

The people of India themselves know their faiths to be Vaishnavism, Saurism, Shaktism, Brahmanism, Aryaism and other isms according to the cult or principal tenet. The term Hindu is not to be found in any Sanskrit work, ethnological, political or religious. If thus 'Hinduism' cannot be the name for the religion of the Indians, it is *prima facie* absurd that it should be the name for the identical religions of the sons of Han and the Yamato race.

Should, therefore, the religions of the three peoples be all known by the name of Buddhism? i.e., Should the people of India import from China and Japan back to its native land the name so popular there still? Evidently the answer must be in the affirmative. In spite of the ambiguity associated with the term as with Christianity as explained in a previous chapter, Buddhism seems to be the most acceptable name.

But the term Buddhism also is objectionable, since it pins down the thoughts and feelings of people to a certain historic person or suggests the exclusive sway of a certain deity. This would be quite out of keeping with the spirit of Asia. The mentality of the three peoples has grown through the ages, evolving fresh personalities and deities in almost every generation. It is the historic

birth-right of every Asian to create his own god, his own saint, and his own *avatara*.

In matters spiritual every individual in Asia has ever chosen his or her love with his or her own eyes. Freedom of conscience leading even to seemingly anarchic individualism is the characteristic of the Far East; it has given birth to an incalculably varied godlore and saintlore. No personal name is thus adequate to express the ever-growing religious consciousness of the people in *San-goku*.

Both the terms, Hinduism and Buddhism, are unfortunate, and should, if possible, be abandoned. But in these days when age-long historic tradition has solidified and "polarised" the terms, and national superstitions have grown up around them, it is out of the question to do so. Besides, neither would the so-called Hindus of India probably like to be known as Buddhists because this would involve exclusive faith in a certain deity; nor the so-called Buddhists of China and Japan as Hindus, because this would be confounding their nationality.

It is clear, however, that for scientific purposes, e. g., for cultural anthropology and comparative religion, the eight hundred millions of human beings in the Far East should be considered as professing the same faith. And if following the example of Christianity which under one abstract name embraces a thousand and one denominations, sects, cults, orders, or churches, we are called upon to select a term that would embrace the Ti-tsangists, the Jizoists, the Shivaists and thousand other ists of China, Japan and India, I venture to think that such a name is to be found in Taoism, Shintoism or Sanatanism, i. e., the religion of the eternal way, *michi* or *marga*. And the metaphysics of that great *ism* of mankind is Monism in Pluralism.

EPILOGUE :

THE STUDY OF ASIATIC SOCIOLOGY.

I began with the hypothesis: "What pass for Buddhism in the lands of Confucius and Shinto cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tantric and Pauranic Hinduism in modern *Tienchu* (Heaven) or *Tenjiku*, the land of Sakya the Buddha." Indications of the affinity as well as the methods of investigation

have been presented in the foregoing pages. For a complete verification of the hypothesis one has only to make a parallel and comparative study to Sino-Japanese Buddhism and modern Hinduism through their historic landmarks. It would be necessary to have recourse to the "philosophical method" of inquiry. This would involve (1) an analysis of the concepts underlying the mythology, ceremonials, superstitions, pilgrimages, etc., of Sino-Japanese Buddhism, and (2) an analysis of the concepts underlying the mythology, ceremonials, superstitions, pilgrimages, etc., of those who regulate their socio-religious life according to the teachings of the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. The two analyses will yield the same results and establish a common psychological basis of the three peoples.

Tantra-studies in English are few. Avalon's translation of *Maha-nirvana Tantra* from Sanskrit, *Hymns to the Goddess* and *Principles of Tantra (Tantra-tattva)* are recent works. According to "The Prabuddha Bharata" (or "The Awakened India"), a journal conducted by the Vivekanandists, "educated minds in the East as well as in the West will be, ere long, disabused of all that mass of prejudice that they have allowed to gather round the name of Tantra. * * * Tantrikism, in its real sense, is nothing but the Vedic religion struggling with wonderful success to reassert itself amidst all those new problems of religious life and discipline which later historical events and developments thrust upon it."

Secondly, it would be necessary to have recourse to the "historical method" of inquiry. This would involve

(1) a study of the growth, modification and development through the ages, of the mythology, superstitions, etc., of Sino-Japanese Buddhists. Visser's exhaustive study of Ti-tsang (Jizo), epoch by epoch, down to the twentieth century, and Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism* are instances of this method.

(2) a study of the growth, modification and development, through the ages, of the mythology, superstitions, etc., of the Vaishnavas, Shaktas, Jainas, Shaivas, and other sects of India. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems* in the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* (Strassburg) and Palit's treatment of Shaivism in

Adyer Gambhira are instances of this method.

The historical studies will yield the result that the pluralistic or polytheistic faiths of Buddhist China and Japan as well as of Hindu India are but divergent streams descended from the same fountain. The brilliant period of the mighty Tangs (A.D. 618-905) in Chinese history—synchronous with the Nara Period (A.D. 710-794) and Kyoto Period (A.D. 782-1184) of Japanese, and the epoch of Imperialism continuing both in Southern and Northern India all the traditions of the Bikramadityan Renaissance;—which was signalled by the propagandism and literary activity of such synthetic philosopher-saints as Hiuen Tshang (A.D. 602-664), Kobo Daishi (A.D. 774-835) and Sankar-acharya (A.D. 788-850),—was the most important age

for the inauguration of that common fountain of love, faith and hope, out of which the Hwangho and the Yangtse, the Yodo and the Sumida, the Narmada and the Godavari, and the Indus and the Ganges have been regularly fed for over one millennium. It is not the purpose of this essay to trace the history of that practical idealism, romantic positivism and assimilative eclecticism, which have been the inspiration of eight hundred million souls during the last thousand years. I stop just at the threshold of the great Asiatic Unity.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

*Shanghai,
China.*

Dec. 25, 1915.

PRE-MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDIAN BOYS

AT critical moments in their life-history, necessity compels nations to exercise a sort of introspection and discover means of utilising the available resources of material and moral energy in more efficient ways. We are to-day in the throes of such a crisis. Without allowing the fears of the moment to terrorise us into a blind imitation of German militarism, we should, if we have any commonsense, seek out means to invigorate the enfeebled limbs of the Empire by preventing the waste by disease of latent strength. And statesmen should now be on the look-out for discovering, training and organising such unused sources of strength.

That India is from a military point of view one of the weakest limbs of the British Empire is beyond any doubt. The comparison of India under Britain to Britain under Rome in this respect, is a school boy's truism, but none the less it is a fact worth pondering over. No country can be considered strong which depends for its strength and security upon a professional army. The latter must have behind it a reserve of citizens more or less acquainted with the rudiment of military training and the use of modern weapons. This has been

pointed out year after year by the Indian National Congress; and this year the exceptional circumstances, in which the country finds itself, have added a peculiar force to this insistent demand. Even some of the most influential anti-Indian journals have recognised the justice of India's claims and have advocated the throwing open to Indians of higher offices in the army, and their admission into the ranks of volunteers.

But these are not enough; most foreign countries proceed further, and there is no reason why India should not do so. Physical courage is a habit and it should be ingrained in the character at that stage of life when habits are acquired with the greatest facility; and the easiest method of teaching physical courage and manliness is through sports, military exercises and discipline, military esprit de corps and a military sense of honour. Hence the opinion is widely held that educational institutions should give a certain amount of what may be called pre-military training. A few months ago *The Schoolworld* of London invited the opinions of a number of educational experts on this subject. Most of them advocated some kind of pre-military

training, not as a stepping stone to a military career but as a necessary element in the all-round development of the growing citizen. One of them said, "A secondary school without some form of military training, whether through an Officer's Training Corps, or a Cadet Corps, or some other system, is 'an imperfect school.'" Another advocated "the adoption of the daily newspaper as one of the text books in schools," "the direct teaching of physical courage," and "a measure of pre-military training in those classes in which the age of the child exceeds thirteen."

These opinions are by no means novel theories. They are based upon the practice prevailing in most of the European countries, in Britain and in the British Colonies.* In France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland the government makes provision for giving boys and youths, military training of three sorts:—(a) military exercises without arms, (b) military exercises with arms and (c) rifle practice. In all these countries, as conscription is practised, these pre-military courses are voluntary. The various government concerned make liberal grant of money and material for the encouragement of voluntary associations for rifle practice etc. In Sweden rifle practice is compulsory for all school boys between the ages of 15 and 18. These boys have to practise military exercises 4 hours a week for the first fifteen weeks of every year. 50,000 marks are annually spent by the government for buying arms and ammunition for public schools. In Norway, gymnastics which includes marching, shooting etc., is compulsory. The government also encourages rifle practice by making large grants to voluntary associations. In England many schools have cadet corps attached to them. These were started in 1860 and spread very rapidly all over the country. "Boy Brigade" started in 1883, of a quasi-religious character, have also been popular. Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts movement has met with phenomenal success, and there is scarcely any town in England where the movement is not represented. All these organizations are purely voluntary, but the government has always maintained a very sympathetic attitude. Lord Haldane wished to intro-

duce compulsory military training at school as a part of his military reorganization scheme in 1906, but strong opposition compelled him to drop the proposal.

Most of the British colonies have proceeded a step further in giving a semi-military training to boys at school. Compulsory military training was introduced into Australia in 1911. "The training prescribed is as follows:—(a) from 12 to 14 years in the junior cadets, (b) from 14 to 18 years in the senior cadets. The Act requires a junior cadet to devote 90 hours a year to the work including (i) Physical training for not less than 15 minutes per day; (ii) Marching drill; and any two of the following:—(iii) Miniature rifle shooting; (iv) Swimming; (v) Running exercises and organised games; (vi) First aid. On attaining the age of 14 years, the boy, if medically fit, becomes a senior cadet. He now wears a uniform, carries a rifle and becomes subject to military discipline. Here he continues physical training and also becomes acquainted with military or naval work. He practises shooting at fixed or moving targets. The law requires him to attend annually at least 4 whole-day drills (4 hours), 12 half-day drills (2 hours) and 24 night drills (1 hour). The cadet companies are usually officered by teachers who are required to attend camps of instruction at certain intervals." To a great extent the same system is enforced by the New Zealand Defence Act of 1910-11, by the South Africa Defence Act of 1912, and by the "Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada," but in the latter two countries a greater amount of freedom is allowed in individual action.

India is the only great part of the Empire where this matter has received absolutely no attention or encouragement at the hands of the Government. A few cases are known of some movements in this direction, started on private initiative. A cadet corps, I believe, is attached to the Central Hindu College, Benares. The Boy Scout movement is not absent. But somehow these Boy Scouts are closely associated with the Volunteers and a boy of pure Indian parentage is apparently not eligible for admission.* Recently it was

* The description given below of the systems prevalent in these countries is taken from a paper read before the Educational Section of the British Association.

* Being uncertain whether pure Indian birth was a disqualification for admission into the ranks of the Boy Scouts, I made inquiries of Mr. Leech, the Commissioner for the Madras Scout. He was uncertain about it and referred me to Capt. Baker,

announced that Dr. Mullick of Calcutta was organising a Scout movement in that city. It is not known how far the project has materialised. * In a country where respectable citizens are not admitted as volunteers and where the people have been disarmed and rendered the helpless prey of dacoits and wild beasts, it is only natural to expect that the government will not take up such proposals with any extraordinary enthusiasm. But it is of the utmost importance to the manliness of future generations that attention should be paid to this problem and those who are interested in India and its future should set themselves seriously to solve it.

The expansion of the Boy Scouts movement among Indian boys is a possible solution. From the moment of its inception it has spread like wild fire over all European and American countries. And surely there is no reason why what has had so much attractive power over the boyish temperament in the West should lose its charm in the East. It may not, therefore, be out of place to give here a brief description of the nature and scope of this great movement.

Established by a soldier and organised in military fashion, it is clear that the idea of popularising an informal sort of military discipline led to the origin of the movement. But in the course of its development, it has lost much of its military spirit and has become a wider and more humanitarian brotherhood. It aims at developing in the growing boy a self-reliant character based upon all manly qualities. It makes the youth of the country pay enough attention to the work of physical development and trains them to find their pleasures in the free air and open country. It seeks to instil into their evolving personality a true idea of social service and a horror of that blank indifference to the wider concerns of social and national life that is the curse of our country. These aims, it attempts to realise by appealing to that sense of chivalry and romance inherent in every true boy. The training thus given also fits in with a widespread pedagogic principle—

General Secretary, Boy Scouts, South India. I wrote to the latter, but he was not pleased to send a reply. But it is certain that so far there has been in Madras no instance of an Indian Boy Scout.

* The project has materialised since the article was written.

the culture-epoch theory, the theory that the individual in his development follows the line of development of the race. "There has been in certain educational circles the feeling that there was need that every boy should have an opportunity to live through the race-life, pursue the primitive industries and occupations and finally come to the civilization of the twentieth century." This opportunity is afforded by the Boy Scouts movement.

As stated above the Scouts are organised in military fashion. They wear Khaki uniform and carry a long pole in their hands. All boys between 12 and 18 are eligible for membership. "They are divided into patrols of 8 boys of whom one is the patrol leader. Three or more patrols constitute a group which is in charge of a scout-master who must be an adult. There are three main orders:—

(1) Tender foots, (2) Second class Scouts and (3) First class Scouts, promotion from one grade to another being gained by proficiency in the different arts that a Scout is expected to know. In addition to these there are merit badges gained by passing the required tests in any of the common trades and crafts or in feats of skill and prowess. The merit badge is of silk, a little more than an inch square and it is worn on the right sleeve. The boy who wins five of these becomes a Star Scout. If he wins twenty-one he becomes an Eagle Scout."* All Scouts are expected to obey the Scout laws of which the following are the chief:—

(1) A Scout's honour is to be trusted. (2) A Scout is loyal to his king, to his officers, his country, and his employers. (3) A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others. (4) A Scout is a friend to all, no matter to what social class he may belong. (5) A Scout is courteous. (6) A Scout is a friend to animals. (7) A Scout obeys orders. (8) A Scout smiles and whistles under all circumstances. (9) A Scout is thrifty. (10) A Scout is pure in thought, word, and deed.

I shall close these remarks with a reference to the benefits that can be derived from a training of this character. First and foremost, there is character training. All the activities of the movement are designed to give training in honesty, perseverance, kindness, thrift, hardihood,

* Article on Boy Scouts; Educational Magazine, New York, Dec. 1915.

pluck, and skill. "A scout's word is to be trusted. If he were to violate his honour by telling a lie, or by cheating, or by not doing exactly a given task when trusted on his honour, he may be directed to hand over his scout badge." One can understand that this would give an incomparably stronger inducement to the boy to remain truthful than all the schoolmasters of the world in one combined chorus of moral platitudes can effect. That independence and self-respect which is developed by this training is nowhere a greater need than in India. Another trait of character which this system develops is formed by free association with other boys. "The campfire is the supreme place for the development of intimacy and a company who have spent evenings together within its magic circle are likely to feel differently towards each other all the rest of their lives. Proper physical development is another gain. Again this seems to be a greater need here than elsewhere. Merit badges are awarded to those who qualify themselves in horsemanship, gymnastics, boxing, quaterstaff, wrestling, fencing etc.

A boy scout receives training in social service. He is required to do at least one act of kindness a day. This social activity presents before the boyish mind and boyish imagination that interpretation of the great law of self-sacrifice which is most intelligible and most appealing to them.

Badges are awarded to those who qualify themselves in Ambulance, in the work of fireman, interpreter, signaller, missionary, path finder etc.

This movement also teaches boys the habit of accurate observation and imparts to them some rudiment of technical instruction on rational lines. They give merit badges for proficiency in carpentry, basket making, farming, engineering, plumbing, printing, music, telegraphy, cookery, surveying etc. And the training demanded for obtaining a badge is of no superficial kind; for instance, to earn the handy-man's badge a Scout must be able "to paint a door, whitewash a ceiling, repair gas fittings, ballcocks, tap washers, sash lines, window and door fastenings, replace gas-mantles, and electric light bulbs, hang pictures and curtains and portiere rods, blind fixtures, lay carpets, mend clothing and upholstery, do small furniture and China repairs and sharpen knives." A path finder must learn "map drawing and map reading, rank and retching to guide a stranger, and also the entire detailed geography of his district and the art of surveying." To gain a merit badge as clerk, a Scout must pass in "hand writing, hand printing, type writing (or short-hand) a letter from memory on a subject given verbally five minutes previously, and simple book keeping."

E. RAMAN MENON.

DUBLIN, THE CITY OF REVOLUTIONS

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

LADY Morgan, one of the literati of Dublin in the last century, called it the "cardrivingest, teadrinkingest city in the world." It was she also, I think, who described the chief occupation of certain sections of its population as

Fighting like devils for Conciliation,
And hating each other for the love of God.

The combination of sociability and fiery propaganda were and—whatever the interregnum of revolution has done to upset matters—will be the outstanding charac-

teristics of the Irish capital. In no city that I know could one meet with such open-hearted urbanity, as travelling Indians whom I know can testify. In no city, I believe, could such enthusiastic antagonisms be found. During my sixteen years' life at the heart of the "literary and dramatic revival," Dublin was a city of vortices. I suspect it is still a city of vortices, but that they are fewer, not by subtraction but by fusion. A city will not put off the habits of individuality even for

catastrophe, especially when those habits have behind them the genius of a race that acts with royal hospitality in the midst of penury, glorifies every miserable squabble with the enthusiasm of the ideal, and runs a revolution as if it was a play on the Abbey Theatre stage. Patrick Pearse writing an exquisite lyric in his cell while awaiting execution, is a type of his race—that four-fifths which is known as “Ireland” in contradistinction to my own province of Ulster—in its power of dissociation, and its extraordinary instinct for the picturesque. In Ulster it runs to theological rhetoric, as when a Unionist M. P. and a K. C. who has taken the oath of allegiance, declared that if England gave Home Rule to Ireland he would turn round and say, “England! I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh:” the feature of the utterance being, not its untruth, but his unconscious blasphemy in putting into his own mouth words attributed to the Almighty.

Dublin has remained the “cardrivingest city in the world.” Belfast took to hansom cabs and became undistinguished. In Dublin up to August, 1914, it was still possible for the visitor to enjoy the feeling of being a human stone that might be off at a tangent at any sharp corner from the side seat of a “jaunting car.” The tea-drinking had turned to coffee—a sign of Ireland’s continental affinities, and over many a cup, some in a restaurant that stands now as an empty shell in pictures of the ruins of Sackville Street, I have discussed literature and the arts (and our own efforts in the same) with young writers whose names are now known the world over—Colum, Stephens and others, while some leader in extreme nationalism, or a follower of Sir Edward Carson, played chess at neighbouring tables.

That was the joy and ceaseless adventure of Dublin life as I knew it: the collision of pronounced individualities all eager with ideas, and emerging from the collision a lyric that will never die like A.E.’s

“I begin in the grass to be bound again
to the Lord,”
which I can hear now as distinctly as when he spoke it with shining eyes when he found voice again after a space of silence; a book that set two hemisphere’s talking like Stephens’ “Crock of Gold” that he told to me lying in the garden of my

home when the inspiration of its quaint conceit was fresh upon him.

And as it was with the humanity of Dublin, so it was with its very bricks and mortar. You never know where you are touching history made or in the making. You may happen to notice a rather dingy-looking public house in a long street that has obviously seen better days; and if you do, your eye will be carried up to a niche high in the wall holding a beautiful little bust. Anybody will tell you that it is the house where Tom Moore was born. Here his parents retailed groceries, while their son laid the foundations of fame by singing at supper-parties in his own and other people’s houses. It is hardly a stone’s throw from Jacob’s biscuit factory, which in the last days of April in this year of grace 1916 was reduced to skeleton by British artillery.

In a quiet side street I once spent the last night of his bachelorhood with a friend in a flat over a school. The school was a transformed dwelling. Its drawing room and dining room mantelpieces were removed to prevent children spoiling their beautiful oak carvings. They were sold for seventy pounds each. In 1765 it was the home of John Beresford, son of the Earl of Tyrone later known as “John the Magnificent” when he was the autocrat of the Irish Civil Service, and had the splendid pile of the Custom House built, not omitting a suite of apartments equal to his nickname, where several generations of the Beresford family were born. The Custom House has—or rather had—as *vis à vis* “Liberty Hall,” which apparently became the deciding factor in the recent rebellion.

In Upper O’Connell, (or Sackville), Street just beyond the line of artillery devastation, there is a house at the back of which is a large public hall. In the house there are wall and ceiling decorations that go back beyond our period of machine-produced stuff. It was the home of the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. It is almost next door to a hotel where, in the dining room, I have heard John Redmond ask for “Cabinet pudding,” and where the frail and snow-white sister of the late Alfred Webb walked indignantly out of the presence of the Irish leader because, in an interview with representatives of a women’s suffrage society, the aged but spirited lady foresaw the death-blow that

Mr. Redmond was going to deliver at the hopes of the women.

Everywhere you turn in Dublin, you are in the presence of forces, some of the past calling for fulfilment, some of the future calling also for fulfilment but with less asperity than frustrated history. Myth and legend and the clash and eddy of diverse evolutions are in every street name. The pent energies of lurking eras are ready to pounce on you round any corner. That is why the very stones of Dublin are living and beloved, why the great city of revolution puts on the garb of a living Being. Age may wither her, but Custom cannot stale her infinite variety.

To this variety many eras and races have contributed, as I shall indicate, but something must be said for the natural environment that made the location of the city a centre of convergence. The configuration of Ireland is that of a central plain bordered with mountain groups. On the east coast the Sutrims and Mourne groups in Ulster stand away with almost prophetic aloofness from the Leinster chain. Between them there is an eighty mile stretch of level coast of opening into the heart of the country—the natural gateway of Ireland. This gateway at its southern side directly faces a similar natural gateway in England between the Pennine and Welsh mountain systems: hence Dublin, and history.

The city stands at the mouth of the River Liffey half way on the crescent of Dublin Bay from the Hill of Howth to Dolkey Head. It is backed by the quiet range of the Dublin Mountains in which the river takes its rise. Across the mouth of the river a wicker bridge in ancient times bore the traffic between the rich agricultural lands north of the city, and the wooded and mountainous Wicklow region on the south. Its earliest known name was therefore "the ford of the hurdles." At this time, however, it had hardly attained the dignity of a village. Later, the Danes—working their way towards the famed church treasures of the "Island of Saints" from their Scandinavian home along the fringe of the Scottish islands—discovered at the mouth of the Liffey an excellent landing-place for their galleys. This they called the "black pool," and the name, translated into Irish—*dub*, black, *lin*, a pool—has remained as the name of the Irish metropolis. Beside this pool the

town grew up, a pure Danish settlement, or at least as pure as the mixed racial character of the invaders allowed, for some of them were "fair strangers"—an allusion to their complexion, not their methods—and inhabited Pingal (*fin*, fair, *gall*, stranger), and others were "dark strangers, and settled at Baldoyll (*baill*, a townland.)

For over three centuries the so-called Danes harried Ireland from their bases, desolating religious foundations, and giving almost nothing save a few place names as a memorial of their visitation. In the early eleventh century the High King of Ireland united the forces of the country, and struck the Danes a great blow at Clontarf, now a suburb of the City, to which the coming of the Normans put the final touch. When Henry II. in the late twelfth century, took upon himself the Lordship of Ireland, he made Dublin his capital, and assigned the exploitation of the City to the citizens of Bristol, an era which is remembered in the names of guilds, (merchants, goldsmiths, skimmers) attached to several philanthropic organizations.

In Dublin the Danes had built a church, or, rather, the church had risen through the fusion of the Irish with the Danes. When the Norman Earl of Pembroke, nicknamed Strongbow, established himself in Dublin, he had the church rebuilt; and on the original foundations Christ Church Cathedral arose, with the Danish crypt still preserved intact. Close by the Cathedral the castle stood, and around these symbols of faith in God and want of faith in humanity, Norman Dublin spread out from the ancient Scandinavian centre. Here in 1486 the coronation of the impostor Lambert Simnel took place, and a worm-eaten chapter-house door is still shown with a hole which was cut in it to allow the Earl of Kildare and Earl of Ormonde to shake hands with one another, in token of the settlement of a quarrel, without doing one another bodily injury.

A short distance from Christ Church Cathedral a small Irish Church was dignified into another Cathedral, Saint Patrick's, later the home of the immortal Dean Swift and the immortalised Stella. In the Commonwealth period, Oliver Cromwell stabled his troopers in the Cathedral, and dominated the town with cannon placed on the stout tower. Seated in St. Pat-

rick's Cathedral at an afternoon service, one can hear the bells of Christ Church chiming for a similar service: two large Cathedrals in a Catholic City, each surrounded by slums.

Dublin in the Norman period, though the most important City in Ireland, was not yet its capital. It was the seat of Norman rule, but that rule extended only to less than two counties, a district called "the Pale," because its boundary was marked by a ditch and *paling*. Beyond the Pale was the country of the "mere Irish," whose ancient polity it was the purpose of the Normans to overthrow. This was accomplished, not by the Normans, but by a Scottish King on the English throne, a Celt and a Catholic from whom the persecuted Irish hoped for much, but from whom they got only the forcible infliction of Roman law that England had retained and developed, in place of their ancient Breton laws that, as Maine, the great jurist, has pointed out, are in spirit very close to the Vedic laws of India.

The history of modern Dublin began in the reign of Elizabeth. The alien power had got its grip on practically the whole of the country: the military phase was shading off into the social phase. The foundation of Trinity College is a lasting memorial of the change. Ireland was to be converted to Protestantism, then a new and vigorous movement, and Protestants must be educated for the work. Buildings and lands were assigned for it. Its funds were largely provided from the booty taken from the Irish in the operation ironically called "the pacification of Munster." It is characteristic that a nephew of the founder became immersed in the dangerous enthusiasm of studying Irish archaeology. Twice only in the history of Trinity College has the Catholic mass been celebrated: in 1690 when James II was fleeing before William of Orange, and last month when Irish Catholic troops were quartered in the College to quell the revolt.

But the city had not as yet begun to approximate towards its present form. The buildings were characteristically English, and mainly constructed of timber. At the English Restoration in 1649, modern Dublin began to take shape. A piece of common land a short distance from Trinity College was authorised to be enclosed, and buildings began to gather

around it. A few years ago it was bought by Lord Ardilaun, of the house of Evinness the brewers, turned into a beautiful park, and presented to the city. On one side of it is the residence of Lord Iveagh, brother of Lord Ardilaun, the only peer having a residence within the City. A fine statue of the donor faces the Royal College of Surgeons in which the revolutionary forces placed one of their divisions in April last, and from which Madame de Markievicz, in the uniform of an Irish Volunteer, marched out at the head of several hundred men to surrender. The park itself,—Stephen's Green—had been the scene of sanguinary fighting between the revolutionaries entrenched on its soft swards, and British troops using machine-guns from the roofs of some of the tall houses overlooking the "green," one of which was probably the birthplace of Robert Emmet, the ill-starred revolutionary leader of a century before. At one corner of the Green stands an imposing granite arch to the memory of the Irish soldiers who fell in the Boer war. The arch is known amongst the extreme wing of the Nationalists as "Traitor's Gate." A few yards from it, at the converging point of several streams of traffic, a small area in the middle of the roads protected by pillars a couple or three feet high, marks the spot dedicated with some pomp eighteen years ago as the site for a memorial not yet erected—to Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of a former revolutionary movement. The two memorials epitomise the main forces that pass to and fro along the Green weaving the web of Ireland's destiny: one prosperous in material things, and in sympathy with the powers that be; the other straitened in resources, and annually placing a fading wreath on a lamp post in token of allegiance to the spirit of sacrifice for an ideal that had its roots in the past, and took no cognisance—largely because it was debarred from responsibility—of the growing complexities of human relationships.

Outside the city another piece of ground saw history in the making. The Duke of Ormonde, early in the seventeenth century, bought back certain alienated monastery lands, and enclosed two thousand acres of them as a deer-park and public ground. The ground was called Phoenix Park, but it had no connexion with the mythic bird, though a pillar, erected by Lord Chester-

field, bearing a Phoenix, occupies a prominent place on the main road. *Féen ishge*, to imitate the Irish original, means sweet water, and relates to a natural feature, not a supernatural monster. In the Phoenix Park stand the Viceregal Lodge and Chief Secretary's Lodge, which have seen the quick retirement of Lord Wimborne and Mr. Birrell as a result of what Mr. Asquith described as "the breakdown of the Irish Executive." The "magazine fort" stands not far from the River Liffey side of the Park. Swift wrote of it :

Behold a proof of Irish sense,
Here Irish wit is seen :
When nothing's left that's worth defence,
They build a magazine.

I have often gazed in awe on the fearsome spikes of its *cheveux-de frise*, but never with more than archaeological interest. It became an object of attack in the recent revolt.

A monument to Wellington, a gigantic obelisk, dominates the Park, and not far from it is a fine equestrian statue of General Rough, both Irishmen by birth. They stand as dramatic and historic contrasts to two spots on the central pathway, within sight of the Viceregal Lodge, that officialism perpetually tries to obliterate, but public sentimentality perpetually keeps in evidence, the spots where two representatives of English rule fell victims to a conspiracy of assassination some thirty years ago. The tragedy was witnessed by Earl Spencer, then Lord Lieutenant, without his realising its purport. He entered upon his duties as an upholder of the policy of repression, but vital contact with the ghastly muddle of Irish administration turned him into a Home Ruler.

Wellington's birth place, a tall flat-faced house of noble dimensions, with the external reserve and internal art of its period (1760), stands not far from Stephen's Green, and is now overlooked by the splendid cupola of the New Royal College of Science. When the future Duke was born, the house belonged to Lord Mornington, who composed some hymn tunes that are still sung in the Church of Ireland services. Later it was occupied by Lord Cloucurry who was tried for treason. (The present earl is a popular country gentleman. One of his daughters—the Hon. Emily Lawless—has achieved fame in literature.) In 1801, at the time of the engineering of the Union, "bloody" Castle-

reagh occupied the house. It is now used as part of the offices of the Irish Land Commission, "that gigantic machinery"—as Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M. P. says in his book "The Famous Cities of Ireland," published by Messrs. Mandel and Co. Ltd., Dublin and London—"which has been occupied for close on twenty years in transferring the land of Ireland from the class which produced Wellington and Castlereagh to the class which produced Michael Davitt."

The Four Courts, the front of Trinity College, and the Customs House stand as other fine examples of the architecture and inferentially of the taste and wealth of the upper class of the time. They are substantial, dignified, simple and commodious. The Four Courts, though made an object of attack in the recent fighting, does not appear to have suffered. Indeed, one of the causes of the rebel leaders' surrender was apparently a desire to save the City from destruction, for it was the artillery of the British army that destroyed Sackville Street: the insurgents had no guns.

The "Old House of Parliament"—the present Bank of Ireland—belongs to the same period, and but for the Act of Union would have given to the world a triumph of art. As it is, the half of the scheme, with its great colonnade of pillars, is a piece of Greece of superb grace and strength. Its neighbour, Trinity College, and itself, provide an architectural group not easily surpassed.

The period of upbuilding of a century ended in 1801 when Ireland's interests became, like her landlords, absentees, resident in Westminster. The fine old streets crumbled into decayed tenements, and others that were fortunate enough to be contiguous to the growth of the business part of the city fell from the powdered wig level to the hustle of commerce. Some came within the influence of the new Ireland, the Ireland of self-effort towards her own social regeneration and of the new impulse to expression in the Arts. Plunkett House on Merrion Square is one such, a couple of minutes' walk from Wellington's birthplace. From it the affairs of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society are directed by Sir Horace Plunkett and his brilliant staff. On an upper floor George W. Russell edits "The Irish Homestead" throwing his encyclopædic intellect, and his

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spiritual insight into building up of a future sane social polity. He is AE, the writer of immortal lyrics, one of the world's prophets, and a delightful dispenser of an impromptu cup of tea and copious rivers of conversation.

But there is another Dublin, of dens of misery, and disease, and filth, the product of centuries of calamitous folly in the organisation of a sensitive race. It infests the vitals of the capital, and oozes out

between the dwellings of the high and mighty. It was to it that Bernard Shaw referred when he wrote that the complaint against the artillery was not that it had done so much damage, but that it had not done enough. I am not a native of Dublin, but I can appreciate the earnestness of his regret that he was not in charge of artillery six weeks ago—"how I would have improved my native City." Of it the less said, and the more done, the better.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

By BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW, LONDON.

THERE are three ways of getting into Parliament, viz., through (1) wealth and social position, (2) through family name and (3) through ability. A great number of members of Parliament owe their seats solely to their wealth and social position. A greater number of them are returned members of Parliament by virtue of their family name, although some of them show ability worthy of the name. Their family, perhaps for centuries past, have thought of Parliament as their natural place, and as soon as a member of the family is twenty-five or so, he takes to politics as a matter of right and is, without any hitch or trouble or turmoil, returned its member. This class is known by the name of the political caste in England, and cannot stand those members of Parliament whose fathers and grand-fathers did not sit in Parliament before them, and whom it calls intruders, up-starts and so on. And there is a number of members in Parliament who owe their seats neither to wealth and social position nor to family name, but to the fact that before entering the House of Commons they strive hard and win for themselves a recognised position in public life. It is this class of members which is looked down upon by the political caste which calls it all sorts of names. Mr. Lloyd George belongs to this third class. He does not come of wealthy parents nor of a family

the members of which sat in the House of Commons for some centuries past. Apart from this he did not have the advantages of Eton and Oxford life which the majority of members have who are neither wealthy nor belong to the political caste, as was the case with the late Mr. Gladstone, and is the case with the present premier Mr. Asquith. Neither of them came of wealthy parents nor belonged to the political caste. But they had this in their favour that they had been to Eton and Oxford. Poor Mr. Lloyd George! When he entered the House of Commons in 1890 his name aroused bitter enmity in "Society." And why? Because he did not come of wealthy parents; he did not belong to a family the members of which had been sitting in the House of Commons for some centuries past, and at the top of it all, he did not go to Eton or Oxford. And Mr. Lloyd George had to fight hard to overcome this prejudice of the political caste against him. The caste system in politics is as rigid in England as the caste system among orthodox Hindus in India. Those who fondly believe that there is no such thing as caste in England, and for the matter of that, among Englishmen, would do well to study the question of political caste in England, and then and then only can they understand that caste plays as important a part in English politics as it does among orthodox Hindus in India, perhaps more. For an

Englishman, with no wealth and social position and without family name and history to back him up in his struggle for life in politics, to come to the fore is no joke. He is tolerated, no doubt, because of his ability. He is acknowledged as a man of stuff. So far people and politicians welcome him. But to see him elevated to one of the highest positions in England is not a thing which his people and friends care to tolerate. He must be possessed of an ability of a very exceptional order, and then he can come to the fore, for, as stated above, he has got to compete not only with the cleverest politicians, but has also to overcome the prejudice of the political caste against him which is so deep-rooted and is so universal that it requires great endurance, tenacity and courage to overcome it. That Mr. Lloyd George overcame this completely, and came to the fore despite so many disadvantages and handicaps with which he started on his political career can be easily judged from the popularity he enjoys and the esteem in which he is held at the present moment.

Mr. Lloyd George was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. The fact is that great men are not generally born rich, and Mr. Lloyd George is no exception. Take Asquith, Gladstone, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, and others. None of them were born rich. It is quite possible in the majority of cases that the ordinary circumstances in which they are born serve as a filip to their greatness, for who knows that the glare and glare of riches might not infect them with what the French call the *grandiose*? However, that is by the way. Mr. Lloyd George was born in Manchester—the city of Free Trade—on January 17, 1863. His father David George, who came of yeoman stock from Pembrokeshire, was a teacher in an elementary school in Manchester; and his mother Elizabeth Lloyd, was the daughter of David Lloyd, who, though a shoe-maker by trade, was noted for his learning at Llanystumdwy. Before Mr. Lloyd George was a year old, his father, being unable to bear the irritations and strain of teaching on account of his indifferent health, gave up the teaching profession and moved to Wales to a small farm near Haverfordwest, and took to the pursuit of farming. Thus the accident of Mr. Lloyd George's birthplace in Manchester did not prevent him from being "first, and last, and above

everything a Welshman." Within two years of the family's return to Wales, Mr. Lloyd George's father died of pneumonia at the early age of 44, and his mother was left a widow with two infants, and very shortly afterwards a posthumous son was born to her. Mrs. David George was a business-like and immensely industrious woman. She sold the farm, and went with her young children to share her brother's home in the village of Llanystumdwy in North Wales. Her brother Richard Lloyd, was a shoemaker by trade, and was not rich, and, therefore, Mr. Lloyd George could have none of the luxuries of life in his youth. Recalling those early days Mr. Lloyd George himself says: "We scarcely ate fresh meat, and I remember that our greatest luxury was half an egg for each child on Sunday morning." But from this it should not be inferred that Mr. Lloyd George lived in abject poverty in his young days. The fact is that there was nothing in the way of luxury to be had, but there was no abject poverty. But if Richard Lloyd, Mr. Lloyd George's uncle, was not rich in this world's goods, he was a great scholar and preacher. He belonged to a religious sect known as "The Disciples of Christ", and his shop was not only the field of theological controversies but also an arena of the political life of the village. Such surroundings could not possibly fail to leave their impress on little Lloyd George and shape his career and mould his character both politically as well as morally. There was also the smithy of Hugh Jones at Llanystumdwy which, in conjunction with his uncle's shop, was responsible for shaping Mr. Lloyd George's career, as it was here that the intelligent, educated and enlightened villagers gathered together to thresh out the political, religious and philosophical questions of the day. "Yonder smithy," said Mr. Lloyd George once, "was my first parliament, where night after night, we discussed all the abstruse questions relating to this world and the next, in politics, in theology, in philosophy, and science. There was nothing too wide and comprehensive for us to discuss." Of his academic career very little is recorded. In fact, there is nothing worthy of note excepting one incident which proved that he had the courage of his convictions while even very young. The village school that he attended taught the Church Catechism and Creed

compulsorily, or, in other words, religious instruction was combined with secular education in schools during his schooldays. He led the successful revolt for conscience's sake against this compulsory religious instruction in his school at Llanystumdwy by absenting himself along with a large number of his school fellows from "the regulation Ash Wednesday Church School Parade." The revolt was so successfully organised that it resulted in the abolition of religious instruction in his village school. As a school-boy he accomplished in his own village school what years of political agitation failed to accomplish through Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George is not a university man. In fact he did not have any "education" worth the name. He could not afford to. His uncle's means were not such as to enable him to send Mr. Lloyd George to Eton and thence to Oxford. The only school he attended was his village school where he passed the preliminary examination at the age of fourteen. That was all the education he had, and he has never been ashamed to confess his early educational limitations. He speaks of them thus:—"Personally I should be ungrateful if I did not say that I owe nothing to the University. I owe nothing to secondary schools. Whatever I do owe is to the little Bethel." But since then the universities of Oxford and Wales have conferred upon him honorary degrees.

His uncle soon found out that there were germs of greatness and statesmanship in "little George," as he was then called, and that if properly looked after and educated, he was sure to become a great man one day. Since his infancy Mr. Lloyd George showed signs of oratory and his uncle settled that he should be trained for the legal profession, and for training his nephew for the law he devoted the few pounds which he had saved for his old age. As this money was not sufficient for his nephew's education for the law, he himself, although past youth, set to work to study law and the French language with his nephew so as to save the preliminary cost of preliminary legal education. In this connection Mr. Lloyd George himself thus summarises his uncle's devotion: "My Uncle never married. He set himself the task of educating the children of his sister as a sacred and supreme duty. To that duty he gave his time, energy, and all his

money." He was articled to a solicitor at Portmadoc, and was admitted a solicitor in 1884, at the age of 21, but it was not until he had earned the guineas with which to buy the robes in which to appear in courts that he started practising as a solicitor.

Mr. Lloyd George soon made his name as an able advocate, and his office at Portmadoc soon became the resort of "everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented." But the majority of his clients belonged to a class "which helped to build up a reputation rather than a bank balance for their advocate." He himself admits that one serious drawback of his as a solicitor was, "I never sent in any bills of cost. The result was I never had any money." It was only when his brother joined the firm that "things improved" so far as money was concerned. The most notable among his earlier cases was the quarrymen case. Four quarrymen were charged before the Carnarvon Magistrates with unlawfully fishing with a net in the Nantle Lower Lake. The point at issue was whether the lake came under the definition of "river" or not. Mr. Lloyd George argued that the Bench had no jurisdiction to try the case, which must be sent to a higher court. The following dialogue which took place between the Bench and Mr. Lloyd George shows how courageous and independent-spirited Mr. Lloyd George was even in his young days:—

Mr. George: Yes, sir, and in a perfectly just and unbiassed court, too.

The Chairman: If that remark of Mr. George's is meant as a reflection upon any magistrate sitting on this bench, I hope that he will name him. A more insulting and ungentlemanly remark to the Bench I have never heard during the course of my experience as a magistrate.

Mr. George: But a more true remark was never made in a court of justice.

The Chairman: Tell me to whom you are referring? I must insist upon knowing whether you are referring to any magistrate or magistrates sitting in this court.

Mr. George: I refer to you in particular, sir.

The Chairman: (rising) Then I retire from the chair. Good-bye, gentlemen. This is the first time I have ever been insulted in a court of justice. (He then left the court).

Another Magistrate: In fairness to the chairman and other magistrates I must say that Mr. George was not justified in making such remarks.

A third Magistrate: I decline to proceed with this case until Mr. George apologises.

Mr. George: I am glad to hear it.

A request for an apology to the Bench elicited the following bold statement :—

I say this : That at least two or three magistrates in this court are bent upon securing a conviction whether there is a fair case or not. I am sorry the chairman has left the court, because I am in a position to prove what I have said. I shall not withdraw anything, because every word I have spoken is true.

Upon this the remaining Magistrates left the Court. They, however, returned after a brief consultation, and the chairman announced that Mr. Lloyd George's remarks were unjustifiable and as such should be withdrawn, and that the case should proceed.

On January 24, 1888, Mr. Lloyd George married Miss Margaret Owen, only daughter of Mr. Richard Owen. Mrs. Lloyd George has been a distinct factor in her husband's life, and with her assistance her husband has accomplished many great things. She has always accompanied her husband in his political tours, and on many occasions has miraculously escaped injury, rather death. In 1892—the year of Mr. Lloyd George's election as member of Parliament—while he was driving through the streets of Bangor with Mrs. Lloyd George at his side, a fireball of tarred tow, dipped in paraffin, was thrown at him, which knocked his hat off and fell on Mrs. Lloyd George's dress. It was only the prompt action on the part of her husband which threw the ball out and extinguished the flames that saved Mrs. Lloyd George. In 1895—the time of another election—she was again saved from serious injury by her husband's prompt action. Three years ago when Mr. Lloyd George was driving through the streets of West End, London, with Mrs. Lloyd George, a suffragette threw something at Mr. Lloyd George which so closely touched Mrs. Lloyd George that it was only luck that saved her. It is said of Mrs. Lloyd George that though she takes her breakfast much earlier than her husband, but to keep him company she again takes her breakfast with her husband at about 9-30 a.m. It is because her husband has to keep late hours in order to attend to his work as Minister of Munitions and as such cannot be expected to take his breakfast early as was his wont before the war.

The idea of entering parliament was suggested to Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Michael Davitt at a great meeting at Blaenau Ffestiniog, on February 12, 1886.

At that meeting Mr. Michael Davitt spoke on Home Rule, and Mr. Lloyd George moved a vote of thanks. At the close of the meeting Mr. Michael Davitt strongly advised him to turn his thoughts to a parliamentary career. This encouraging advice enabled him to give the matter serious thought, and the leaders of the new political and spiritual thought in Wales found in Mr. Lloyd George a man after their own heart. "You require a member for Carnarvon Boroughs," said one of them in 1888, "you have him ready at hand in Mr. Lloyd George. Give him his chance, for he is destined to become the leader of Wales in Parliament." Although he had been freely mentioned as one sure to make an ideal member of parliament, there were people among older and more cautious Liberals to whom he appeared a bit "advanced" and who feared that his extreme views "would frighten timid voters." They were not reassured when Mr. S. T. Evans (now Sir Samuel Evans, President of the Admiralty Division), who was then Member for Mid-Glamorgan, gravely told them:—"Don't worry about that. Lloyd George will lose fifty per cent. of his National Radicalism in the House of Commons." It is worthy of record what the "South Wales Daily News" said of his candidature in February 1890:—"We believe that he belongs to that class of young and rising Welshmen who will in a future, and no distant future period, be the pride of the Welsh people." The vacancy occurred in March, 1890, and Mr. Lloyd George was chosen as candidate, and returned a Member of Parliament on April 10th, 1890, with a majority of 18 votes. It was in the 27th year of his age. He made his maiden speech on June 13th, 1890. In his maiden speech he called attention in Committee of Supply to the appointment in the County Courts of Wales of Judges who could not speak Welsh. On this subject he spoke with all the experience gained from his large practice as solicitor which he had built up in Carnarvon and the district. It is said that Gladstone was "exceedingly delighted" with his maiden speech.

When he first came to London it was his intention to read for the Bar. But as the House of Commons absorbed a great share of his attention, he gave up the idea of becoming a Barrister, and continued his practice as a Solicitor. Once inside the

House, he drew the attention of the House to the needs of Wales, and, needless to add, his tireless efforts and untiring activity have brought Wales many desirable and important reforms. In his early days as a Member of Parliament Mr. Lloyd George did quite remarkable things. But they were, to be candid, unnoticed and unrealized. In those early days the House of Commons did not realize Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Lloyd George did not realize the House of Commons. The atmosphere of the House of Commons was alien and antipathetic to him. It is true that he had made his local fame as orator, solicitor and nationalist. But his oratory was not the oratory which suited the House of Commons. He had the "fiery gospel and rhetorical tongue." But this is the exact thing which the House of Commons cannot stand. Moreover, as a speaker in English, he could not carry the members off their feet. His oratory in English was stumbling and ragged, and the House of Commons could not stand it. It was only when he spoke in Welsh, that he could really rouse the Members. But the House of Commons did not care for Welsh. Gladstone may have been "exceedingly delighted" with his maiden speech. But the fact remains that during his early days he was one of those members of the House of Commons who are considered unsuited and uncongenial to it (House of Commons) and its atmosphere. If anybody had told Mr. Lloyd George during those days that he would become one of the foremost figures of the House one day, he would never have believed it. In fact, he would have been startled at such prophecy. It was the Agricultural Land Rating Bill which first made the House of Commons realize him and Mr. Lloyd George realize the House of Commons. It looks curious, rather funny, that a Rating Bill should attract a great orator. But Mr. Lloyd George had studied rating in all its minutest details as solicitor and was more thoroughly familiar with rating than any other member of the House of Commons. Since then "the orator became a Parliamentarian" and "has never looked back since." From that time onward he has become a parliamentarian who has been cradled in the House of Commons. Perhaps it is not generally known that it was in connection with this Rating Bill that on May 22nd, 1896, Mr. Lloyd George was, along with Mr. Herbert

Lewis, Mr. J. Dillon, and some others, suspended from the House for a week. "I decline to go," said Mr. Lloyd George in reply to the speaker, "as a protest against the action of the Government." After his return to the House, he made very able and clever speeches on the Voluntary Schools Bill and the Irish Local Government Bill.

It was the South African War that brought Mr. Lloyd George to the fore, and proved to demonstration that he was a man of courage, convictions and independence. He deemed the Boer War a blunder and "fought as strenuously against the war as the Boers did against the British," to quote Mr. Beriah Evans. His attitude during the war earned for him the epithet "pro-Boer." But he justified the epithet, and "became at once and everywhere, the object of general opprobrium, the aim of every political sniper, the objective of every Tory bombardment and deployed and massed attack." The majority of his Liberal friends, to speak nothing of Conservatives, left him at that time. But being convinced of the righteousness of his policy, he remained undaunted and unwavering, and held on. His life was threatened, but he did not care for his life. In fact it is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George that when he espouses a cause he gives all he has to that cause, and that is the reason that he can carry his cause always through to a victory. He gave his all to his attitude during the Boer War. His unpopularity reached its climax in the riots which took place in Birmingham in December, 1891, on the occasion of a meeting at which he had to speak. It is said that some men had sworn that Mr. Lloyd George should not leave Birmingham alive. This riot was organised to the tune of

"We'll chuck Lloyd George into the fountain
And he'll never come to Brum any more."

The text of his speech was Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield pronouncement. Mr. Lloyd George being aware of the fact that a band of men were bent upon disturbing the meeting, nay, causing him physical injury, he reached the Town Hall, Birmingham, where he had to make his speech, two hours before the time for delivery of his speech, and utilised this interval in dictating to a shorthand writer the substance of what he intended to say. With the type-written note Lloyd George rose

to speak. The moment he rose stones began to reach through windows, and immediately afterwards there was a big rush for the platform. But luckily Mr. Lloyd George was spirited away to an ante-room and from there escaped in the guise of a constable. But the speech appeared in the morning papers, and Mr. Lloyd George achieved success, rather won the battle. Any other man with a less stout heart and of weak convictions would have been afraid to visit Birmingham and to speak to people mad with rage against him. But Mr. Lloyd George is not a weak man. On the contrary he is a born fighter and loves to be in the thick of the fight, especially when the odds are against him. "He never avoids an issue because it means a fight against great odds. He will attack it the more cheerfully for that fact. He loves to go out against 'ten or twelve of them,' for he likes to see them run," remarks one student of his career. And Mr. Lloyd George was unsparing in his attacks on Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, whom he regarded as the real author of the Boer War. It was his chief delight "to indulge in a tilt against Mr. Chamberlain." He said about him in one of his speeches:—"One of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches does more to jeopardize the Empire than a score of Nicholson's Neks. The New Imperialists will have to procure a revised version of their Scriptures—a Birmingham edition—commencing: 'In the beginning Joseph Chamberlain created heaven and earth'." His attitude during the Boer War (1899) proved two things, first, that he was a man of courage and convictions, and secondly, that he was a little Englander, i.e., one opposed to an Imperial policy.

The Education Bill of 1902 found in Mr. Lloyd George one of the cleverest and alertest of critics, and it was through him and his efforts that the principles of Non-conformity were, in a large measure, secured. Mr. Balfour testified to his work in this connection thus:—"There is the Hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs who, through these debates has played, in my opinion, a most distinguished part, and who has shown himself to be an eminent parliamentarian." The Rev. R. J. Campbell, whose weekly articles in the "Illustrated Sunday Herald" are read with great avidity and rapturous eagerness by the public, remarked about his work in connection with the Educational Act of 1892:—"In

the opinion of many, what Mr. Lloyd George has done is small compared with what he will accomplish again."

When the Conservative Government fell at the end of 1905, and the Liberal Government came into power with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George was appointed to the office of the President of the Board of Trade. This caused general surprise. It was said by many people that Mr. Lloyd George, although possessed of eloquence to sway the masses, lacked business qualities and abilities as an administrator, and as such was not qualified for the position. They further were of opinion that he obtained this high position simply because of his rhetorical powers. His appointment caused great annoyance in the Tory ranks. At the time the "Daily Mail" wrote:—

"Nobody in the country knows less concerning the policy of his Government than Mr. Lloyd George... That he will ever enter a Cabinet again is unlikely, and when his political career comes to a hasty end, it will be found that it was the great moment of his life when, disguised in the respectable uniform of a policeman, he fled before the foolish mob which thought it worth while to silence his traitorous speech."

For some time he was not much heard of. He was busy mastering the details and intricacies of his office, and soon made himself well familiar with the work of the Board of Trade. His predecessors, Mr. Chamberlain and the Marquis of Salisbury, no doubt, did much to improve the commercial life of England during their times of office, but it is doubtful if either of them accomplished so much as did Mr. Lloyd George during his two years at the Board of Trade and during which short time he had placed three great and important measures on the Statute Book, viz., (1) the Merchant Shipping Act, (2) the Patents Act, & (3) the Port of London Bill. While at the Board of Trade it did not take him much time to build up his reputation. He soon became known as "the greatest fighting force in the Ministry," justifying Mr. Winston Churchill's assurance that "Lloyd George is the best fighting general in the Liberal Army." He also proved himself as great a diplomat by averting a great railway strike in 1907, and settling the Manchester Cotton Dispute so satisfactorily and amicably. At the Lord Mayor's Banquet, the Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, paid a warm tribute to "the great gifts of unconquerable

hopefulness, of unfailing courage, and of alert diplomacy, which Mr. Lloyd George possessed.

The Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, tendered his resignation in April 1908, and Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Mr. Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Times* "was found acquiescing in his appointment to the Chancellorship as the best of possible appointments," and congratulated Mr. Asquith on the formation of the new Cabinet, stating that it was stronger than its predecessor. Even the "Daily Mail" which, two and a half years ago, had strongly criticised the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George to the presidency of the Board of Trade, acknowledged that Mr. Lloyd George "has proved in office that he possesses in exceptional measure that practical business capacity, self-restraint, initiative, and large open-mindedness, which, allied with the faculty of conciliation, are required of one who will control the national finances." His historic Budget was introduced on April 29th, 1909. Among many other social improvements, it provided for Old Age Pensions. But it should be noted that the foundation of old age pensions had been laid by Mr. Asquith. The Budget caused quite a sensation throughout the whole of Great Britain and was strongly opposed by those "whose interest it is to maintain the present unequal distribution of land." The Tariff Reformers were extremely strong in their condemnation of the author of the scheme. The favourite adjectives applied

to the Budget were "Socialistic," "penal," "vindictive," and "iniquitous," and the author of the Budget was described as "a highwayman preying on the pockets of the rich." The city financiers held a protest meeting in the City under Lord Rothschild's chairmanship. Lord Rosebery described the Budget as a "revolution." The Tory press with one voice denounced it. The House of Lords rejected the Finance Bill, which led to the famous quarrel between the Lords and the Commons and resulted in the triumph of the Commons over the Lords. The attitude which Mr. Lloyd George took up in connection with the Finance Bill can be expressed in his own words:—

"Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials: and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxieties which they bear with such patience and fortitude."

The Budget was, however, passed in due course, and the credit for it is due to Mr. George. The Insurance Act was introduced by him on May 7th, 1910, and was in full working order in July 1912. It was a national scheme of insurance against invalidity and illness. Although the scheme itself met with nothing but praise, the insurance "tax" and the "servant tax" provided material for unnecessary criticism of the scheme and its author. But, anyhow, he won the day. The fact is that Mr. Lloyd George has "not only dreamed dreams of a newer and better England," as one writer remarked "but has translated those dreams into realities."

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

1.

EVERYTHING in life is double-faced. We live in the midst of correlated phenomena which stand in antithesis to each other,—or what has been called "unity

in difference," or "self-differentiating unity." To every 'upward,' there is a "downward," to every 'inward' there is an "outward," to every 'centrifugal' there is a "centripetal." Things always go in complementary pairs together; the one never merges

into the other, but always stands as the complement of the other. "Every actual thing involves a co-existence of contrary elements" says Hegel. Or "Omnis determinatio est negatio"—says Spinoza. This is also what our ancient seers mean by the term "द्वन्द्व," or obverse couple. In this द्वन्द्व should be included the antithetical complementary ideas of subject and object, or of *ego* and *non-ego* in vogue among the metaphysicians of the west,—which correspond to the complementary antithetical couples ज्ञातृ-ज्ञेय, द्रष्टृ-दृश्य, ग्राहक-ग्राह्य, and विषय-विषयी in vogue among our Vedantists, and perhaps also the antitheses of प्रकृति-पुरुष found among our Sankhyas. The couple always go together, but the one never becomes the other. Sankara thus begins his Preface to the Sariraka Bhashya.—"It is apparent that the object or विषय and the subject or विषयी corresponding to the perception of the ego and of the non-ego have opposite natures, like darkness and light,—so that neither of them can become the other."* I see you now, but I did not see you before, and may not see many of you again. The 'I' or 'ego' (अस्मत्) is here the विषयी or subject, and the you or non-ego (यस्मत्) is the object or विषय. The object 'you' here stands as the antithesis of its correlative subject 'I,' from which it must always remain different. Whenever you or I know anything, you or I know it as an object or विषय, which must always remain distinct from the knowing subject (विषयी). That being admitted, the question arises—does the subject know the subject, or do I know myself? Herbert Spencer would say at once,—"Impossible,"—for that would amount to the subject (विषयी) becoming the object (विषय), which by the necessary axiom of all thought cannot be. Supposing for the sake of argument, Spencer would say, that the subject can know

itself, that I can be an object of knowledge to myself, what follows? The 'I' that was the subject or विषयी before, now becomes the object or विषय, and in doing so must leave behind it another 'I' as subject to contemplate the first subject as object, for by the necessary axiom of thought subject and object must remain apart. Again to know this second 'I' as an object, a third 'I' would have to be left behind, and so on *ad infinitum*. This is what in Sanskrit is called the fallacy of 'अनन्तवत्या' usually translated into English as 'endless regress.' Thus H. Spencer succeeds in proving by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* that the Self or Substance of Mind always remains "unknown and unknowable." To quote his own words:

"In brief a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought, and yet the Substance of Mind must be this before it can be known."

Would you agree with Spencer? Are you convinced by his argument,—which merely reproduces what we have already quoted—the idea expressed in the first few lines of the preface to Sankara's Sariraka Bhashya. Would you not rather think it ridiculous that the knowing subject that knows all through its own mental modifications—should be unknown to itself, the mere *x* of an unsolved and insoluble equation? Or would you rather go with Descartes and say that the 'I' is self-evident or immediately known,—"*Cogito ergo sum*"—I cannot doubt that I am, any more than I can doubt that I doubt. It should be remembered that Descartes never meant to prove 'I am' syllogistically from 'I think' merely because he used the word 'therefore.' Or as Hegel observes: "The man who calls '*Cogito ergo sum*' a syllogism, must know little more about a syllogism, than that the word 'Ergo' occurs in it. Where shall we look for the middle term?" Logic,—64—Wallace's translation.

Will you not at least suspend judgment till you have heard your Sankaracharya? I am sure you will wait till you have heard what Sankara has to say on the subject. To that let us next turn our attention. Sankara would say that Spencer is right, so far as he goes, but he does not go far enough. In Sankara's opinion too the knowing Self (which he considers to be identical with Brahma) or the subject (विषयी,

* यस्मादस्मात्प्रत्ययगोचरयो विषय-विषयिनो स्मरः-प्रकाशश्चिद्वत् स्वभावयोरितरेतरभावानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायामित्यादि-भूमिका to Sutra Bhasya.

or ज्ञाता) cannot be the object of an act of cognition or the विषय or ज्ञेय. “नेत्रं ज्ञेयं मयान्यत्रैव परं ब्रह्म कथञ्च” “The great Brahma is never an object of cognition to me or to anybody else.” So far Spencer and Sankara are at one. Where then is the difference? According to Sankara it is not at all necessary that the knowing Self should be an object to be known or cognised—for says he “the Self is always known by me”—“ज्ञानं चैव सदा यथा”. Sankara says in his Brihadaranyaka Bhashya* :—“There are two kinds of knowing—Phenomenal and real or noumenal,—or speaking more popularly—separable and inseparable. Of these the phenomenal or separable is a mental modification connected with the eye. That is an act done, therefore begins and also ends. But the (real or noumenal) knowing of the Self—which is inseparable from the Self just as heat and light are from fire,—that being the very nature of the knowing Self (द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात्) (and not merely an act done) does not begin, and does not end.” Compare, for example, ‘I see you’ with ‘I see myself.’ I did not see you before; I see you now, because you have placed yourself in the position of an *object* or विषय relatively to my sight चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः—to my eye-sight and through it to my mind. As soon as that relation between you and my eye-sight ceases I cease to see you. There is thus a gulf or व्यवधान between you and me, and your placing yourself in the position of an object or विषय relatively to my eye-sight “चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः”—called “seeing” bridges that gulf. But on the other hand, there never was a time when I existed but did not see that I existed, and so long as I exist there never will be a time when I cease to see that I exist. There is thus no gulf (व्यवधान) conceivable between the ‘I’ that sees, and the ‘me’ that is seen, to be bridged by an

act of seeing or the mental state connected with the eye-sight, ‘चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः’—as when I see you. Again when I see you,—the ‘I’ that sees, and the ‘you’ that is seen, not being identical, the seeing is a separable accident to me or, what Sankara calls *Loukiki* or *Upadhi*; but when I see me, the ‘I’ that sees and the ‘me’ that is seen are identical (स्वरूप),—and the seeing is inseparable from me or what Sankara calls *Paramarthiki*. Again my very nature is a self-illuminating consciousness—(कूटस्थनिष्ठात्मज्योतिः),—so that I am by nature always self-known or self-evident and,—the name “object to be known” or ज्ञेय has no application in regard to me and the knowing Self. Lastly my knowing myself is not an inference by means of a middle term from known premisses,—as when we say, here is fire in the hill because it smokes,—“पर्वतो वक्त्रिमान्, धूमात् ।” Describing this real (पारमार्थिकी) or noumenal cognition (द्रष्टि) of the Self by the Self, Sankara says in his Upadesa-Sahasri :—“स्वरूपाव्यवधानाभ्यां ज्ञानाद्योक्तस्य भावतः । अन्यज्ञानानपेक्षत्वात् ज्ञातश्चैव सदा यथा ॥”—“Consciousness being the very nature of Self,—there being nothing intervening between the Self and himself, consciousness being of the nature of a self-manifesting light, and the Self knowing himself independently of his knowing anything else,—the Self is always known to me.” Thus you see when I see you, you are an object of sense to be seen (ज्ञेय) by my *Loukiki* or phenomenal or separable sight, which has a beginning and an end, while when I see myself,—I see myself by that *Paramarthiki* or noumenal sight inseparable from myself, independent of the distinction of subject and object, and unconnected with the organs of sense,—a sight that has no beginning and no end,—but is always present in me as, what Sankara calls, the changeless central self-luminosity of Self—“कूटस्थनिष्ठात्मज्योतिः” ।

* दृष्टिरिति द्विविधा भवति, लौकिकी पारमार्थिकी च । तत्र लौकिकी चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः । सा क्रियते इति जायते, विनश्यति च । या त्वात्मनो दृष्टिरभ्युपगमात् प्रकाशादिवत्, सा च द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात् न जायते विनश्यति च । (P. 577 Jivananda).

II. THE CHANGELESS CENTRAL SELF-LUMINOSITY OF SELF, OR कूटस्थनिष्ठात्मज्योतिः

न तत्र चक्षुर्गच्छति, न वाग्गच्छति, न मनो, न विज्ञो, न विज्ञानी यथैतदनुश्रियात्, अन्यदेव तद्विदितादयोऽविदिता-

दृशि ॥ केन—३ ॥ “There the eye does not go, nor the speech, nor the mind, we know not, we understand not how to teach that, for that is different from the known, and likewise also different from the unknown”: says the Kena Upanishad.

We shall try first to explain what *Kutastha* means. That depends on what *Kuta* means. Referring to the Visvakosha, we find that *Kuta* has many meanings: (1) the apex of a cone,—the metaphor used being that of a conical pencil of light emitted from a luminous centre; or a hill-top; *Kutastha* then means what stands at the apex of all phenomena, or if we may vary the figure a little, the fixed pivot at the centre, round which the world of phenomena revolves, or, what Kant would call, the Ding-an-Sich or Noumenon as opposed to the Erscheining phenomena, or the Absolute as opposed to the Relative. (2) *Kuta* may mean a house. In that case *Kutastha* is that which always stays at home, while all else wander from home, or come and go; or to quote the words of Hegel: “Real infiniteness consists in being at home with itself in its antithesis, or in coming to itself in its other. Logic, 94 (Wallace). (3) *Kuta* may mean an iron rod. In that case *Kutastha* would mean—firm and unchangeable—like a rod of solid iron:—“कूटवत् अयोधनवत् निर्विकारो निश्चलः सन् तिष्ठति।” “कूटो लोहमुद्गरः पर्वतमृदुं वा, तद्विचलतया अविकारितया तिष्ठति।” (4) Lastly *Kuta* is taken to mean *Maya*. In that case, the *Kutastha* is the fixed and changeless regulator of Mayic changes. Sankara often uses the expression “कूटस्थनिष्कालज्योतिः” or the changeless self-luminosity of the *Atma* or Self. Let me explain Sankara’s meaning by a few short extracts from Sankara’s *Upadesa-sahasri*:—“चैतन्यस्वरूपस्य च आत्मनः स्वतःसिद्धेः अन्यानपेक्षत्वं न केनचित् वारयितुं शक्यं, अव्यभिचारतः”—(91). The *Atma* whose nature is consciousness, and therefore self-evident, nothing can prevent the conclusion that its existence is independent of every other proof,—for the presupposition of the existence of *Atma* underlies every other form of proof, for “स्वबुद्ध्याददेव सर्वं” उपलभ्यते अप्रत्यक्षप्रकाशतुल्येन कूटस्थनित्यचैतन्यस्वरूपेण—(73), “for you perceive things only when

presented to your understanding (Buddhi), and that because of the changeless conscious nature of your Self which lies at the apex of all, and to which consciousness is like heat and light to fire.” प्रत्यक्षानां नियमेन अग्नेषतः उपलब्धेरेव अपरिणामित्वात् कूटस्थत्वसिद्धौ” (75)

—“As mental presentations are, under all conditions and without exception, made to the identical Self which perceives them, it follows that the Self being itself changeless is कूटस्थ or lies as the fixed apex of all mental presentations. Lastly “नित्योपलब्धिमात्र एव हि उपलब्धा, न तु अन्या उपलब्धिः अन्य उपलब्धा च” (79)—“The conscious Self is nothing but changeless consciousness. It is not the case that consciousness is one thing, and the conscious Self something different. This is almost exactly what Hegel says (Logic—20 and 24). “We may say ‘I’ and thought are the same, or more definitely ‘I’ is thought as a thinker.” Again “Thought conceived as a subject is a thinker and the subject existing as a thinker is simply denoted by the term ‘I.’” Indeed in this Hegel may be said to have followed the footsteps of Sankara without knowing it. Again to prove the central changeless nature of self-consciousness कूटस्थ नित्यचैतन्य, goes to demonstrate the presence of that changeless central consciousness कूटस्थ चैतन्य—even in sound sleep, by raising that question before an imaginary Purvapaksha or opponent: Says the opponent “न हि कदाचित् सुषुप्ते मया चैतन्यमन्यत्वा किञ्चित् दृष्टं”—“In sound sleep, I never saw consciousness or anything else.” To this Sankara replies:—

“पश्यन्तहि सुषुप्तेषु, यस्मात् दृष्टमेव प्रतिषेधसि, न दृष्टिः। यां तव दृष्टिः तत् चैतन्यं। यया त्वं वयमानया न किञ्चित् दृष्टं इति प्रतिषेधसि। सा दृष्टिः त्वचैतन्यं। तर्हि सर्वत्र अव्यभिचारात् कूटस्थनित्यत्वं सिद्धं स्वत एव, न प्रमाणापेक्षं। स्वतःसिद्धस्य हि प्रमातुः अन्यस्य प्रमेयस्य परिच्छिन्तिं प्रति प्रमाणापेक्षा। या तु अन्या निष्ठा परिच्छिन्तिः अपेक्ष्यते अन्यस्य अपरिच्छिन्ति रूपस्य परिच्छेदाय, सा हि नित्यैव कूटस्था स्वयंज्योतिःस्वभावा। आत्मनि प्रमाणात्वे प्रमातृत्वं वा न तां प्रति प्रमाणापेक्षा, तत् स्वभावात्। यथा प्रकाशनं स्यात्वं वा लोहोदकादिषु परतः अपेक्ष्यते अप्रत्यादिक्षादिभ्यः अतत्स्वभावत्वात्, न अप्रत्यादिक्षादीनां तदपेक्षा, सदा तत्स्वभावत्वात्।” (93)—“Then

you are still a seer in sound sleep, for you merely deny the object seen. You do not deny the seeing. That your seeing is the consciousness of Self चैतन्य, that seeing because of the presence of which you are able to deny seeing anything saying 'I saw nothing'—that seeing or दृष्टि itself is your chaitanya or self-consciousness. From the presupposition of this consciousness of Self or चैतन्य—in all mental processes, it necessarily follows, that the fixed central position of this चैतन्य or consciousness of Self is self-evident or immediately known. It therefore needs no proof. The प्रमाता or seeing Self whose existence is self-revealed requires proof for the perception of all other perceivable objects. But that निव्या परिक्रिन्ति: fixed central consciousness of Self on whose presence hangs the perception of those other non-perceiving objects, itself is changeless (निव्या), central (कूटस्था), and self-luminous (स्वयं ज्योतिस्वभावा). That the Self or Atma is really self-conscious, or that it is the conscious subject of all knowing, is not an inference based on other proof, for consciousness or knowing is its very nature. Iron or water depends for light and heat upon something different from themselves,—such as fire or the sun,—for iron and water have not the nature of light or heat. Fire or the sun, on the other hand, does not depend on anything else for light and heat, light and heat being their very nature." This then is the meaning of Sankara's *Kutasthavada*:—The conscious Self or Atma is of the nature of an ever-enduring consciousness (निव्या परिक्रिन्ति:), lying at the apex or centre of all phenomena (कूटस्था), or from which as a fixed centre phenomena are evolved as a conical pencil of light from a luminous centre and the Self or Atma is self-revealing known immediately or *a priori*. (स्वयं ज्योतिः-स्वभावा).

Sankara does not however claim originality for these views. He is a mere interpreter, or champion of the inspired teachings of the Great Seers of the Upanishads, borrows largely from other classical interpreters such as the Yogavasishtha. One remarkable difference however ought not to pass unnoticed: The philosophers

of the West when they speak of the Absolute, or of the so-called Substance of mind seem to grope in the dark;—they syllogise and argue from the known to the unknown. On the other hand although in reference to the knowing subject which all other knowledge presupposes, the syllogistic form of knowledge, which depends upon generalizations and classifications, is altogether out of place. But Sankara like the Seers of the Upanishads speaks of what he sees, and with the assurance of direct vision स्वादुर्भूति. The Absolute as a "कूटस्थनिव्यात्मज्योतिः" is to him as it was to them a reality seen with the inner eye of yoga, a reality in which he as much as they "lived, moved, and had their being."

III.

THE SCOPE OF THE SELF-REVELATION OF THE CONSCIOUS SELF

कूटस्थनिव्यात्मज्योतिः।

To avoid misunderstanding I should also add here that in speaking of the self-luminosity (स्वयं ज्योतिः) of the conscious Self Sankara merely means that the existence of that Self or Atma is self-revealed. Sankara admits that the self-illumination of the Self is greater or less according to the degree of spiritual culture or *sadhana*, that there is room for such exercises as the free teaching as "the Self should be seen, heard, reasoned about and meditated upon," imply; that there is room for dispute as to the details of the nature of that doubt and conscious Self or Atma or Brahma whose existence as a self-conscious Self is presupposed in all mental processes. Sankara says in his *Sutra Bhashya*:—"Brahma who is by his very nature ever pure, ever conscious, and ever free, who is All-knowing and Almighty, certainly exists. If the word 'Brahma' is traced to its root, the senses of "ever pure" &c., follow from the root-meaning of *Brihate*. Brahma being also the Self of all, the existence of Brahma is quite manifest (as the underlying basis of all). Every one perceives that he exists, and not as "I do not exist" (as it would be if the Buddhist nihilism or शून्यवाद were true). If the non-existence of Self were manifest, all people would perceive as "I do not exist." (Note here that to perceive 'I do not exist,' presupposes as the underlying basis of that

perception, the existence of that very perceiving Self—which would be self-contradictory.) The Self is Brahma.

"But if, in this world, Brahma were quite manifest as the Self of all, then Brahma is known already. It then follows that Brahma is not a fit subject for enquiry. Not so. There is room for differences of opinion as regards the particulars (of His nature). Ignorant people and the *Lokayatikas* or the materialists believe that the body alone, possessing the quality of consciousness, is the Self. Others believe that the organs of sense and locomotion possessing consciousness are the Self. Still others believe that the mind is the Self. This refers to the Buddhist *Vijnanavadin*s who in their philosophy fully anticipated many centuries ago the position of Hume and his school, to whom Spencer gives great prominence and still others believe that the Self is no other than the perceptions which vary from moment to moment; and still others believe that the Self is nothing but 'vacuity.' (These refer to the different classes of Buddhist philosophers.) Others (such as the *Tarkikas*) believe that there is the *samsari* or worldly Self, distinct from the body, and who is both an active agent and a passive sufferer; others (such as the *Sankhyas*) think that this Self is a passive sufferer only, and not an active doer. Still others (such as the *Patanjala Yogins*) believe that there exists God, All-knowing and Almighty, distinct from the Self. Lastly others (such as the *Vedantins*) believe that the All-knowing and Almighty God is Himself also the Self of the passive sufferer of this worldly life." (Bhumika to the *Sutrabhashya*.)

IV. YAGNAVALKYA.

I have said that Sankaracharya stands up as the interpreter of the great Vedantic seers foremost among whom stands Yagnavalkya. Now then a word about Yagnavalkya. Many thousands of years ago here in India, at a coagregation of the learned Brahnavadins of hoary antiquity,—assembled in the palace-hall of King Janaka, Ushasta Chakrayana asked the Great Seer Yagnavalkya saying:—"यत् साक्षात् अपरोक्षान्न य आत्मा सर्वान्तरः तं मे याचक्षुः।" Show me directly leaving no room for doubt—(or as Sankara explains,—as one shows an ox

by taking hold of its horns, and saying "This is he.") Show me Brahma, who you say is *Sakshat* (अयमस्मिन् केनचित्)—not separated (from us) by anything intervening, and *Aparokshat* directly or immediately known and not mediately inferred from premisses (द्रष्टृरपरोक्षान्न अगौषं),—show me the *Atma* or Self that pervades all. To this Yagnavalkya replied "एष ते आत्मा सर्वान्तरः"—This your *Atma* or Self is that which pervades all—सर्वस्यान्तरः. Ushasta again asks: "कतमो याज्ञवल्क्य सर्वान्तरः।" Which one is that All-pervading, Yagnavalkya?—meaning as Sankara points out that there are: (1) the *विषयः* or visible body, (2) the *लिङ्गाकार* (करणसङ्घातः) the totality of sensory and motor organs, and (3) the third which is the object of Ushasta's doubt, which one among these do you mean? To this Yagnavalkya again replies: "यः प्राणन प्राणिति" etc. He who breathes by the breath, or the air passing into and from the mouth and nostrils (सुखनादिकासङ्घारिणा &c). Sankara thus explains Yagnavalkya's meaning: The "स ते कार्याकरणस्य आत्मा विज्ञानमयः" i.e., the *Vijnanamaya*, or "that self-conscious thinking Self or person in you is the Self (आत्मा) that directs your acts and organs." But Ushasta takes offence at such an answer, and accuses Yagnavalkya of breaking his promise,—comparing him to one who having promised to show another a horse, forgets his promise, and merely says:—"A horse is that which runs." Thus seemingly cornered Yagnavalkya extricates himself out of the difficulty by his memorable reply "न दृष्टे द्रष्टारं पश्ये, न श्रुतेः श्रोतारं शृण्वयात्, न सर्वान्तरं सर्वतोऽपि, न विज्ञाने विज्ञातारं विज्ञानोपायः।"—"The subject of seeing cannot be the object of seeing, the subject of hearing cannot be the object of hearing, the subject of a mental state (मनोवृत्ति) cannot be the object of that mental state, the subject of a thought (वद्विद्वत्ति) cannot

be the object of thoughts. Yagnavalkya means to say that an act of cognition, to borrow the metaphor used by Hegel and common among Hegelians, is like a magnet

having the subject at one end to represent the north pole, and the object at the other end to represent the south pole. As, of the two poles of a magnet, the one never becomes the other, so also the subject of an act of cognition can never become its object. The same point is again urged by Yagnavalkya before his wife Maitreyi “येनेदं सर्वं विजानाति तं केन विजानीयात्? विज्ञातारं अरे केन विजानीयात्?” (170)

“That whereby all this is known, by what is that to be known? How is the knower to be known, O dear?” In other words, every act of knowing presupposes a self-conscious knower or person through whose self-consciousness all other knowing becomes possible.

To know the self-conscious knower in the same way as that knower knows an object is, therefore, not only redundant, but is also open to the fallacy of अनवस्था or endless regress for that would presuppose a knowing subject or knower, behind, and distinct from that knowing subject and likewise another behind that and another and so on *ad infinitum*. Sankara remarks:—“येन विजानाति, तस्य करणस्य विज्ञेये विनियुक्त्वात्, ज्ञातुश्च ज्ञेये एव हि जिज्ञासा नास्ति। न च अग्रेरिव आत्मा आत्मनो विषयो, न च अविषये ज्ञातु ज्ञानं उपपद्यते” (172)

The eye, it is well-known, does not see itself, nor the ear hears, nor the nose smells, nor the palate tastes itself. Even the finger-point does not touch itself. Sankara says:—“The sense-organs by which we know, having to deal with the object to be known, the knower's wish to know, also must necessarily be limited to the object of knowledge, and can by no means refer to the knowing Self or Atma. Even as the fire never burns itself, so the Self (आत्मा) too never becomes its own object; thus knowledge on the part of the knower (in the sense of phenomenal knowledge) चक्षुःश्रुत्यान्तःकरणवृत्तिः is not possible in regard to what does not admit of becoming an object of sense-knowledge.” In other words the subject (विषयी) and the object (विषय) standing to each other in the relation of antithesis. It is also true as Spencer says: “A thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought.”

H. SPENCER'S PSYCHOLOGY.

The oft-quoted *Sruti* texts “न दृष्टेर्दृष्टारं पश्येः” or “विज्ञातारं अरे केन विजानीयात्” first given ex-

pression to by Yagnavalkya referred to above, enunciates, and in the mere enunciation solves the greatest problem of metaphysics, and if I may be permitted to say so, takes the feather off the caps of some of the greatest metaphysicians of our day. Will you believe me when I say that the greatest triumph of H. Spencer in his day, and one, the glare of which almost dazed our eyes in our younger days,—I mean his agnosticism, appears now to be but a verbose reiteration of what the thrice great Vedantic seer gave us in a nut-shell. One might truly say that H. Spencer in his psychology was quite unconsciously and unintentionally writing a commentary on that sacred *Sruti* text according to his lights,—seeing, as he did, only half the truth. I will not however prejudice him by any remarks of my own, but rather present you with a brief summary of what he himself has got to say in support of his agnosticism and as far as practicable, I will give it in his own very words. Speaking of the substance of mind (Chap. I—Principles of Psychology, Part II) H. Spencer says:—

“If by the phrase ‘The Substance of Mind’ is to be understood the underlying something of which the distinguishable portions qualitatively separable by introspection, are formed, then we know nothing about it, and never can know anything about it.”

(Quoting Hume, Spencer says,

“If Impressions and Ideas are the only things known to exist, and that Mind is merely a name for the sum of them,” “the expression ‘Substance of Mind’ can have no meaning.” If “impressions and ideas are regarded” “as forms or modes of a continually existing something” then “that which persists in spite of all changes and maintains the unity of the aggregate,” “is that of which existence in the full sense of the word must be predicated,—that which we must postulate as the Substance of Mind in contradistinction to the varying forms it assumes. But if so, the impossibility of knowing the substance of Mind is manifest. By the definition it is that which undergoes the modification producing a state of Mind. Consequently if every state of Mind is some modification of this Substance of Mind, there can be no state of Mind in which the unmodified Substance of Mind is present.”

Again he says:—

“Knowing implies something acted upon and something acting upon it. Were it possible for the Substance of Mind to be present in any state of Mind, there would still have to be answered the question—‘What is it which then contemplates it, and knows it.’ That which in the act of knowing is affected by the thing known, must itself be the substance of Mind. The Substance of Mind escapes into some new form in recognising some form under which it has just existed. Hence could the unmodified substance of Mind be presented in consciousness, it

would still be unknowable, since until there had arisen something different from it, the elements of a cognition would not exist; and as something different would necessarily be some state of Mind, we should have the substance of Mind known in a state of Mind, which is a contradiction. In brief *a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought*, and yet the substance of Mind must be this before it can be known."

Again he says—

"To know anything is to distinguish it as such

or such, to class it as of this or that order. The smallest conceivable degree of knowledge implies at least two things between which some community exists. If with the Idealist we say that there exists no other substance, then necessarily it remains unknown. If we hold with the Realist that Being is fundamentally divisible into that which is present to us as Mind, and that which lying outside of it, is not Mind,—then as the proposition itself asserts a difference and not a likeness, it is equally clear that Mind remains unclassable and therefore *unknowable*."

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

BY W. PETT RIDGE,

AUTHOR OF "LIGHT REFRESHMENT," "NAME OF GARLAND," &C.

"**B**OOTHS!" he roared, for the second time. His wife, opening the kitchen door, looked in, and surveyed him.

"If I have to order you," said Mr. Baynes, speaking with great distinctness, "to come and take off my boots again, I shall dock half a crown off your weekly allowance to-morrow."

She did not answer.

"My best plan," he went on, "will be to draw it all up in black and white, so that we can have a clear, and" proper understanding, one with the other. We must have a proper system of fines, same as they do in every well-regulated business. Fetch the pen and ink and paper."

"How would it be to fetch it for yourself?"

He stared at her amazedly. Searching his pockets he found there a small memorandum book and a short piece of pencil.

"I'm going to keep calm with you," he said deliberately, "because, so far as I can see, you've taken leave, for the present, of your senses. You'll be sorry for it when you come back to 'em. Now then, let's make out a list. For not answering when called, one shilling."

He wrote this carefully on a page, regarding it with satisfaction at the finish. "See what that means? That means, for every time you pretend to be deaf when I shout at you, you'll be docked a bob at the end of the week."

"I see."

"Just as well you do," remarked Mr. Baynes, threateningly. "We will now proceed to the next item. Food not cooked to W. B.'s satisfaction, one and six. How many t's in satisfaction?"

"As many as you like."

"Impudence," he continued, writing as he spoke, "one and three. Wait a bit; I haven't finished yet. Clean collar not ready when required, sixpence."

"There won't be anything left," mentioned his wife, "if you put many more down."

"Rests with you," he said with a careless gesture. "All you've got to do is to see that none of these rules are broken. I shall take the trouble presently of copying out the list, and you'll do well to stick it up on the wall in some prominent position, so that you can be reminded of it several times in the course of the day."

"And when any of my relatives look in, they can see it too!"

"Reminds me," he said, taking his pencil again. "Relations, two a month. All in excess of this number, fourpence per relation. Take the list and read it out to me, and then kneel down and take off my boots as I ordered you to do some considerable time ago."

Mrs. Baynes accepted the list, inspected it; then tore the page into several pieces and threw these into the fireplace. In the pocket of an underskirt she found a purse,

and from this brought four new bank-notes.

"Have a good look at them, William," she said. "You won't have a chance of seeing them again. I'm just going along to the Post Office to put them away before it closes."

"How—how did you come by them?"

"I'm not bound to answer you," remarked Mrs. Baynes, "but perhaps I may as well. The money has come to me from poor Uncle Ernest, who popped off last month. He left a similar amount to two sisters."

"You was his favourite," said Mr. Baynes, "and if he'd got money to leave—and this is the first I've heard of it—he ought to have left it all to you. I must have a glance at his will and see whether we can't dispute it."

"You'll do nothing of the kind."

"In any case," he went on, "there is, I'm bound to admit, a very decent little nest-egg for us."

"Not for us. For me," corrected Mrs. Baynes. "It belongs to me, and only to me. You haven't anything to do with it."

"I've heard," he remarked, "of sudden riches affecting the brain, but this is the first time I've actually come across such an instance." He bent and started to unlace his boots. "We'll talk the matter over again later on. By-the-bye," relacing his boots, "there's no reason why you should go out on a wet night like this and catch your death of cold. I'll trot along to the Post Office for you. I'm more used to handling money than what you are."

"That's been the case hitherto," she admitted, "but I must learn how to do it now. You stay here and enjoy your pipe, and when I come back I'll tell you how you've got to behave to me in the future."

"I suppose," he inquired with some bitterness, "I've got your precious sisters to thank for all this?"

"No," she answered, "poor Uncle Ernest."

Mr. Baynes on the following morning, before proceeding to work, denied himself the luxury of issuing commands to his wife from the front gate in a tone of voice that could be heard by neighbours; instead he blew a kiss in her direction and walked off, whistling in a thoughtful way. Later in the day he brought home the proportion of his weekly wage and placed it on

the mantelpiece, announcing no deductions and giving no warning to make it go as far as possible. He tried to assist his wife in the performance of domestic duties, persisting in this until she begged him to go out into the park and give her a chance of finishing the work. On the following day he accompanied her to chapel in the evening, and borrowed three-pence from her to put into the plate. Meeting two or three friends on the way back, he declined their invitations and went home with her wife, discussing the sermon and the singing. In response to her appeal he agreed to abstain on future occasions from joining in the hymns. The Sunday paper was still on the hat-stand, and on entering the house he asked whether she would mind if he had a look at it during supper, his general habit being to secure the journal and keep it for his own use throughout the day.

"This is very nice and comfortable," he said after the meal. "Somehow, that little legacy of yours, if you'll pardon the expression, my dear, seems to me likely to prove a blessing in disguise."

"No disguise about it."

"You don't quite follow me," he remarked patiently. "What I mean is that it's going to have bigger results than I at first anticipated. Of course, it's a pity there isn't more of it."

"Seeing that I never expected nothing—"

"Quite so, quite so. Only that the Post Office pays such a trifling rate of interest."

"The money's safe there," she interrupted, "that's the great thing."

"I should be the last to recommend anything that wasn't perfectly and absolutely sound," declared Mr. Baynes. "We're on good terms with each other now, and your interests are my interests. We two are one, so to speak. Only that, getting about as I do, I keep my ears open—"

"Listeners never hear any good of themselves."

"But sometimes they hear good about other matters. Two chaps were talking on the tramcar last week, and I was sitting just at the back. Jockeys from the look of 'em. They didn't know I was taking in all they were saying, and they talked quite freely to each other, just as I might to you in this room. Vinolia was what they were chatting about."

"Old Brown Windsor is as good as anything."

"Vinolia, it appears," he continued, "is being kept very dark, but the owner's made an arrangement, so far as I could gather, for it to win the race it's running in next week, and no one except those that are in the stable—. Why, bless my soul, if this isn't the rummiest coincidence I ever come across in all my born days. I'm talking to you about Vinolia, and here my eye lights on the very name. Thirty-three to one. Let's see what it says about it. 'Vinolia appears to stand no earthly chance, and we are at a loss to comprehend why the owner should take the trouble to run him.'"

"What does thirty-three to one mean, William?"

"Thirty-three to one means," he explained, "that if you handed me your money and I placed it for you, and Vinolia came in first, you'd get thirty-three times the amount, together with your original money, back. But the risk is a jolly sight too great, and I recommend you, speaking as a friend, to have nothing whatever to do with it. Besides, with me, it's a matter of principle, I object to gambling in toto. I look on gambling as one of the curses of the country. People win money at it, and it thor'ly demoralises 'em. They bring off something successful that means they've cleared as much as they could earn by honest labour in six or seven weeks, perhaps more; and the consequence is that they get altogether unhinged. Upsets 'em. Knocks 'em off the main line. So my advice to you, old girl, is to put what I've been saying clean out of your head, and not trouble any further about it. After all, supposing you had thirty-three times as much as you've got at present, it doesn't by any means follow you'd be thirty-three times as happy. That's the way you've got to look at it!"

"But supposing—"

"My dear," he said, putting down the newspaper, "we've been getting on particular well together this last eight hours or so; don't let us begin arguing and spoil it. I've been into the law of the matter, and I find I've got no right to touch your money in any way whatsoever, but it's my positive duty to see that you don't do anything silly and stupid with it."

"It's mine to do what I like with."

"Let's change the subject," urged Mr. Baynes, "and have a nice talk over old times. When do you reckon it was you first felt drawn towards me?"

Mrs. Baynes brought downstairs an

hour later her Post Office book, and announced that she had been giving five minutes of serious thought to the matter. Seemed to her that here was a chance of a lifetime, and to neglect it would only mean perpetual remorse. He pointed out once more the serious risks run by those who backed horses, and submitted a large number of objections. These she brushed aside. On asking how she proposed to set about backing Vinolia, it was admitted that here his help would be required. Mr. Baynes declared he intended to take no share or part in the undertaking.

"Very well, then," she said, "I shall have to make inquiries and see about doing it myself."

"Rather than you should be taken in by a set of rogues," he conceded, "I'll do as you wish. But mind you, I'm acting in entire opposition to my better judgment!"

Mr. Baynes, back from work on the day of the race, found his wife waiting at the front gate, tapping at it impatiently; as he came within six houses of his home, he shook his head. She took up the hem of her apron, and with this to her eyes ran indoors. From the kitchen he roared a command to her to come down and leave off snivelling and make herself useful. Obtaining no reply he took the trouble to go to the foot of the stairs and make the formal announcement that, unless she descended at once, he would break every bone in her body. She came, red-eyed, and, kneeling, unlaced his boots.

"You can't say I didn't warn you," he remarked, sternly. "Every word I uttered has proved to be true. All your money gone, and your poor Uncle Ernest, if he's looking down, or up, as the case may be, must feel sorry—"

"Don't, William, don't!"

"Oh, but I'm going to tell you the truth," he said with determination. "I'm not the man to mince my words. You get no sympathy out of me. There's only yourself to blame, and you've got to recognise the fact. I'm not going to have you going about saying that you was recommended to back the horse by other people. What you did, you did, with your eyes open."

"Where did it come in?"

"Don't interrupt me," shouted Mr. Baynes, "when I'm talking. Been and lost the thread of my argument now. Besides,

what does it matter where it came in? You asked me to back the horse to win; there was nothing said about backing it for a place. As I told you, I couldn't get thirtythree to one; but I did, after a lot of trouble, manage to put your money on at twenty-five. I've behaved straight-forward throughout the entire business, and, now that it's over, all I ask is that nothing more shall be said about it. I'm sick and tired of the whole affair. Perhaps another time you'll listen to me when I give you good advice."

"I shall never back a horse again," she declared tearfully.

"You'll never get the chance. Take the jug, and hurry off, and mind you're back here sharp. I shall give you five minutes; if you're a second later there'll be a fine of sixpence. That's an item to be added to the list. 'Loitering and gossiping when sent on errands, six d.' Go!" he ordered, placing his watch on the table.

He was pinning the sheet of notepaper to the wall at the side of the looking-glass when his wife returned. Glancing at the watch, he waited grimly for her explanation.

"Had to wait," she said, "and find a boy selling evening newspapers."

"And what might you want, pray, with evening newspapers! Furthermore, where's the jug?"

"If you want beer, fetch it," she replied. "That was a good joke of yours about the horse, but you'd better not let me catch you being quite so funny again. It upset me, and I don't like being upset."

He snatched the journal from her. She compelled him to give it back and to take it properly. In the stop-press space he read out: "Vinolia, one; Gay Lothario, two; Messenger Boy, three."

Mr. Baynes stood gazing at the fire, making the clicking noises with his tongue which folk adopt when, in disconcerting circumstances, speech fails.

"I've been figuring it out in my head," she went on, "but I can't make it come twice alike. Tear down that bit of paper and sit yourself there and reckon it up for me. Twenty-five times—"

"I can't do it. I can't do it."

"Don't you start being stupid," commanded Mrs. Baynes. "Do as I tell you."

Mr. Baynes had written the figures, and was about to enter on the task of multiplication, with one hand gripping the top of his head, when he suddenly threw away the pencil.

"My dear," he said, "I want you to be so kind as to listen to me, and I must ask you not to be madder than you can possibly help. I admit the case is somewhat trying; but you have to remember that we all have our cross to bear. I never backed that horse!"

A pause of some moments in length.

"You mean," said his wife slowly, "to look me in the face and to tell me that, after what you overheard on the tramcar—"

"I never overheard nothing of the kind on the tramcar."

"Perhaps, William, you'll kindly tell me what horse you did put the money on."

"I never," he answered, "put no money on any horse whatsoever."

"Then where is the money?"

"In the inside pocket of the jacket I'm wearing at the present moment," he said sulkily.

"But what did you intend to do with it?"

"Hadn't quite made up my mind about that. Idea was to prevent you from lording it over me. You see, my dear, I'd got accustomed to being master, and the sudden change was a bit trying. And in picking out what I thought was the unlikeliest gee-gee, I acted from the purest of motives, and for what I reckoned the best for all parties concerned. If I made a mistake, I'm sorry for it."

"Do you realise, William, that if you'd obeyed my orders we should have been in a position to buy a nice little house of our own here in Nottenham, and never had to pay a week's rent again? Do you understand how much you owe me! Do you comprehend—"

"My dear," he appealed, putting his hands together, "let me off as light as you can. I won't go lording it about the place any more. In future, I'll only lord it over myself."

"THE ILLUSIONS OF NEW INDIA"*

MR. P. N. Bose needs no introduction to the Indian reader. He has written several well-known books. In his *Epochs of Civilisation*, published in 1913, he laid down the proposition that India had attained the highest, the ethical, stage of civilisation, and that Europe was still in the intellectual stage. In the present book he elaborates the views first enunciated in the earlier volume, and comes to the conclusion that the current conceptions about our ethical, intellectual, social, educational, political, and economic progress are all illusions, and that in every one of these respects we are deteriorating, and deteriorating because, instead of holding fast to the ideals of our ancient civilisation, we are following the will-o-the-wisp of western materialism. That the views here propounded should be regarded as pessimistic, as the author anticipates, is the least that can be said of them. "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity" seems to be the melancholy refrain of every chapter of the book. It is apt to generate in the mind a sense of blank despair, if the writer's doleful prognosis be taken to be literally true, for there can be no retracing our steps at this time of day in quest of that Golden Age of our history which nobody knows when and where to locate. The author has travelled widely in India and Europe, and claims to have mixed much with the people of the country, and he appeals to his personal observation for the truth of the assertion that Hindu Society is still largely pervaded by the ideals of self-abnegation and benevolence. In fact, in spite of depreciatory remarks here and there in regard to conditions of our life which cannot be ignored or passed over, he minimises their evil effects and suggests that they are due more to our ill-conceived efforts at reform on western lines than to any inherent defect in the system itself. So thoroughgoing an advocate of the *status quo ante* can only be characterised

as a reactionary, however liberal his education and eminent his abilities. We doubt if, in spite of all the claim he makes, he really knows the masses of the country dwelling in the heart of the villages, so intimately as he professes. Mr. Bose, if we mistake not, has spent the best part of his life in a highly artificial society—that of England—returned Indians—where one's advance in civilisation is often measured by the degree to which he has assimilated European culture and specially its outward symbols, in manners, customs, food, dress, style and language. That a thoughtful, patriotic, and talented man like our author should revolt against the cant and insincerity and hollowness that must prevail in such a society, and should declaim against its imitative Anglomania, is not at all surprising. 'Back to Nature and our old ideals' would be his cry of protest against it, and idealising the simple virtues of the indigenous mode of life, he would pass on to the other extreme of blind admiration of the past. Human nature is unfortunately too weak to hold steadfastly to the golden mean; like the pendulum of the clock, it swings from one extreme to the other, gathering momentum with every move, either forward or backward. However much Mr. Bose may sympathise with Hindus of the old type in their village homes, he is by his foreign education, environments, association and general mode of living too far removed from them to meet them on a common platform and on equal terms; there is a great social gulf fixed between him and them, and if they do not actually fight shy of people of his class, they only approach the latter in their best holiday looks, which effectually mask the real man within and serve as an impassable barrier to genuine human intercourse. Those of us who have never been to England or adopted the European style of living or gone out of the pale of caste and orthodoxy, and live, move and have our being in the villages which are the social units of India, are in a better position to judge of the merits of the indigenous culture *as it exists at present*,

* By Pramatha Nath Bose, B. Sc. (Lond). Calcutta, Newman & Co. Price Rupees three. 1916. Pp. 259.

as distinguished from what can be gleaned of it from ancient Hindu literature. And the first thing that strikes us with regard to that culture is that simplicity of manners and plain living do not necessarily connote absence of guile or greed. There may be as much low cunning and love of money in the simple village folk that charm us at first sight as in a more luxurious, prosperous, and complexly organised community; only the object aimed at would be petty and parochial in the first case, and the distinction between the two types in this respect would lie in the meanness of proportions of the lower type. If it is a mistake to identify the outer trappings of civilisation with the fact itself, it is equally a mistake to take the absence of any trappings as the highest virtue. There may be and often is, as much vanity in the *Sannyasin* in his sect marks and the scanty insignia of his order, as in the rich householder in his fine clothes. We fear that a book like the one under review, written by so able a member of the advanced community of Hindus, will be productive of much mischief among the orthodox reactionaries. It will be a sort of Bible in their hands. Unable to discriminate between exaggeration and truth, they will read into it a plenary justification for their wholesale condemnation of western ideals and institutions, and they will attach all the greater weight to the opinions here expressed on account of the European experience and training of the author. However much Mr. Bose may admire 'our modest and happy old home', as he calls it, he will not go back to it in the sense in which the dwellers in cottages in orthodox society have to do. Consequently, in reading his condemnation of Western and appreciation of Oriental civilisation, it is necessary to dot his i's and cross his t's, and interpret his ideals in a qualified sense, laying stress more on the spirit than on the letter of his animadversions. This is precisely what those who will make much of the book will never do, and it is therefore necessary to record our protest against some of the views herein set forth. In doing so, we will only premise that there is no human institution in the world which is either absolutely good or absolutely bad. Even when society is moved by an evil impulse, among the bye-products of the forces which are thus set in motion are to be found some which are distinctly salutary.

But to take hold of these and ignore the resultant predominant evil consequences is to misinterpret the lessons of history and deceive ourselves.

Mr. Bose begins by refuting the view set forth by a distinguished author in a popular work on Indian economics that no advance in civilisation is possible without the rise to a higher standard of living. Such a high standard prevailed in Ayodhya and Lanka and Hastinapur, as every reader of the great Indian Epics is aware. And Mr. Bose himself admits that "it cannot be gainsaid, that a rise to a higher standard of living is the necessary concomitant of advance in civilisation." What he objects to, it would seem, is "the exchange of the indigenous standard of decency, cleanliness, comfort, and luxury for an exotic one." So far as the Indian standard is good and wholesome, it is wholly worthy of preservation. We all know that in personal cleanliness, the Hindus are hard to beat; nor in the height of summer, is it necessary, like the Europeanised Hindu, to sit swathed in a multiplicity of cumbersome apparel. But surely the walls and floor of a Hindu house, and its immediate environments, would be all the better for a little imitation of the western standard of cleanliness. "Hygienic rules," the author admits in another place, "have in many cases crystallised into superstitious practices among the vast majority of the Hindus." Mr. Vincent Smith has said that "human societies with a low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life are, like individual organisms of a lowly structure, hard to kill," and to this he attributes the rapid recovery of Indian village communities from the effects of destructive conquest. These village communities are Mr. Bose's ideal of self-government; he extols these 'little republics' to the skies, forgetting that they were, to quote Sir Henry Maine, primitive social organisms to which the Hindus owed some rudimentary administration of justice when no government existed outside the village capable of giving authority to court or judge. Mr. Bose avers that patriotism is a virtue of lower order than the cosmopolitanism of the Hindus. But to attain the ideal of universal humanity we must pass through the stage of nationality. The course of evolution lies through the family, the clan, the race and the nation, each

succeeding stage comprising and transcending the one preceding it. The Hindus, says Mr. Bose, are a nation, though not in the narrow western sense. Had it been so India would not have been thus described by one of her best friends:

"India occupies a position among the countries of the world to which there is no parallel. She is absolutely alone in her experience. Look the globe over, there is no other land with which to make a comparison..... elsewhere, whatever the form of Government may be, the national aims, desires, aspirations, ideals, receive consideration..... And India? There are none so poor as to do India reverence."

Nor is Mr. Digby alone in thinking so pityingly of India. "There is only one India!" exclaims Mark Twain:

"It is the only country which has a monopoly of grand and imposing spectacles...There is the Plague, the Black Death: India invented it; India is the cradle of that mighty birth.....Famine is India's specialty. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents—in India they are devastating cataclysms; in the one case they annihilate hundreds, in the other thousands.....With her, everything is on a gigantic scale, even her poverty; no other country can show anything to compare with it."

The pathetic humour of the American and the thoughtful observation of the Englishman are at one regarding the uniqueness of India's political and material condition. This unenviable distinction extends also to her social institutions. "Between India on the one hand," says G. Lowes Dickinson, "and China or Japan, on the other, there is as great a difference as between India and any western country. The contrast that has struck me is that between India and the rest of the world. There I do feel a profound gulf." The idea of patriotism was unknown in the Indian villages, and patriotism is the soul of nationalism. The so-called cosmopolitanism of the Hindus was neither more nor less than their utter indifference to their political condition. Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, knew the Indians well, for he wrote:

"As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their Governors that I have ever met with—if indifference constitutes that character."

The village communities 'let the legions thunder past,' and 'plunged in thought again.' And for the most part, it was not thinking of a very high order, judging by the Smriti commentaries, which were engaged in elaborating penances and forging fresh chains of ceremonial ablution

for crushing Hindu intellect and enterprise. Mr. Bose says:

"Knowing full well how very poorly the reasoning faculty is developed among the mass of the people, and how very strong is the disinclination to exercise that faculty even when it is developed, they [the Hindus] prescribed rules of conduct so that the people had but little need to exercise that faculty in various matters of vital importance to them individually and socially."

But has this been for the good of India? Let the author himself answer:

"Hindu civilisation has since then been exuberantly encrusted with thick parasitic 'outgrowths of ignorance and superstition,' the products of stagnation."

Again:

"The thick wall of prejudice and superstition which surrounds Hindu society gets continually overgrown with thick, rank jungle and adventitious excrescences, and their clearance from time to time is, no doubt, highly beneficial."

Mr. Bose even recognises that "the increased sense of 'individuality' developed under western influence has certainly led to considerable mental expansion which is reflected in the growing vernacular literatures." The great war now raging in Europe should, in the opinion of Mr. Bose, serve to disillusion New India. But is that really so? Have we not had our own Kurukshetra which practically annihilated the warrior caste? Was it not due to land-hunger on the part of the Kauravas? Did not the Lord himself exhort Arjuna to fight to the bitter end for his just rights? Is there no lesson for us in the marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice, national solidarity and patriotic ardour which the war has evoked in all the belligerent countries, if not in the wonderful scientific skill, brain power, intellectual and moral resources and organising genius which are being displayed by the western nations on so vast a scale? It is a war of brains more than of muscles, and of spiritual as much as of material forces. The love of liberty which impelled the weaker nations to sacrifice their all for the sake of something surely not material, ought to command our admiration. As to the seamy side of war, we do not think, that any war in the ancient or modern world has been altogether free from barbarities just as there has been no war without the display of a magnificent spirit of chivalry in some of the combatants. To be unable to appreciate the moral qualities which lie behind the nations now in the grip of war—nations whom we have so long regarded

as bent upon luxury, and ease, and money-making alone—argues a blind conceit and self-sufficiency which is a sure sign of decay. Just as the heat at the centre of the earth, by causing seismic disturbances on its crust, leads to fresh readjustments of its surface, so also the present world-conflagration is sure to lead to a better readjustment of the political divisions of Europe. To vary the metaphor, these electrical discharges and thunderstorms will restore the equilibrium and clear the atmosphere and result in a more satisfactory reconciliation between conflicting social, moral and political forces, making for the greater happiness of mankind. The stable equilibrium of our society of which Mr. Bose boasts, is only another name for the stagnation which he deplors. So long as there is life, there is movement; the peace of death, like a melancholy pall, envelops us and we call it the ripe wisdom and immobility of age. In fact, a race need not necessarily be immobile because it has a long history, for the analogy between the individual and the race in respect of birth, growth and decay is fundamentally incorrect, as the recent rejuvenescence of China shows. (*Vide also 'Darwinism and Race Progress'* by Professor Huxley). It is only those nations which cut themselves off from all commerce with the world, both in the intellectual and the material spheres, and are shut up within their own shell, that attain the immobility of the *Tamasic* state.

In the author's opinion, the diffusion of literacy on modern lines does not imply diffusion of right knowledge, and the Pandits are not less narrowminded and illiberal than the scholars of the new learning. But it can hardly be denied that the diffusion of literacy is in these days of cheap print, the best means of putting the masses in the way of acquiring right knowledge. That most people whose education has not gone beyond the elementary stage abuse it by reading cheap novels and 'penny dreadfuls' does not lessen the value of the instrument as a power for good. Mr. Bose says that "Education has not made the cultivators better cultivators, nor the artisans and tradesmen more efficient artisans and tradesmen than before." The reply to this common argument is to be found in Dr. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, where that sober and careful thinker says :

"It is true that there are many kinds of work which can be done as efficiently by an uneducated as by an educated workman..... But a good education confers great indirect benefits even on the ordinary workman. It stimulates his mental activity; it fosters in him a habit of wise inquisitiveness; it makes him more intelligent, more ready, more trustworthy in his ordinary work; it raises the tone of his life in working hours and out of working hours; it is thus an important means towards the production of material wealth; at the same time that, regarded as an end in itself, it is inferior to none of those which the production of material wealth can be made to subserve."

A child in learning to walk has his limbs bruised by falls, but we do not prevent him from learning to walk on that account. Because learning may be misapplied and put to wrong uses, ignorance cannot surely be preferred. Grey's dictum, 'where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise' is true, if at all, within well-defined limits. 'A fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed,' scarcely stands the test of trial. Knowledge is power, and to be weak, that is ignorant, as the Hindus at present are, is miserable, doing or suffering. The author himself admits that "education of the right sort, which would secure to them [the masses] material and moral welfare, would certainly be desirable." If the present curriculum in our elementary schools be found unsuitable, let it be changed, but let us not argue that mass education is wrong. Mr. Bose repeats that "a certain amount of education is undoubtedly beneficial to the agricultural, manufacturing and trading classes" and prefers the indigenous system, as among the Marwaris. But does this rich and prosperous community wield the same influence as the Parsis, whose commercial training follows western lines? A rich merchant need not necessarily lead a stunted life, shut out from the joys and power which a liberal culture gives. The munificence of the rich Indian trader would flow in a more fructifying channel than hitherto, had he been equipped with a more liberal education, and this is in a manner admitted by the author, who concedes that corporate charity and corporate service exist now to an extent never seen before, and that modern philanthropy is more discriminating, and public spirit has a much wider range. This is indeed only what might be expected, for the value of education lies chiefly in this, that it develops all the faculties of man, and makes him worthier of his high destiny. As for the

liberalism of the Pandit, who can deny that it is confined to his philosophical speculations merely, and that as soon as he approaches the region of practical politics, in most cases blind Pharisaism becomes the sole guide of his conduct? The thoroughness and profundity of the Pandits, which all admit, would however be all the better for a broader outlook and the introduction among them of the historic and comparative method of study. It would quicken them into new life and vigour, and enable them to produce original works which would help forward our social and intellectual regeneration, and not merely unprofitable *rechauffés* of thrice-digested commentaries. The Pandits know what the word 'frog-in-the well' stands for, for it was coined in their own mint; and it is a sad irony of fate that the best illustration of the idea should, at the present day, be furnished by themselves.

The chapter on technical education is the most illuminating in the whole book. Here the author speaks with intimate personal knowledge, and we are able to agree with almost everything that he says. For he recognises that the modernisation of our industries is to a certain extent inevitable and that "though something may be done by improved manual methods, they must to a large extent be supplemented by labour-saving appliances and machinery." He calls this the positive method of regenerating our industries. He also appeals to us to set our face "against the so-called 'rise' in the standard of living after the European fashion." He speaks of this as the Negative Method.

"The adoption of this method would serve a double purpose. It would by saving annually the thirtyfive crores or so at present spent upon imported articles furnish the capital for indigenous ventures, and would at the same time, save a good number of our industries from extinction. The two methods must work hand in hand; one would be quite ineffective without the other. . . . Modern western culture with its highly developed system of scientific and technical education is as indispensable for the positive method, as ancient Hindu culture with its high ethical and spiritual ideals is for the negative method."

Every patriotic Indian will feel the force of this appeal, and recognise its truth.

Mr. Bose holds that the moral progress of India is an illusion, for keenness of competition has resulted in the lowering of the moral standard in even the learned professions, and the 'elevation' of the

proletariat is 'fraught with grave danger to Hindu Society,' inasmuch as it has led, not so much to the levelling up of the lower classes, as to the levelling down of the upper classes, by tending to swell the ranks of penurious aspirants for government service. This is to take too narrow and selfish a view of the uplift movement among the socially depressed classes. There is no law of Nature ordaining that all who belong to these classes must follow agricultural pursuits. If some of them, by seeking 'fresh fields and pastures new,' relieve the pressure on the soil, there is no cause for alarm in it, nor is there any reason why the government services should for ever remain a monopoly of the higher classes. Dr. Marshall shows that fundamental characteristic of modern industrial life is not a beggar-thy-neighbour competition, but economic freedom, that is, growth of free activity and enterprise, emancipation from custom, self-reliance, deliberate choice and forethought, and a recognition of the dignity of man as man. The hard struggle for existence is no doubt responsible for the low moral tone in some of the professions, but it is an evil which will cure itself, when the instinct of self-preservation will lead our youngmen more and more into other fields of activity where, as in commerce and industry, they have still to take the place which is their due. Moreover, what little we know of the moral condition of the people in the days immediately preceding the British rule, or even the establishment of the Indian universities, does not justify the confident assertion that our morals were better in those days. Religion was then identified with formalism, and the divorce between ethics and religion was complete. The life and teachings of Christ, and the revived interest in Buddhism, with their ethical emphasis, together with the high moral tone of western literature, caused an ethical revival in India which forms one of the happiest auguries for her future. The sense of manly independence and self-respect, and the tendency to discriminate between the letter that killeth and the spirit that giveth life are all due to this moral regeneration; and to deny the salutary effect of this ethical transformation in our everyday life would be to ignore the self-evident. Even our revived interest in the spiritual element in our ancient literature, such as the *Upanisads*,

is due, to no small extent, to the researches of western scholars.

The caste system, says Mr. Bose, "does credit to the head no less than to the heart of the Aryan sages of ancient India who conceived and constructed it. It is firmly based upon the principle of heredity and anticipated the modern science of Eugenics." In the first place, Eugenics can hardly yet be dignified with the name of science. Dr. Saleeby in his works on eugenics has exposed the unscientific character of the prevalent notions on heredity on which the caste system is supposed to be based. Professor Ritchie in his 'Darwinism and Politics' discussing this subject says :

"It is instructive to notice the way in which half understood scientific theories are misapplied to practical matters."

We are inclined to agree with the author that the caste system has in the past helped to some extent to preserve the integrity of the Hindu race, but its utility at the present day is by no means obvious, and indeed its condemnation by western thinkers as "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions" seems to us to possess considerable justification now ; and in spite of his enthusiastic approbation of the system, Mr. Bose himself has to admit that "without it, the Hindus might possibly have risen higher than they did," and that "in course of time, the caste system became largely overlaid by a thick crust of prejudice and superstition owing to the peculiar attitude of Hinduism toward Hindu society and other causes." But the subject is too vast for summary treatment, and we pass on to other topics.

Mr. Bose considers the toleration of the Hindus to be an important cause of the stability of Hinduism, and adds: "Mahomedanism has made but few converts except among the Hinduised aborigines. Nor has Christianity been more successful than Mahomedanism." The tolerant spirit of Hinduism is no doubt a praiseworthy feature, but that is a virtue which Hinduism shares with all ethnic religions, and the disastrous consequences of 'the loose and careless temper of polytheism' and 'its soft and yielding substance' to quote Gibbon, have been eloquently depicted in the twenty-eighth chapter of his immortal history. Toleration is indifference. When Mahmud of Ghazni broke with his

own hand the head of the idol in the temple of Somnath, there were few, if any, Mahomedans in India. But the nine centuries which have elapsed since his time have seen a gradually increasing Islamic population claiming India as their mother-country, and this steady increase being maintained even now, when there is no Mahomedan emperor to add prestige to the religion of the prophet. To say that this immense Moslem population consists wholly or even largely, of the descendants of Mogul, Afgan, Pathan, Persian or Arabic immigrants, would be absurd ; and the only alternative supposition, supported by history, is that they are mostly converts, usually from the lower ranks of Hinduism. Nor can it be denied that Christianity is making heavy inroads upon Hinduism, specially in the South of India, as the census statistics go to prove. Between 1881 to 1911, the Hindus have increased at the rate of 15.3 per cent, the Muslims at the rate of 33 per cent, and the Christians at the rate of 108.1 per cent. In 1881, 7,432 of every ten thousand people in India professed the Hindu faith, whereas the corresponding figure in 1911 was only 6,939. The apathy of the Hindus has led to this alarming decline in their relative strength, and has greatly increased the complexity of the political situation ; it has divided and weakened the Hindus to an extent unknown among the followers of other religions in India. "But Hinduism," says Mr. Bose, "has been as intolerant and illiberal in matters of social conduct as it has been tolerant and liberal in matters of religious belief. And the efforts of the religious reformers of old India from the remotest antiquity to the present day have been directed mainly against the evil consequences of this despotic sway of Hinduism in social matters specially in regard to caste." These militant and reforming movements, according to Mr. Bose, are however devoid of the great importance which is claimed for them. In India, says Sister Nivedita, social rules and etiquette in regard to the minute details of everyday life have been elaborated through centuries, but in the West, where a certain standard of personal refinement is exacted as rigidly as in India itself, these matters are taught in the nursery by women, and relegated, at most, to the first ten years of a child's upbringing. She therefore appealed to Hin-

duism to be dynamic, no longer as the preserver of Hindu custom, but as the creator of Hindu character. "Since the year 1858 onwards, there has been no possible goal for the Indian people but a complete assimilation of the modern consciousness." Sister Nivedita loved India well, and she considered such a dynamic transformation not only not devoid of importance, but the most paramount necessity for Hinduism.

After the illusion of social progress, comes the myth of political progress. "If," says Mr. Bose, "instead of pursuing the chimera of Western civilisation, new India had remained contented with the simple life and the simple joys of the village, and endeavoured to maintain the simple system of indigenous self-government, the social crisis with which India is threatened to-day might have been averted." But simple joys of this kind are more compatible with a vegetative existence not disturbed by high endeavour or deep thought, which however unpleasant, bring in their own reward in the development of a higher manhood. From homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity of structure and organisation, is the order of evolution. Even if we wanted to lead a bucolic existence, the invaders from beyond our borders or from over the seas would not let us live in peace in our Sleepy Hollow. "India is probably further off the goal of real self-government now than she was three generations ago" is another of Mr. Bose's gloomy prognostications for which we see no justification. Three generations ago, we expected to have self-government merely on the strength of our ability to quote Burke and Mill; now we have gained greater insight into the actualities of the situation, consequently our politics is becoming saner and deeper, and at the same time we are proving by our achievements in many directions our fitness for self-government. The force of enlightened public opinion has generated a large fund of ideas in our favour both here and in other foreign countries which is sure to make its effect felt in diverse ways. It is the first steps in the struggle which are the most difficult to climb, and pessimism in face of the difficulties in our way can only lead to disaster, since to go back is impossible. The one fundamental gain to India in the political sphere is the development in the Indian character of a previously unknown virtue—patriotism. The national-

istic impulse has within the last ten years given a correct orientation to this virtue, which was manifesting a tendency to lose itself in an amorphous universalism; it has contributed immensely to our growing sense of self-respect and made us more self-reliant and reverential towards the traditions and culture of our own race and country. Mr. Bose's book is itself a strong proof of this fact, and if we are not thrown off our balance by his lugubrious half-truths, it will help the efforts of the nationalists to prevent the denationalisation of the Hindu race. The intense love and admiration for the traditions of our indigenous civilisation which is evident in every page of the volume before us would be impossible to associate with a man in Mr. Bose's position even a decade or two ago.

Mr. Bose is nothing if not thorough, and he will not ever allow us to rest under the comfortable belief that though the evils he has pointed out are inseparable from a transitional stage, they will cure themselves in course of time. Indeed, the last chapter, in which he discusses the matter, is the most mournful in the whole book. Here he sums up his views, and deliberately opines that the present world war may prove to be the beginning of the end of western civilisation. "It is unquestionable," says Mr. Bose, "that there are features of Hindu society which are also lamentable but not to the extent those of western society are." The movement towards western civilization is in his opinion, 'not progress but regress, not ascent but descent.' The history of any idea or movement may be divided into three stages—that of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Our wholesale admiration for western civilisation corresponded to the first stage; the reaction against it—of which Mr. Bose's book is an extreme example—fostered by the nationalist impulse, corresponds to the second stage; and we have already entered on the third stage of reconciliation of the two opposing movements into a higher synthesis in which all that is great and good in occidental civilisation will be added to and assimilated by oriental civilisation.

Mr. Bose recognises that "as in this world the soul cannot remain without a body, material progress up to a certain point is the necessary antecedent to ethical and spiritual development." Yet he is never tired of declaiming against the mate-

rialistic tendencies of western civilisation. At the same time he considers that the real condition of the masses in the west is extremely deplorable, and that there is much more degradation among them than among the corresponding classes in India. The drink evil and the factory system are no doubt responsible for a great deal of squalor and misery among the European peoples, but to describe the material condition of the people in India as in any way better, is to be guilty of cruel insensibility to the appalling misery of their lives. The socialists and labourites are already a power in the West, and they as well as the governing classes are quite alive to the condition of the masses, and are doing a good deal by social and industrial legislation and in other ways to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes. A single case of cholera in a remote provincial town in the backwoods of Germany is flashed across the wires by Reuter from one end of the continent to the other. Here in India, when the sun dries up all the available sources of drinking water, cholera sweeps off millions annually, and nobody knows. The premature death of a score of men by accident or from any preventable cause gives rise to animated debates in Parliament and leads to the appointment of Royal Commissions of Enquiry. Famine has been banished from Europe and America. 'In England now want of food is scarcely ever the direct cause of death' says Dr. Marshall. The yearly death-roll from malarial fever in India exceeds the ravages of the present world-war. Mr. Bose himself bears ample testimony to the 'monumental poverty' of India, where a fifth of the population, according to Sir William Hunter, live on the brink of starvation. Human life is not held so cheap in the west as in India. There it was that the political equality of every man—the right to live and to grow freely—was first recognised. In looking over the pages of the *American Sociological Review*, we came across a series of articles on 'Chicago Housing Conditions,' in which there are some photographic reproductions of the poor with their belongings, living in the slums and the back tenements. The houses, apartments, clothes and furniture of these 'poor' people are an eloquent commentary on the comfortable theory that they are more miserable than our Indian poor, nor do they look like the wretched

starvelings with whom we are so familiar. The masses in India cannot simply dream of these luxuries. The fact that a married couple have to live with 3, 4 or 5 children in the same room (of which the dimensions are given) is repeatedly represented in these articles as a great grievance. The best rented house in the Mofussil town where the present writer lives has only one sleeping room, occupied by a married couple and four children, the dimensions of which are smaller than those of many of the apartments mentioned in the articles on Chicago; nor is the room so well furnished as most of the apartments of these slum-dwellers, though the head of the family we refer to has, with one or two exceptions, the largest income in the town. And yet how unceasing, vigilant, and wide-spread the movement and how steady the stream of public benevolence for the amelioration of these poorer classes in the 'materialistic' west, and what a sad contrast they present to the apathy of 'spiritualistic' India in these respects! In fact, the very success of the agitation on behalf of the poor, and the glowing descriptions of their miserable condition by philanthropists in western lands, make us imagine that they are worse off than they are.

Anyone who is well-read in English fiction must have observed that the characters depicted in the novels often act from motives which seem to us to be highly sentimental and stake their all for interests which appears in our eyes little short of the quixotic. The fact is that man does not live by bread alone, and when his material wants are fairly satisfied, he cannot but be actuated in the ordinary play and interaction of life by abstract desires, ideals and aspirations which bear no relation to mere physical necessities, and are more or less spiritual, in character. The morality of peasants has been characterised by C. H. Pearson as "an absolute concentration of the mind upon small economies, or it may be, small pilferings, and a thorough deadening of the moral sense." The cultivators form the vast majority of the masses in India, but how few are there among the prosperous peasantry of East Bengal who can resist the temptation of watering their jute and how many in all Bengal who do not readily swallow the bait of the village tout? Galdos, the Spanish novelist, seems to us to have struck the true note in the

following passage, which is borne out by our intimate experience of rural society:

"There has been much declamation against the materialism of cities.....but there is a more terrible plague in the materialism of villages which petrifies millions of human beings, killing all noble ambition in them, and confining them within the circle of a mechanical, brutal and gloomy existence.....Under his [the villager's] hypocritical frankness is concealed a sombre arithmetic, which for acuteness and perspicacity, surpasses all that the cleverest mathematicians have desired."

Dr. Marshall makes a similar observation with regard to the petty traders, shopkeepers and bankers, who flourish in our villages:

"Among races whose intellectual capacity seems not to have developed in any other direction, and who have none of the originating power of the modern business man, there will be found many who show an evil sagacity in driving a hard bargain in a market even with their neighbours. No traders are more unscrupulous in taking advantage of the necessities of the unfortunate than are the corn dealers and money lenders of the East."

The deserted villages of Bengal bear eloquent testimony not to the ravages of malaria alone, but also to the atmosphere of low cunning and pestilential intrigue which pervades them, though the people are generally innocent of an English education. Only inward grace can give the highest things in life, but money can give us the means of using them to the best advantage, as the Sanskrit poets, who have so many fine passages on the deleterious effects of chill penury on the genial current of the soul, knew well enough. In the Western desire to increase the comforts and the facilities of life Mr. G. L. Dickinson sees 'a great impulse which may fairly be called spiritual.' "The West," he adds, "is doing more than it knows it is doing; it is endeavouring to lift the general level of material life in order that there may be more leisure, more education, more capacity and opportunity for that impassioned reflection on life which is the essence of what I mean by culture." And he concludes his essay on the civilisation of the East thus:

"I expect the East to follow us, into all excesses, and to go right through, not round, all that we have been through, on its way to a higher phase of civilisation. In short, I believe that.....the East will.....become as "materialistic" (to use the word) as the West, before it can recover a new and genuine spiritual life."

India was not oppressed by the *taedium vitæ* and keenly appreciated the good things of the world in the days of the

Rig-veda and the Mahabharata; the age represented by the immortal Kalidasa tingled with the joy of life in every vein; the beauty of living form and inanimate nature threw him into raptures and inspired him into finest expression: it was only the philosophers—the followers of Kapila and Buddha who were obsessed by the weariness of existence, but Madhava Acharya in the fourteenth century wrote in his *Sarva-Darshana-Samgraha* that the masses of men, considering wealth and desire the only ends of life, and denying the existence of any object belonging to a future world, only follow the doctrine of Charvaka the atheist, whose teachings are therefore hard to eradicate. Nor is the cry of materialism confined to the East. Guizot dealt with it nearly a century ago in his *History of Civilisation in Europe*. Progress, according to him, was the fundamental idea conveyed by the word 'civilisation.' This progress consists of two factors—the development of society and the development of humanity. An increasing production and a more equitable distribution of the means of giving strength and happiness to society constitutes the first factor. But is it all? he asks. And he answers:

"It is almost as if we asked: is the human species after all a mere ant-hill, a society in which all that is required is order and physical happiness, in which the greater the amount of labour, and the more equitable the division of the fruits of labour, the more surely is the object attained, the progress accomplished? Our instinct at once feels repugnant to so narrow a definition of human destiny."

Besides the development of the social state, there is thus another and an equally necessary element of civilisation, viz., the development of the individual man. And the association between these two elements is intimate.

"When a great change is accomplished in the state of a country, when there is operated in it a large development of wealth and power, a revolution in the distribution of the social means, this new fact encounters adversaries, undergoes opposition; this is inevitable. What is the general cry of the adversaries of the change? They say that this progress of the social state does not ameliorate, does not regenerate, in like manner, in a like degree, the moral, the internal state of man; that it is a false, delusive progress, the result of which is detrimental to morality, to man. The friends of social development energetically repel this attack; they maintain, on the contrary, that the progress of society necessarily involves and carries with it the progress of morality; that when the external life is better regulated, the internal life is refined and purified."

But history teaches that

"All the great developments of the internal man have turned to the profit of society ; all the great developments of the social state to the profit of individual man. We find the one or the other of the two facts predominating, manifesting itself with striking effect, and impressing upon the movement in progress a distinctive character." "A revolution is accomplished in the state of society ; it is better regulated, rights and property are more equitably distributed, amongst members—that is to say, the aspect of the world becomes purer and more beautiful, the action of government, the conduct of men in their mutual relations, more just, more benevolent. Do you suppose that this improved aspect of the world, this amelioration of external facts, does not react upon the interior of man, upon humanity ?"

And Guizot answers that a world better regulated and more just renders man himself more just, that the inward is reformed by the outward, as the outward by the inward, and that the two elements of civilisation are closely connected the one with the other. If the spiritual element in civilisation had been so prominent in modern India—and it is with Modern India, and not with the India of our sacred literature, that we have to deal—its counterpart and complement, social progress, would have flowed from it sooner or later and there would have been no necessity to bewail the stagnation in the social state. That Hindu society is what it is today proves that our much-vaunted spiritual progress is the greatest of all our illusions, and all the illusions of New India which Mr. Bose has taken such pains to expose, pale into insignificance before it. "In every stage of civilisation," says Dr. Marshall, the leading authority on economics in England, "in which the power of money has been prominent, poets in verse and prose have delighted to depict a past truly 'Golden Age,' before the pressure of mere material gold had been felt.

Their idyllic pictures have been beautiful, and have stimulated noble imaginations and resolves ; but they have had very little historic truth. Small communities with simple wants for which the bounty of nature has made abundant provision, have indeed sometimes been nearly free from care about their material needs, and have not been tempted to sordid ambitions. But whenever we can penetrate to the inner life of a crowded population under primitive conditions in our own time, we find more want, more narrowness, and more hardness, than was manifest at a distance and we never find a more widely diffused comfort alloyed by less suffering than exists in the western world today."

Dr. Marshall says that the artisan classes in England now outnumber the unskilled labourers, and "some of them already lead a more refined and noble life than did the majority of the upper classes even a century ago" and adds :

"This progress has done more than anything else to give practical interest to the question whether it is really impossible that all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life free from the pains of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil ; and this question is pressed to the front by the growing earnestness of the age."

We hope this is not the type of western materialism which are asked to renounce. To say this, however, is not to deny the high spiritual value of some of our ancient religious ideals and social institutions and practices, but their influence on our present-day life has been reduced to a minimum, and it is sheer cant to dwell on the *Sattvic* character of our village life. We are steeped in *Tamasic* inactivity, and the sooner we recognise this the greater is our chance of recovering our glorious ancient heritage by assimilating the best that the west has to teach us with the highest elements of our indigenous culture and civilisation.

POLITICS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. **ENGLISH POETS AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL :** by E. de Selincourt, Professor of English in the University of Birmingham. Oxford University Press, 1915. Price 2-6d net.

Under the above heading are collected together four lectures delivered before the University of

Birmingham. They are intended to furnish ideas and inspiration in these times of stress, by drawing upon the spiritual resources of English poetry. The author says that the idea of patriotism has developed with the growth of civilisation. Shakespeare's whole reading of history, for instance, is aristocratic. He concentrates the history of the nation in the doings of its leaders and the people are of small account to him. "And the first lesson that he read in past

history was the imperative need for national unity. The house divided against itself cannot stand."

"This England never did, nor ever shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself—
Nought shall make us rue
If England to herself do rest but true."

"In the roll of heroic Englishmen, there is no sublimer figure, no more inspiring example, than John Milton." The one passionate belief of Milton's life was the necessity of liberty as the essential preliminary of all development, both personal and national. He hated nothing so much as 'ignoble ease and painful sloth':

"What more oft in nations grown corrupt
Than to love bondage more than liberty,
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty?"

In his best known prose pamphlet, *Areopagitica*, Milton stands out as the grandest advocate of ideal freedom. The favourite claptrap of modern Jingoism of the East and the West being fundamentally dissimilar did not commend itself to him, for he wrote: "Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man all over the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation." He has also the insight to perceive that one cannot be free at home and a despot elsewhere, "for such is the nature of things, that he who entrenches on the liberty of others, is the first to lose his own and become a slave." Wordsworth's intense patriotism is reflected in the following lines:

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held."

And yet he did not forget that

"By the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free"

Into the cause of oppressed peoples Byron flung himself with a noble ardour. He gave to Greece not only the noblest of his songs ('The Isles of Greece'), but his life. He and Shelley kept the ideal of liberty alive in England.

Tennyson believed, and rightly, that

"The song that nerves a nation's heart
Is in itself a deed,"

and laid down the ideal of cultured patriotism thus:

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought."

But "the freedom that he extols is the freedom of a cultured middle class. She is 'sober-suited,' and can be trusted not to soil her clothes. He had no real love of the people, and no sympathy with the modern movement towards democracy. . . . His advocacy of law and precedent has just that half-truth which has given plausibility to all the obstruction of all the ages." "He never admitted the immense debt of the whole civilised world to the genius of France, to her lucidity of mind, her generous impulses, her idealism, to the sacrifices that she has made for the cause of freedom." It was reserved for George Meredith to give eloquent expression in verse to what the world owes to France. "One of the brightest aspects of the present situation is that

now, though late, England is learning something of the true nobility of France." For those who felt deeply the claims of nationality, the most inspiring event in the nineteenth century, perhaps in the history of the world, was the heroic struggle of Italy for national unity and independence. To Landor, Clough, Rossetti, the two Brownings, Meredith, Italy became a symbol of the noblest conceptions of patriotism. But of all English singers Swinburne was stirred by Italy to noblest poetic utterance. His *Songs before Sunrise*, which form the most impassioned collection of hymns to liberty in the English language, have Italy as their main inspiring theme. England, in taking up the cause of Belgium, has fulfilled Mrs. Browning's ideal:

"Happy are all free nations,
too strong to be dispossessed,
But blessed are they among nations,
that dare to be strong for the rest."

Let us hope that the generous impulse which is said to have actuated England in the present war will not exhaust itself in the effort to restore Belgium, but will manifest its beneficent activity in the cause of her great Dependency, which has given of its best for her sake at this critical juncture of her history.

II.—NATIONALITY AND EMPIRE: by *Bepin Chandra Pal*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1916.

The book purports to be 'a running study of some current Indian problems'. It is a collection of essays first published in this and other reviews. The author admits that some fundamental ideas occur again and again in these essays. They are shortly these: An isolated sovereign and independent India was hitherto the goal of the Indian nationalist. But this ideal is impossible of realisation, regard being had to the Chinese rejuvenescence and the Pan-Islamic ferment. "The sixty millions of Mahomedans in India, if inspired with Pan-Islamic aspirations, joined to the Islamic principalities and powers that stand both to our west and our north-west, may easily put an end to all our nationalist aspirations, almost at any moment, if the present British connection be severed. The four hundred millions of the Chinese Empire can not only gain an easy footing in India, but once that footing is gained, they are the only people under the sun who can hold us down by sheer superior physical force." The Pan-Islamist, according to their own leading exponents, are Moslems first and Indians afterwards, which means that, in case of any conflict between non-Moslem India and any Islamic power, the Indian Mahomedans would sympathise with and support their Moslem co-religionists outside India. This is a serious menace to Hindus, and so also is the Pan-Mongol awakening. Mr. Pal claims the fullest freedom and right of development for the Mahomedan states of Europe and Asia and Africa, but he would have the Mahomedans of India abandon their 'extra-territorial patriotism', and while maintaining the fullest right of expansion for their special cultural needs, they should, in his opinion, combine with the Hindus to form a composite Indian nationality. If Pan-Mongolism and Pan-Islamism are a menace to Indian nationality, they are no less a danger to the British rule in India, so long as the people of India remain weak and helpless, unable to resist any outside attack or lend any strength to the British arms. The only way to avert this danger which is looming on the horizon is for England to combine with India and the colonies on a Federal basis, and accept India

as a co-partner and an equal among equals in a great scheme of Imperial federation. The Empire-idea is superior to the nation-idea, because it is a step nearer to the ultimate goal of the universal federation of humanity. The federal idea is an old one in India, and quite familiar to the social system of the Hindus. India is too vast and diversified to form one political unit. The only conceivable principle of union for the various provinces of India is federalism. A federated India in a federated Empire is the line of political evolution indicated for the Nationalists. The British are a notoriously practical people, and Mr. Pal sees in the creation of an enclave at Delhi and the promise of provincial autonomy sure signs that British statesmen are quite alive to the new situation created by the Pan-Mongol and the Pan-Islamic menace in world-politics. The Boy Scout movement should be encouraged by the Government so that the people may feel that the Government is not afraid to arm them for purposes of self-defence, and in order to afford a legitimate outlet for the self-sacrificing enthusiasm and the desire for self-assertion and self-expansion which is natural to youth. Loyalty should not be divorced from patriotism, as in case of a conflict between these two sentiments the latter is sure to prevail. Anarchism is fostered by the conviction that there is an irreconcilable and hopeless antagonism between the interests of the people and of the foreign government that rules over them. The Government should identify itself completely with the cause of the people. The idealism of the political criminals should be given scope for achievement at the same time that their crimes are punished. The Executive Council of the Viceroy should not be manned by permanent officials, however experienced. This is never done in England, and for good reason. The chief function of the Council is to initiate policy, to formulate the principles which must govern the state, and to adopt such changes in the machinery and working of the government as the evolving conditions of the country must from time to time call for. And long official training, instead of being a help is inevitably a very serious hindrance to this work.

Mr. Pal has a grasp of the basic facts of Hindu civilisation and culture, and seems to be well read in political philosophy. All his arguments are cast in a philosophic mould, and contain ample food for serious thinking. He has also a good knowledge of European politics derived from intimate personal contact. He has, however, all his life been a keen fighter, and some of the blows which he aims at the 'moderates' and others who do not think in all matters with him seem to us rather uncharitable and uncalled for. He poses as a candid friend of India, and is never slow to point out wherein he differs from the average Congress politician. But divested of its philosophical trappings, there seems to be about as much difference between his goal and that of the moderates as, to use a colloquialism, between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. His own special contribution to Indian political thought in this volume is that Great Britain must come down from her pedestal of the dominant arbiter to the position of an equal partner in order to satisfy the sober section of Nationalists who do not desire sovereign independence for India, and that in view of the Pan-Islamic and Pan-Mongol menace, England will be forced to do so. "The Government of India must gradually cease to be autocratic, and become more and more truly representative of the highest thought and culture of India, controlled and worked by the composite Indian people, through their accredited

spokesmen and officers, just as the Colonial Governments are—before it will be able to completely reconcile itself to the legitimate requirements of the Nationalist ideal." It is not easy to perceive the difference between this ideal and the colonial form of self-government which is the ideal of the 'moderates.' Mr. Pal seems to find a pleasure in upsetting all current political convictions in his desire to be original, and the reaction against the extravagant claims of western civilisation has sometimes led him to reject western ideas in rather too wholesale a fashion. His condemnation of those who habitually 'nag' at the government will certainly surprise the bureaucrats who were not accustomed to count him among their friends. Some of the topics dealt with belong so entirely to the domain of contemporary politics that they might well have been avoided in a work which may justly claim a high level of merit, and the book might with advantage be compressed and condensed to nearly half its size. The real value of the volume before us lies in our opinion in the subtle analysis of the nationalist problem and its true relation to Indian conditions, and in the thoughtful suggestions and masterly generalisations, not always relevant to the main theme, with which it is interspersed. One or two such passages may be quoted to show how finely Mr. Pal can express himself. Discussing what the people have gained by the Partition agitation, he says: "A new self-consciousness is the most important of these—and a new sense of power, a new ambition for adequate achievement, a new desire to find their legitimate place among the makers of modern history and humanity, and above all, they have gained a new sensitiveness and a new idealism. To shape, to direct, to develop and help such promising elements of a nation's rejuvenated life and their true and legitimate fulfilment is a task that might lure the gods. It is an achievement for which no labour and no sacrifice would count too hard and too costly. But our sun-dried bureaucrat is no idealist." Again, "the Indian Nationalist has yet to learn the supreme truth that the highest and truest fulfilment of Nationalism is not really inside, but beyond itself [in universal federation]. Indeed, this unceasing call of the Beyond is the soul of all idealism. It is the incentive of the devotee, the inspiration of the poet, the intoxication of the martyr, and the dynamic element in all human evolution. The man or woman who is not impelled by this call of the Beyond, even in the midst of the pursuit of his or her immediate objects of life, does not live, but simply vegetates. This call of the Beyond is the sign and the covenant of our Divine origin and destiny. The individual who hears not this call, is killed by the deadweight of his own individualism. A nation that sees and seeks nothing beyond its own isolated and narrow national interests and pursues only these with deathless determination, is destined to be consumed to ashes by its own heat." Yes; but a Nation must fully realise itself before it can think of usefulness abroad. Why will strong units federate with a weak one instead of keeping it down?

The book is neatly printed and strongly bound, and covers nearly 400 pages, and is furnished with a useful index. We are confident that this book will help to clear the minds of Indian and British politicians alike of many of the cobwebs which confuse the ultimate issues before them and will thus render a highly patriotic service to the country.

Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8. 1916.

This volume contains chapters on the Imperial family and court, moral and religious regulations, relations with the outer Muslim world, the Islamic State Church, and Hindu (Sikh) reaction. There are also chapters on the invasion of Rajputana and Assam, Mirjuma, Saista, Khan and the Feringis of Chittagong, and the Afghan war. No one is more punctilious in verifying his facts than Mr. Sarkar, but his history is not merely a catalogue of dates and facts. Chapters like that on the Islamic State Church are well worth study by the philosophic student of history. The author writes in a simple, perspicuous style. His deep scholarship, critical acumen and infinite capacity for taking pains and diving into unexplored regions of original research are evident at every page. A chronology and bibliography enhance the value of the book. We are glad to learn from the preface that the fourth volume will soon be published. Mr. Sarkar has set up a new standard of historical scholarship in India, and the flourishing school of Bengali historians owe no little of their inspiration to his high example. The printing, paper, binding and the general get up are in the best possible style. The history, when completed, is sure to be the standard work on Aurangzib's life and times.

IV. SELECTED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF K. T. TELANG. *Manoranjan Press, Girgaum, Bombay. 1916.*

Nearly one hundred pages are taken up by a scholarly article in which the late Justice Telang refuted Weber's absurd theory, that the Ramayana of Valmiki was copied from Homer. This is followed by an Essay on Free-trade and Protection, and extracts from some political speeches. The volume ends with two social papers, one being a reply to the late B. M. Malabari's Note on infant marriage and enforced widowhood, and the other on "Must social reform precede political reform in India?" The latter is in the form of a lecture, and well worth perusal. Political work teaches us the value of compromise and conciliation, which, according to Justice Telang, are very salutary lessons to learn in the sphere of social reform. He then refers to the Peshwa regime and quotes instances to show that "there was a liberalising process going on, which, if I may be permitted to use that figure, makes one's mouth water in these days. . . . I confess I am strongly inclined to draw the inference that if Peshwa rule had continued a little longer, several of the social reforms which are now giving us and the British Government so much trouble, would have been secured with immensely greater ease." The book is neatly got up, and contains well-executed portraits of some of the prominent leaders of the Bombay presidency, and an introduction from the facile and able pen of Mr. D. E. Wacha gives us the salient features of Mr. Telang's life and public activities.

V. PRINCIPLES OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA: *by the Rev. William Miller, C. I. E., D. D., L.L. D. The Christian Literature Society for India. 1916. Price 2 annas.*

This pamphlet is intended to be a reply to one in which the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri maintains that no aid from public funds should be given to schools and colleges which make instruction in the Christian (or any other) religion an integral part of the education they afford.

POL.

IMPROVEMENT OF TOBACCO CROP.—In his small pamphlet "How to Improve the Tobacco Crop of India" Mr. I. B. De Mazumdar, B.A., M.Sc. (Cornell), has described some aspects in which the improvement of the tobacco crop in India may be effected. He has mainly dealt with the following points:—

1. Improvement of the crop by breeding and selection—The best and selected plants should be bagged for seeds to prevent cross-fertilisation. The lighter seeds should be separated and the stouter and heavier seeds should be used. This may insure heavier yield and uniform crop. Selection of the best seeds is a point which is very essential for tobacco.

2. Adoption of up-to-date methods of curing:—The quality of tobacco depends much on curing. Experience is necessary to find out the stage at which harvesting should be done. Though Mr. Mazumdar has dwelt upon some theories on curing and the methods of harvesting, he has not said anything on the practical method of improving the cultivation and the curing of the Indian tobaccos. The theories will not be of any help to the practical tobacco growers unless a definite system of curing can be suggested suitable to the soil and climate. Most of the improvements effected in America have been for cigar and cigarette tobaccos such as shade-curing and flue-curing. These tobaccos are very little grown in India. We are at present mainly interested in the tobaccos used for "Hukka" and for Burmese trade. No suggestion has been made about improving these tobaccos.

3. Introduction of Superior Varieties from other countries:—Introduction and acclimatisation of foreign tobaccos is a difficult business. Mr. Mazumdar refers only to the Cuban and Sumatra tobaccos. He has also referred to the close planting for Sumatra and heavy rate of manures but does not show any practical method by which the crop can be successfully grown and cured. It will no doubt be a good plan if the exotic varieties can be introduced with success. For this we shall have to look to the experimental results of the Government Burirhat Farm, Rungpur. Flue-curing of cigarette tobacco has been tried there but no market has yet been created. Sumatra for cigar wrapper has been grown with some success.

Tobacco is a very sensitive crop; its cultivation and curing require very careful and intelligent supervision. Good results cannot be obtained by the use of good seeds only. The best crop is grown on sandy soil; tobacco which grows on light clay loam grows large but is not of good quality.

The following points should be remembered in the cultivation of tobaccos (Vide Pusa Bulletin No. 50 of 1915 by Howards of Pusa).

1. The small size of the tobacco seed and the fact that it contains a small amount of reserve material necessitate great care in the preparation and manuring of the seed beds.

2. The rate of growth of seedlings is increased by frequently breaking the surface of the beds, by the addition of fresh earth and by thinning.

3. There is no danger of the seedlings damping off provided the seed beds have been properly prepared. If this disease appears in improperly prepared beds, it can be checked by cultivation and mulching with ordinary earth.

4. The spacing of the seedlings in the seed beds is most important so that strong, stocky plants may be obtained. Weak, crowded and drawn

seedlings do not stand the transplanting process well.

5. In transplanting the plants should be taken up with balls of earth, and for this purpose the time and method of watering the seed beds are important.

6. The real object of cultivation in the case of tobacco is to supply the roots with abundant air in such a manner that the moisture is not lost.

7. Organic matter in sufficient amount is essential for the tobacco crop.

8. Cross-fertilisation is common in tobacco so that the seed of any improved variety will have to be raised under bag.

9. Large heavy seeds give better results than light, badly grown seeds.

Anyone interested in this crop may derive much help from the above bulletin and also from a Bengali book "Tamakur Chas", by Babu Jamini Kumar Biswas, B.A., Supdt. Burirhat Farm.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L. Ag.
Agricultural Officer, Faridpur.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT.

The Library of Jaina Literature (1.) Vol. II. THE NYAYAVATARA: The earliest Jaina work on Pure Logic by Siddhasena Divakara (The celebrated Kshapanaka of Vikramaditya's Court) with Sanskrit text and commentary edited for the first time with notes and English translation by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Siddhanta-Mahodathi, M. A., Ph. D., F. I. R. S., Principal, Sanskrit College Calcutta, Author of the Medieval School of Indian Logic, etc., etc., Pp. 49. Price Re. 1 or 1s. 6d.

(2) Vol. III. THE NYAYAKARNIKA, A work on Jaina Logic by Sri Vinaya Vijaya Maharaj, edited with Introduction, English Translation and Critical Notes by Mohanlal D. Desai, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Bombay High Court, and Hon. Editor, The Jaina Societambara Conference Herald, etc. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1. or 1s. 6d.

Publisher Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Publishing House, Arrah (India).

Mr. Kumar Devendra Prasad of the Central Jaina Publishing House of Arrah whose unflinching enthusiasm for the sacred cause of Jainism is being daily evinced in several cases is to be rightly congratulated upon his organising the various series of useful books on Jainism in which "The Library of Jaina Literature" is included.

Now it must be admitted on all hands that the Jaina Logic has contributed to a great extent to the development of Indian Logic in general. And so the "Nyayavatara" which is believed to be the first work on the subject by a celebrated ancient author like Siddhasena Divakara rightly deserves to be read with profit by those who take any interest in it. The book is a very little one consisting only of twenty-three stanzas in Sanskrit. The commentary as published in extracts seems to be very useful. It is not known why the editor has not published this commentary in its entirety.

It appears that more care should have been taken in editing both the books under notice. There are several inaccuracies in them. As for instance, in the "Nyayavatara" p. 46. ll. 3, 6, 18, and p. 47, l. 5 the readings are to be, we think, प्रमाचपकारित्वात्, not

प्रमाच—, वैषयिकसुखातीत— not वैषयिकं सुखा—; कृभि-
प्रतैक— not साभिप्रे—; and परस्पर विश्ववर्तिता सामान्य-
विशेषै, not विश्वकलितौ—विश्वपरै respectively. The read-
ing of the fourth line of the Stanza 26 as adopted
seems to be doubtful and likewise that of the first line
of the next Stanza 27 can hardly be defended. The
former runs as follows:—वाच्यं क्ते साधने प्रोक्तदोषाभासुद-
भावनम्. Here according to the grammar उ द भा व न म्
of which the correct form is उ द्भा व न म् as has also
been taken by the commentator, cannot be admitted,
but the metre requires a word like this. The editor
is naturally expected here to give vent to his own
view regarding it, but he has said nothing. Similarly
the Stanza 27 is a defective one. The adopted read-
ing is सकलावरणमुक्तात्मकवत् यत् प्रकाशने. Here the first
line though grammatically correct and accepted and
explained by the commentator cannot obviously be
regarded owing to the metre as a genuine one, for it
contains nine letters instead of eight. The original
reading may have been something like सकलावरणो-

न्युक्तम्, the word आत्म (आत्मन्) in the adopted read-
ing being a superfluous one.

In the "Nayakarnika," too, there are some very
simple errors both in the text and Padapathas. See
verses 12, 13, and 19. The reading of the first half
of the verse 18 seems not to be original.

According to the mention as made by the com-
mentator of the "Nayavatara" Dharmottara and
Archatu, both Buddhists, appear to have been other
two commentators of the said work. Samtanka who
is twice mentioned in the commentary (pp. 31, 32)
has not been noticed by the editor in his Introduction.
Evidently he was a renowned logician.

The explanation in English made by the learned
editor is worthy of his name. He has tried his best
to make the text very easy.

The "Nayakarnika" describes 'nayas' or the stand-
points of the Jaina Metaphysicians. "Nayavada" or
the Philosophy of standpoints is a special and
unique feature of Jaina Logic on which volumes have
been devoted by the ancient teachers. Our author
Vinayavijaya (17th century A. D.) has, however,
dealt with the subject only in twenty-three verses
which are very simple and free of all technicalities
and cover together with translation etc., only 21
pages of the present volume. The book has been
edited following the line adopted in the 'Sacred Books
of Hindus' Series, giving Padapathas, notes, etc.

Both the books seem to have been very highly
priced.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

TARKASARA (An Easy Treatise on Tarkashastra for Beginners) by P. S. Anantha Narayana Shastri. Printers and Publishers: The Mangalodayam Co. Ltd., Trichur, Cochin State. Pp. 64, Price As. 6.

The books on the Hindu Logic in Sanskrit are
generally very difficult owing to their technicality
and praseology. Pandit Anantha Narayana with the
object of obviating this difficulty daily experienced
by beginners has made the categories enumerated in
the "Vaiseshika Darshana" very easy by entirely

avoiding or in some cases clearly explaining the obstacles alluded to. The book deserves to be widely circulated among the student class.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BENGALI.

GHARE BAIRE (*At Home and in the Outer World*), a novel by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. iv—294. (Indian Press, Allahabad.) Re. 1. 4 as.

Rabindranath's four novels, *Chokher Bali*, *Nauka Dubi*, *Gora* and *Ghare Baire*, form a class apart. Their literary method is the same as that of Jane Austen. There is in them hardly any action in the plot, no deed of romantic importance, no sudden or striking change in scene or incident (except in the last two of the quartette, and that too in a limited degree). The dramatis personæ live at the same place; they practically go through the prosaic incidents of our everyday life. But their lives are anything but humdrum, and the plot is anything but simple. The change in their inner world, the development of their character through these seemingly prosaic incidents, is marvellous, and extorts our supreme admiration for the author. His analysis of character is as deep as it is clever; but, with the highest literary art, it is never obtruded on our attention. By gentle and subtle touches, which we almost ignore when we first read them, but which persistently continue, he unfolds the changes in the characters of his figures till at last we are startled by their cumulative effect. The man who has read only the first and the last chapters, is shocked by the change in the heart of the hero or heroine and is tempted to cry out that it is unnatural, incredible. But the reader who has gone through the whole story, never detects the contrast, never feels a shock, unless he harks back to the very beginning,—the transition has been so gradual, so artistically unfolded, and the logic of incidents is so pitilessly true. There has been nothing like it in Bengali literature and not many in English fiction.

Ghare Baire is richer in incident and warmth of colour than the other three novels of Rabindranath, but that does not alter our view of its proper genre as a work of art. It deals with the Swadeshi movement which swept like a cyclone over Bengal, ten years ago, working untold havoc no doubt, but also, let us hope, scattering the seeds of a new and nobler life in many places and sending a fresh and purifying flood through many a stagnant pool of self-centred existence. Its moral is that taught long long ago by our poet:

*Jaya, jaya, Satyer jaya !
Jaya, jaya, Mangalmaya !*

"Triumph Truth, triumph Goodness!" He here shows that not by violence and fraud, not by the deliberate concealment or ignoring of the unpleasant truths about our countrymen, not by sinful excess, not by a wild orgy of unbridled passion, can national freedom be won; he shows that corporate ethics is not different from individual ethics, that righteousness exalteth nations no less truly than individuals.

Herein he agrees with Bankim Chandra, whose *Anandamath* is a long plea for a moral rebirth of all individuals, before the nation can truly rise. He agrees with Milton who sings—
Love virtue, she alone is free !

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HINDI.

MAHARAJ BARODA KA JIWAN CHARITRA, by B. Shrivadhan Prasad Sinha, *Editor of the Arunodaya*, Benares City and published by him. Crown 8vo. pp. 42. Price—*as.* 6.

This seems to be a translation from some English book. The language is not good, but all the same the book will be found useful. The author has not been careful in using idiomatic Hindi. The book gives a satisfactory sketch of the life of the great Prince and so far it has to be commended.

MAIRI KAILASH YATRA, by Shree Swami Satyadeva and published by the Satyagrantha-Mala Office, Prayag. Crown 8vo. pp. 140. Price—*as.* 8.

Proceeding as it does from the pen of Swami Satyadeva, the book could not but be interesting. The adventurous author has made the tale of his adventures really interesting and the interest is added to by the characteristic manner of treatment which the author has made his own. The language is simple as usual and the book no doubt is a valuable publication on travel,—so rare in the Hindi Literature.

COLLEGE HOSTEL by Kunwar Chandkaran Sharada, B.A., LL.B., Ajmere and printed at the Vaidic Press, Ajmere. Foolscap 8vo. pp. 109. Price—*as.* 4.

This book, though in the form of a novel, is mainly instructive. The different features of hostel life are carefully portrayed, and the value of truthful independence (which resulted in a member of a College hostel becoming a pioneer of industrial pursuits) is pointed out. With all this, the book is singularly interesting. The author seems to have made a specialty in describing the playful and sometimes naughty tricks of certain students upon their fellow-students. The latter part of the book seems to smack of allegory, but even this has been so carefully handled, as to make this part no less interesting than the other. The printing is nice and the get-up excellent. The book will no doubt repay perusal. The frontispiece is adorned by a block of His Majesty the King Emperor.

MANI BASANT NATAK by Pandit Gopal Sharma, B.A. Published by Pandit Lakshmidhar Bajpaiya, Bagh Munaffar Khan, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 175. Price—*as.* 10.

The author's aim seems to be to lay bare some social abuses in this country and he seems to have met with considerable success. But he has at times gone into much detail and this has marred the worth and interest of his book. The drama does not contain any poetry and is in the form of dialogues, which are sometimes very interesting. But the author has occasionally forgotten the dictates of proportion and carried his plot into what may not unfairly be termed extremes. On the whole, the book will be an interesting reading, but its price seems to be a little higher than what it deserves.

UDAY SAROJ by Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma and to be had of the author at the Charitmala Office, Juh, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 186. Price—*as.* 10.

This is a historical novel and its plot has all the grandeur of the best historical novels hitherto published in Hindi. The hero is Uday Singh, Maharana of Chittore. The plot has been very carefully laid out and is not of a monotonous sort, being enlivened by variegated episodes. The style is good and the language correct. But the use of such words as *सायत*

(for perhaps) and *वपुः* in certain places is objectionable. On the whole, however, we commend the book strongly.

ALU KI KASHT published by Pandit Balaram Upadhyay, Raipur Grant, Dehradun and printed at the Garhwali Press, Dehradun. Demy 8vo. pp. 38. Price—as. 4.

This is a very useful publication on the cultivation of potatoes. All the scientific inferences on the subject have been got together in a practical way and the best methods of cultivating potatoes, in all their aspects, (viz., preparing the field, selecting seeds, giving manures and so forth) have been very carefully pointed out. Similar practical books should be widely read by the rural agriculturists.

SIRAJUDDOULA—by Pandit Gulzarilal Chaturvedi and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., at the Narsinha Press, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 467. Price Re. 1-12-0.

This is another adventure of Messrs. Haridas & Co., and the translation from the Bengali novel has been idiomatic and interesting. It gives a very lively picture of the life of Sirajuddoula—shrewd yet brave, politic yet wholly depraved through the indulgence of his grandfather. The plot is very dexterously laid and the book is interesting. The get-up has all the beauties with which the publications of the enterprising publishers are associated.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

(1) **ATMONNATI**, by Vihari, Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press, Gondal, Kathiawad. Cloth bound, pp. 80. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1916).

(2) **BHAGAVAT PUSHPANJALI**, by Vihari, Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press, Gondal, Kathiawad. Cloth bound, pp. 104. Price Re. 0-2-6 (1913).

Both these small books from the pen of one and the same author consist of verses. The first one contains verses on various subjects such as agriculture, language, play, devotion to God, loyalty, presenting more the features of a jumble-sale than anything else. The second is a "sama-shloki" translation of several portions of the Sanskrit Bhagvat. The author seems to be of opinion that he has achieved something out of the ordinary run, as he condemns almost all the present verse literature of Gujarat in his preface to the first book, but very few people will agree with him as to his complacent opinions about his work, which is as good or as bad as the other poems—of a kind allied to his—being turned out, at present.

BHAMINI VILAS, by Purushottam Jagibhai Bhutt, B. A., LL. B., of Rander, near Surat, printed at the Jain Vijaya Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound, pp. 214. Price Re. 1. (1915).

This is a "Sama Shloki" translation into Gujarati of Pandit Jagannath's Bhamini Vilas. It is preceded by a preface in which the translator sets out his object, and says that he had done this work while still young and a student. He gives some particulars of the life of the famous Pandit, and has annotated in great

detail his work to explain its beauties. He has thus tried to render it useful and interesting.

DRAUPADI NI FARIYAD OR HAD DRAUPADI FIVE HUSBANDS? by Maganlal Maniklal Jhaveri, printed at the Arya Sudharak Printing Press, Baroda, Paper Cover, Pp. 112. Price As. 8. (1916).

This writer has with commendable zeal undertaken to prove that Draupadi had only one husband and not five, as is the common belief. He has cast his thesis in the form of an address to a jury and he stands before the jury men as the counsel of the complainant Draupadi. Being still an amateur and a layman in addition, he has been unable to keep up the role of an advocate, and much of his address sounds as so much bombast. But he has worked up the thesis on sound lines. He follows the methods of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in his Krishna Charitra, and adopts his method of historical analysis, rejecting portions of the Mahabharat which appears to be spurious, when tested by certain common sense tests. By a study of the portion of the great work bearing on his subject, he has been able to make out a case shewing that Draupadi could have been married only to Arjuna and to no one else. Much of the work is imperfect, and as said above, strikes one as being that of an amateur, if not imitator. But after all it is spade work, and spade work is necessarily rough, and imperfect. It is enough if the book sets others thinking.

HINDIO ANE FIJI BET, by Kuberbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, printed at the Digvijayasinhji Printing Press, Limbdi. Paper cover, pp. 133. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1916).

Pandit Totaram Sanadhya has written his experiences in Fiji for twenty years in Hindi. These have been translated into Gujarati. We have all been made familiar with the horrors of the Emigration Camps, here as well as in the Colonies, by Mr. C. F. Andrews and others in the pages of the Modern Review. This book presents them in an equally realistic form.

LAGHU LEKHA SANGRAHA, PART II by Kallianji Vithalbhai Mehta, and Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Cloth bound, pp. 327. Price Re. 0-9-0 (1916).

This very readable book consists of three parts. The first is the story of a German spy's life, the second is the story told by Totaram Sanadhya (just noticed above) of life in Fiji, and the third contains narrations of several big battles on land and sea. One wonders whether there was room for two translations in Gujarati of Totaram's work, which seems to have exercised a strange fascination over translators.

VIDYARTHI BANDHU, published by Shravak Bhimey Manek of Bombay, printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp. 52. Unpriced. (1916.)

John Tod's Students' Guide has furnished a model for this pamphlet-like book. Its object is to impress on students by precept and example several good habits in the early part of their life. We wonder whether the language would assist the writer in achieving his object with children.

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

Tokens of Belgian Gratitude.

It is still an arduous task to feed the Belgians—arduous, that is, in a sense different from enduring the trying sight of starving and suffering women and children. Every one in Belgium gets enough to eat now, but the Americans who work there distributing food and clothing find the task wearing on their self-control. The eyes fill and speech is made difficult by the efforts of the people to demonstrate their appreciation. Some of the ways this people take to show their gratitude to America are given below.—

Some months ago a motor-car belonging to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, through which has been distributed the vast quantity of food and provisions which America sent across the seas to the stricken nation, drove slowly through the streets of Louvain. The car flew the American flag, this being before the Germans prohibited such a thing on the theory, perhaps, that one flag, the German, was enough for a country. A woman, evidently of goodly station, well drest, and refined, stepped in front of the machine, holding up her hand in signal to the American driver to stop. He did so, and the woman advanced toward the car. Paying not the

it. But the initials 'C. R. B.—Commission for Relief in Belgium—are known in every hamlet and village, at every crossing of the roads. One of these cars, whether it is laden with grain or if it is occupied only by officials traveling from one point to another, is speedily surrounded whenever it stops. Sometimes there are outward manifestation of welcome, men making speech with the travelers, and maybe a



A FLIGHT OF LIGHTER FANCY.

America, depicted on a flour-sack as a fairy god-mother, riding a swan guided by white doves, with train borne by gnomes, hastening to bring from her plenty for Belgium's relief.

cheer as the car moves on. But often the people stand simply silent, gazing, while the children hover about and gently touch the hems of the coats of these foreign benefactors.

Streets, squares, boulevards, and parks have been named after America. There are places named after President Wilson and Brand Whitlock, the American Minister to Belgium. Thus will their names be remembered in Belgium long after they and all others concerned are dead. In Liege there is an Avenue Sperry, after one of the Americans who superintended the distribution of food in that district.

When the "C. R. B." men come to leave, after their term of service has expired, the Belgians are enthusiastic in their demonstrations. Rhodes scholars and other college students, as well as business men who volunteer for limited time, are among those so favored. There are luncheons and dinners, speeches and farewell prayers.

The municipal fathers get together. Sometimes a watch is bought and formally presented, some of these have been most beautiful. Then there are cigaret-cases, medals of bronze, commemorating the work that has been done. And illuminated addresses, done on parchment—of these there are always a few, extolling the work of the individual, praising to the highest the country across the water whence he came. These are the intrinsically finer things. The finer still, in another way, are the offerings of the poor—bits of embroidery or lace, sometimes atrocious things artistically, perhaps, but all the more valued and valuable because of it.



AMERICA FEEDING BELGIAN CHILDREN.

An empty flour-sack, painted by the Belgian artist, Joseph Diericks, showing the bruised figure of Belgium offering the young for America to feed, while kissing the flag of that country.

slightest attention to either driver or his companions who looked curiously on, she approached the forward part of the car, from the engine-hood of which rose the American flag. Simply she lifted one of the folds of the tiny emblem, bent over and kissed it. Then turned without a word and walked on. And as the car resumed its journey there wasn't much conversation there either.

The American flag flies no more on motor-cars distributing food in Belgium—the Germans won't have

Lately the Belgians have struck upon a new idea of showing their appreciation. Thousands upon thousands of sacks of flour have been sent into the country, from America, from Canada, from all parts of the earth, except that lying immediately eastward. The sacks have been found useful. They have been made into underclothes for the children, but now some are being turned to a more picturesque use. Belgium is a nation of artistry, of painters, embroiderers, and workers in lace. These have now taken these flour sacks and made use of them to set forth appreciations of their gratitude. Scores are pouring into the head offices of the relief commission in London. Sometimes the brands of the American millers are embroidered with silk, in brilliant blues, greens and reds. Often a genuine artist sets to work, making the poor texture of the sacking his canvas, and there with his brush interprets the feelings of his people. Many, most in fact, have little artistic merit, which does not matter in the least, but others have decided 'class.'

Quite recently, Mr. Hoover, chairman of the commission, received a beautiful model of a small sailing-vessel, with sails of silk and with decks laden with small silk sacks, labeled 'Flour.' The ship flew the American flag. And there was an enormous wooden shoe, useful as a jardiniere, patterned after the sabot of the peasant. It came from some commune in Belgium and was genuinely a work of art, with painted scenes and with scallops and beading of brass. One scene depicted a Belgian family standing on the seashore, with two children dancing their delight at the approach of two steamers from the setting sun which formed the background for a shadowy Statue of Liberty.

A sort of museum has been started for all these things at the Commission headquarters. Among many other things are several volumes, each containing illuminated memorials of thanks and gratitude, or perhaps some painting, etching, or other work of the artist.—*The Literary Digest*.

Self-Healing Tree-Wounds.

Nature's apparatus for healing wounds is more perfect the lower the organism. A semiliquid ameba heeds a cut scarcely more than a glass of water does; a crab is incommoded by the loss of its claw, but not

years, but it is at all events a live one, which from the arboreal point of view is doubtless the thing that matters. Says a writer in *La Nature*, translated in *The Scientific American Supplement* (New York, January 22):

"Vegetables have remarkable powers of recovery from injury; some of which seem to work to the benefit of the plant as a whole. This fact is of value to florists and gardeners, who take advantage of it by cutting back certain groups.

"It is well known that vegetables have 'dormant buds,' which, so long as the growth is normal and regular, remain absolutely quiescent even for years. But if, on the contrary, a branch be cut and the growth of the plant be slowed locally for a while, such buds come immediately into action. They wake and grow and expand into little branches which cover themselves with leaves and replace as nearly as may be the branches that have been lost.

"Another mode of healing wounds in vegetables, at least the injuries that are superficial, is by the change of some of the cells into cork. The impermeability of this substance to liquids and gases need not here be discussed. The modification is easy of accomplishment, the cell-walls become impregnated with suberine, the technical name for the cellulose of cork, the cell contents disappear, and their place is taken by air. It is such a structure which accounts for the lightness of cork. Protective layers of cells changed in this way serve to shield injured places.

"More often than this there ensues active cell-division at the wounded place, proliferation being the medical word, and a swelling is to be seen at the place of injury. The scar is often covered by later growths and by bark, and oftentimes bullets are covered and held where only future wood-workers will find them.

"All this has to do in general with superficial wounds. When they are deeper, when the ball traverses the bark and enters into the wood of the trees, the process is somewhat more complicated. In the linear ducts of the tree, vesicles or droplets begin to form, the result of a stimulated cell-making consequent on injury. The cells of the walls of the duct take part in this, and the result is the checking of the flow of sap. This prevents bleeding or loss of tree-liquids.



HOW PLANTS ADMINISTER FIRST AID TO THEMSELVES WHEN 'WOUNDED.'

"Trees are well equipped with first-aid devices." Three cross-sections of a wounded branch in which an injury gradually heals. The fourth shows the healing process around a deeply embedded foreign matter.

for long, as it proceeds at once to grow a new one. A man, on the other hand, looks in vain for a new arm when his old one has been removed. The processes of self-healing are particularly interesting in the vegetable world. A tree must be pretty badly wounded not to put at work its self-repairing machinery with success. It may not be a pretty tree in later

"But in order that such results follow, it is necessary that the wound be not a permanent source of sickness or injury to the plant, and it is necessary for it to heal as quickly as possible so as to prevent the entrance of harmful microorganisms and injurious insect life, or at the very least to arrest the consequent flow of plant liquids the loss of which

will very quickly result in the drying up of the plant.

"Trees are in general well equipped with first-aid devices to heal their wounds. More fortunate than humans, they are able to apply automatically an antiseptic bandage to the injured place. As soon as the hurt is received the tree reacts at the damaged place. The local functions of the organism accelerate, and at the same time proteid solutions flow toward the wound. The result is for a while, at least, an increase in vitality and in resistance toward weakening influences."

The writer notes that many species of trees are provided with a system of channels filled with mucilaginous secretions, which spread over the surface and protect a wound as soon as it is made. This instantaneous efficient first aid is particularly noticeable in the pines, spruces, larches, and other conifers in which the resins flow quickly. They form an impermeable protection above the injury. In possessing such qualities vegetables are superior to man. We read further:

"This cicatrizing substance is particularly to be found in the longitudinal ducts of plants, and has been closely studied by Mangin and other botanists. It forms in droplets on the inner walls of the broken canals, growing little by little and finally establishing the complete closure of the duct. The process is analogous to that of the surgeon who applies his hæmostatic pincers to stop the bleeding of veins in humans.

"Other species and families of trees, not equipped in this way, help themselves by another process. The wounded places change color, first to yellow and then to brown. This is caused by the appearance of what may be termed 'wound gum,' which is composed of various gums with tannins.

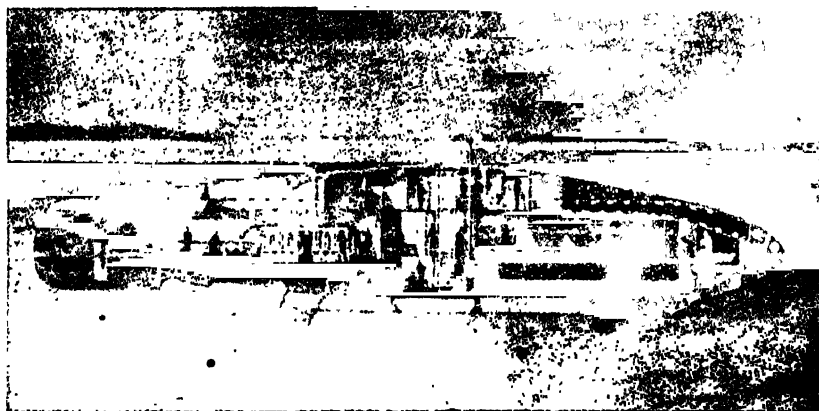
"At the same time the bark is changing into cork to protect the wound. Then the cambium, or cells between the bark and the wood by which the new wood is formed, goes actively into cell-making, and not only is there new wood through which the sap can circulate, but additions to the inner bark.

"Out of such complicated processes there will result one of two things: when the wound is not serious, all the new tissues join and help in the recovery of the injured part so that the wound is covered, or else recovery is effected without completely re-establishing the injured parts.

"In the first case the branch may become quite normal. In the second case, where the wound is large and there remain more or less dead tissues and the tough plaque of wound-gum, the new wood and the new bark together form a large swelling, always more developed above than below. Such trees may have a long life after cure, altho often much injured from the æsthetic point of view."—*The Literary Digest*.

Poleward by Submarine.

The submarine is proposed as an efficient vehicle for arctic exploration by Simon Lake, the well-known American inventor and builder of various craft of this type. In an article in *International Marine Engineering* (New York, January) he reminds us of the difficulty of attempting to break through



The "Sea-Mole"—a Submersible for an under ice Route to the Poles.

ice-fields, which requires a ship of tremendous power and great weight. The vessel shown in the illustration was designed by the author in 1903 for navigation in ice covered waters, and a boat of this type was first proposed by him in 1899 for exploration in arctic seas. In 1903, experiments were made with the *Protector* in order to demonstrate the practicability of navigating in ice-covered waters. Says Mr. Lake,

"Professor Narsen, in his North-Polar explorations, has stated in his book that his average rate of progress during eighteen months, in attempting to reach the North Pole, was only three-quarters of a mile per day, and that the thickest ice he found during these months of endeavor was 14 feet. His progress was delayed by open waters, slush, ice, and in the winter by the intense cold, which compelled him to 'hibernate' for a considerable period of time.

"An under ice submarine as illustrated, with large storage-battery capacity, could navigate underneath the ice in perfect comfort and safety. The temperature surrounding the vessel, even in the most severe winter weather, would not exceed the temperature of the sea-water. The vessel above illustrated is designed to make a continuous submerged voyage of 150 miles on one charge of the storage battery. After such a run, it would be necessary to stop and recharge the batteries. If open water should be encountered, this recharging process would be done by bringing the vessel to the surface. If the ice was not too thick, then by blowing out the water-ballast the ice would be broken, since it is very much easier to lift the ice and break it, rather than to force it apart or downward, as surface vessels are compelled to do.

"Provision is made for boring a hole up through the ice so as to permit the drawing in of sufficient air to run the engines and to recharge the batteries. Provision has also been made for putting out small mines underneath the ice to blow an opening to permit the submarine to come to the surface. A telescopic conning-tower arranged to cut its way up through ice 12 or 14 feet thick is also provided to enable the boat to remain under the ice and still permit the crew to reach the surface.

"In navigating in an ice-pack, the method of procedure would be to reduce the buoyancy of the vessel to, perhaps, a couple of tons, and then steam ahead, and it will be observed that the forward portion of the boat extends downward a considerable distance under the water, so that when the

forward portion of the boat contacts with heavy ice the reserve buoyancy will not be sufficient to lift or push the ice out of the way, and the vessel will then be automatically pushed under the ice and run along in contact with the under surface of the ice. A toothed recording wheel would give the exact distance traveled, and of course the compass will give the direction. Progress could be made in perfect comfort and safety under the ice at a rate exceeding 100 miles per day.

"[The figure] shows the vessel fitted with torpedo-tubes, and an athwartship propeller in the stern for training the vessel, and also with bottom wheels to permit navigation on the waterbed. This combination would permit vessels of this type to enter ice-bound ports or harbors and destroy the enemies' shipping while the same lies 'frozen in' and helpless."

While ice is a deterrent to surface-navigation, Mr. Lake regards it as actually an aid to under-water navigation, provided the submarine boat is especially equipped with guide wheels or "runners" on top of the hull to enable her to "slide" underneath the smooth ice-surface. If an under-ice submarine of the type illustrated will, as he thinks, make about a hundred miles a day under the ice, then taking Nansen's data he calculates that the round trip to the Pole ought to be made from his base in about ten days' time. Mr. Lake tells us that an under-ice submarine for mail-transportation in Vancouver Harbor has actually been in contemplation by the Canadian authorities.—*The Literary Digest*.

A "Snail-Shell" Stair.

The only spiral concrete staircase of its kind in the world has just been placed in the tower of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, Cal. Similar stairways exist elsewhere, as in the tower of St. Paul's and the tower of the cathedral in the City of Mexico, but they were built before the age of concrete. When viewed from above, its resemblance to the shell of a snail at once gave it a name.

"It is, for its purpose here, an improvement over Sir Christopher Wren's masterpiece—the spiral stairway ascending the interior wall in the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The Southwest Museum helical staircase is built inside a well in the center of the tower, thus not only preserving for shelves or mounted objects the entire interior wall-space of the tower but also supplying on its own exterior wall additional space which may be employed for museum-purposes. ...The tower containing the stairway is seven stories in height, with three mezzanine balconies in the three upper stories, giving the equivalent of ten stories. The tower is 35 feet square, and is supported by twelve columns and external walls 8 inches thick, reinforced with steel. It rests on a solid concrete slab or raft 3 feet 6 inches thick. The total height is 125 feet and the weight is 1,000 tons. The construction was carried on continuously, a story being poured at a time. The staircase well is 9 feet 2 inches in external diameter and is supported by four corner columns with 8 inch walls between them, with light- and ventilation-openings at each story. The stair is known as a caracole, on account of the likeness to a snail-shell presented by a vertical view, as shown in the photograph. With one exception it is the only helical staircase in America having a hollow center, the other one being an ancient stone staircase in the tower of the cathedral in the City of Mexico. The stairway contains 160 steps with 7½-inch rise each, and was built around a galvanized-iron form in the shape of a pipe, while wooden forms were placed



A "SNAIL SHELL" STAIR.

for the stairs. Material was prepared at a special rock-crushing and sand plant located about one mile from the building, in a dry river-bed."

—*The Literary Digest*.

The Costliest Parish Church in the World.

The Churches of New York, like the business edifices, do not escape the tendency to tear down and build bigger. What is announced as likely to be "the costliest parish church in the world" is the new St. Bartholomew's to be built at Park Avenue and Fifth Street. This site is not far from the recently completed St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, which, with its site on Fifth Avenue, cost \$4,000,000. Near by also is the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, and the parishes of these three number many of these multi-millionaire names of America on their rolls. So, for those who like to estimate the wealth of the churches of the Man of Sorrows there is probably justification for calling this section "the finest and costliest church area in America, if not in the world." An article in the *Boston Transcript* shows that outward splendor is not the only thing sought by these congregations:

"To indicate that New York's Christianity is building for usefulness and not for show, and that while erecting such edifices the work of others does not suffer, it remains to be pointed out that the great Fifth Avenue Churches familiar to all visitors to New York, cost to maintain from \$10,000 to \$60,000 a year each. The maintenance of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, the Brick and Fifth Avenue Presbyterian, St. Nicholas Reformed, and others falls between these figures, but nearer to \$40,000 than to \$60,000. During the last five or ten years the incomes of these famous churches have enormously increased, but the congregations have hardly increased their local expenses at all.

"The churches here that spend these large sums for buildings and maintenance give from \$3 to \$5 to missions in America, to missions in the world at large, and to charities and education for every dollar they spend on their own maintenance. This



"THE DESIGN IS LARGE AND FREE": THE NEW ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S.

Planned by Bertram G. Goodhue, it will be one of the costliest of New York's church edifices.

record they keep up while paying also the millions for new edifices. In years when St. Thomas's or the Fifth Avenue congregation spend \$50,000 to maintain their Fifth Avenue plants, they give to missions and other causes beyond their own borders \$200,000 to \$400,000. Investigation shows that such a record is made by the churches of no other city in the world. Episcopal parishes of the Fifth and Madison Avenue districts alone give \$250,000 a year to religious work on New York's East Side.

The "Transcript" writer declares that the new St. Bartholomew edifice is "the outcome of a spirit determined to build a handsome structure for public worship, to see to it that it is of the best architecture, and that it fittingly represents New York's Christian spirit and progress." An idea of what the new church will be may be gained from the model made from the design of the architect, Bertram G. Goodhue, which is one of the main features of the exhibition of the architectural League. It is said that Mr. Goodhue received his cue from the beautiful portals of the present structure, designed by McKim, Mead & White, and erected by the Vanderbilt family as a memorial to the late Cornelius Vanderbilt. These are to be preserved in the new structure, says Mr. Royal Cortissoz in the New York "Tribune," "from them flows, of course, the necessity of a Romanesque motive throughout." We read further:

"But the architect has gone to Italian rather than to Provencal sources for his inspiration, and what is more to the point, he has used them with originality. The photograph of the model which we reproduce enables us to dispense with description of the fabric and to speak simply of its broad character. It is an organic composition. The facades are exactly expressive of the plan. And their successive stages are united with a fine sense of proportion, a fine sense of architectural values. Let the reader explore, one by one, the different passages in the design, the relation of the portal to the nave and that of both to the dome, the placing of the columns and arches just below the roof line, the adjustment of the chapel and Sunday-school building on the street side to the mass of the main structure. These later episodes, it is true, constitute stubborn elements in the problem, and we could wish them otherwise. But since they have to be there, they are remarkably well handled. Consider, finally, the effect of the whole, the warm picturesqueness of the conception, combined with its essentially massy character, and the rich play of light and shade secured, the qualities of relief, of texture, developed without fussiness. It is Romanesque, yes; but is it so with any implications of pedantic borrowing? The design is large and free; in the impression of living architecture that it conveys it makes us think of that other fine example of style individually exploited—that Westminster cathedral which was founded on Byzantine ideas, but embodies the genius of a modern artist.

"This church is so good as it stands that we hope it may be built along certain lines promising to give it even greater significance. As shown in the model, it will occupy only part of the property owned by St. Bartholomew's, the rest of the block on Park Avenue being given to some other structure, a secular building, which would, of course, crowd it on the north, and even, possibly, rise to a height greater than that of the nave. We have seen a drawing worked out on the hypothesis of employing all the space from street to street, and it raises a noble scheme to an even higher power. Incidentally, it lengthens the nave, giving it another bay, which is by itself a precious improvement, and it permits a more satisfactory disposition of the chapel and Sunday-school, bringing in cloisters and open, turfed spaces, which would immediately set the whole affair in a better perspective. It would be a profoundly comforting thing if this larger, more monumental plan could be adopted. A building like this needs all the setting, all the air, it can get. Thus provided, it would make one of the most impressive adornments of the city. A decision to that end will be awaited with solicitude by all who are interested in the architectural development of New York."—*The Literary Digest*.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Building a Nation.

We are indebted to the *Vedic Magazine* for the pregnant speech of Mr. Gandhi which he delivered at the anniversary of the *Gurukula*. Talking to those present he said

We are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our Pundits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Fearlessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable

without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth save the fear of God.

Mr. Gandhi wants true *Swadeshi*, not the *Swadeshi* which can be conveniently put off. For him *Swadeshi* has a deeper meaning. He is perfectly right when he goes on to say :

We commit a breach of the *Swadeshi* spirit certainly if we wear foreign made cloth but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waist coat on it without a necktie and its flaps hanging loose behind him is not a very graceful spectacle. *Swadeshi* in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and reenact it in the present generation.

In concluding he offered the following suggestions, which may conveniently be accepted by other educational institutions as well :

The Gurukula boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85 per cent. of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10 per cent. occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools, can saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of the training of the Gurukula lads.

Last but not least let the parents and the committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their after-life.

The Hindu Drama

forms the subject of an interesting and well-written article in the pages of the *Vedic Magazine* for May, penned by T. L. Vaswani.

"To speak of the Indian Drama is to speak of the Hindu (Buddhist) Drama," so says Mr. Vaswani. Sometime ago it was believed that India borrowed the Drama from Greece. But the writer holds that

There was contact between India and Greece but this does not mean that either imitated the other.

Genius does not imitate; Genius assimilates. India has not borrowed from Greece; Greece has not borrowed from India; each developed literature in obedience to the law of its own genius; and the more we study, the more we understand that there were important differences between the classical drama of Greece and the romantic drama of the Hindus; for as we shall understand presently the Hindu drama disregarded Greek 'unities' and pure tragedy.

The following lines amply show what an extensive influence the Hindu Drama wielded in olden times :

The Vidushaka of the Hindu dramatists is forerunner of the 'fool and clown' of the Roman and Elizabethan plays; and Picchel in his book on 'Home of Puppet-Play' has done well in pointing out that Vidushaka is the original of the buffoon who appears in the plays of mediæval Europe.

The *Palm-Leaf Manuscript* discovered in Central Asia shows that the Hindu Drama was developed even so long as the Kusan Age when Central Asia was a part of the Indian Empire; the Hindu emigrated to Java so early as the sixth century, and the Shadow-plays of Java are a witness to the influence of the Hindu Drama: In Burma, in Siam, in Cambodia, the plays brought upon the stage were the Rama and Buddha Dramas; the Rama cycle was played even in Malay Archipelago and in China.

The Hindu's attitude to the Drama was in great contrast to the then prevailing attitude of Europe and China.

The Hindu attitude to the Drama accounts for the importance attached to it in Life. In Christian Europe, the conflict between the Theatre and the Church has appeared again and again. Chrysostom said:—"All dramatic arts come from the devil: laughter and gaiety come not from God but the devil." In Rome, an actor was despised; in China, the descendants of an actor were prohibited from competing in Public Examinations for 3 generations. The Hindu spoke of the *natyasastra* as the *fifth Veda*. It is regarded that the sage Bharata—the stage-manager of the gods as having received a revelation concerning Theatre direct from Brahma who entered into meditation and out of the depths of Divine Thought brought out the *Natyasastra* for the joy of the universe.

The characteristics of the Hindu Drama are thus set forth :

The unity of action and the unity of ideas are scrupulously observed by the Hindu dramatist; his perception of the Law of Karma links all things in the drama in a single chain of cause and effect; every Drama has one 'Internal centre' and the dramatic action is one complete.

The accepted classification of dramas into the tragic and comic will not be found in Sanskrit books; a drama, from the Hindu standpoint, may be comic addressing itself to the sense of the ridiculous; it often, is a blend of the tragic and comic; it never is purely tragic: violent action and highly sensational incidents must not be represented on the stage, for their effect on the nervous system and the mind would be not purification but depression: suffering is not ignored: but the truth is recognised that suffering must be challenged in the spirit of

resignation; for the world is one of law, and the Law is good.

Every Hindu drama opens and closes with a benediction (Bandi): the plots are often taken from religious books, and the introduction of supernatural characters is allowed.

Another characteristic of Hindu Drama is true love. The Greek dramatists, the great German poets like Goethe, Schiller and Kaufmann, above all Shakespeare show marvellous art in "character drawing": their interest is concentrated on man; the Hindu dramatist shows his art in interpretation of "nature life". Nature is to him the teacher, the superior of man. So it is you find that dramas were usually performed on the occasions of nature festivals, frequently spring festivals which celebrated the rebirth of nature. The Hindu God of Love—Kama is represented as the "flower winged" archer boy; and in the great dramas of Kalidasa, you have passage after passage charged with lyrical nature-love.

There is no purification except through suffering, no self-enrichment except through self-renunciation. The Hindu dramatists recognise this as a law of the visible order and illustrate it over and over again in the stories of their heroes and heroines.

The writer in urging the need of a people's drama says:

We need national Dramas which may embody the wealth of India's literature and India's age-long experiences. We need a new theatre to present in national form the new Ideal for the uplift of India's masses, we need new yatrias, new Bharatkathas for India's youngmen and women so that they may be loyal to the truth and the law of love. Shelley wrote words of wisdom in his *Defence of Poetry*:—"the connection of poetry and social good" as he pointed out, is more observable in the drama than in any other form, and it is indisputable that the highest perfection of human society has ever corresponded with the highest dramatic excellence and that the corruption or extinction of the drama in a nation where it has once flourished marks a corruption of manners which sustain the soul of social life; for the end of social corruption is to destroy all sensibility to pleasure.

Medical Research in War

is the title of an informing article contributed to the *Indian Review* for May by Capt. A. J. H. Russel, in which the writer considers the work which is being done by the medical men attached to the armies in the field.

Says the writer:

The "army surgeon" appears for the first time in history about the year 1312, when war was more common than peace.

Many surgeons of today find their whole time occupied in watchful supervision of food supplies and billets, prevention of parasitic infections, treatment of sore feet, diarrhoea, or muscular rheumatism, and the thousand and one things which help to keep the soldier an efficient fighting man. The work, though monotonous, is nevertheless of the utmost importance.

The altered conditions of life must influence the health of both Army and Navy, where war, by

massing large numbers of men together in close quarters, facilitates the spread of infections and fevers. This is counteracted to some extent by the improvement of physique and health of recruits, resulting from their physical training in fresh air and sunshine. The universal experience of war, however, has been the outbreak of epidemic disease, as shown in the case of typhoid fever in the South African War and of typhus in Serbia and, to a lesser extent, of cerebro-spinal fever among our own men during the present war. In France and Belgium there has been no violent epidemic of any kind, and this has been largely due to the efforts of the trained bacteriologists and sanitarians who have been investigating the best methods for prevention of disease.

The exigencies of war, by exposing large numbers of men to adverse conditions, also lead to outbreaks of other diseases which in normal circumstances are unheard of. These include "trench frost-bite," "trench shin," "trench nephritis," and "trench fever," all of which are caused by the conditions of life in the trenches.

Even aviation has diseases peculiar to itself. Workers in aeroplane factories have been found to suffer from a new form of jaundice which puzzled their medical attendants until it was discovered that it was caused by exposure to the fumes of tetrachlor-ethane used for painting the wings of aeroplanes. Some aviation pupils also are found on trial to lack the nerve and that co-ordination of hand and eye which are indispensable. The name suggested for this condition is "aerasthenia," and it is held to be an absolute disqualification.

During the early days of the war a large number of cases of tetanus occurred among the wounded. The wounds were invariably infected with the muddy soil of Flanders a soil which has for centuries undergone intensive cultivation, and in which the tetanus germs were always to be found.

In the field of surgery an enormous amount of new work has been done. Injuries to nerves, to the spinal chord and to the brain have all been studied by expert investigators, and have resulted in interesting additions to our knowledge. Most ingenious apparatus have been invented for treatments of fractures, etc.

Civic Ideals in Ancient India.

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri contributes to the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for May a deeply interesting article based on Kautilya's *Artha-Sastra* as translated by Shama Sastri and Narendra Nath Law.

There is no doubt that the civic authorities in ancient India were wide-awake as regards the preservation of the health of the citizens. This is amply borne out by the following:

From each house a water-course of sufficient slope and 3 padas or $1\frac{1}{2}$ aratnis long shall be so constructed that water shall flow from it in a continuous line and fall from it into the drain. Violation of this rule shall be punished with a fine of 54 *pannas*. Between any two houses or between the extended portions of any two houses, the intervening space shall be 4 padas, or 3 padas. The roofs of adjoining houses may either be 4 *angulas* apart, or any of them may

cover the other. The owners of houses may construct their houses in any other way they collectively like, but they shall avoid whatever is injurious. With a view to ward off the evil consequences of rain, the top of the roof shall be covered over with a broad mat, not blowable by the wind.

If a pit, steps, water-course, ladder, dung-hill, or any other parts of a house offer or cause annoyance to outsiders, or any other parts of a house offer or cause annoyance to outsiders, or in any other way obstruct the enjoyment of others, or cause water to collect and thereby injure the wall of a neighbouring house, the owner shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas. If the annoyance is due to faeces and urine the fine shall be double the above. The water-course or gutter shall offer free passage for water; otherwise the fine shall be 12 panas.

There were ample wise provisions for the prevention and cure of diseases and the municipal authorities had a sharp look out for those who did anything to undermine the public health. We read :

"There were hospitals with store-rooms (भेषजगार) containing medicines in such large quantities as could not be exhausted by years of use..... To the old store fresh supplies were constantly added. In the Artha Sastra there are references to four classes of medical experts, viz, भिषजः or चिकित्सकाः, i. e., ordinary physicians ; जाडौविदः i. e., those who could readily detect poison ; गर्भवाचि संस्थाः or स्तिका-चिकित्सकाः, i. e., midwives ; and army surgeons and nurses. The army surgeons with surgic instruments (शस्त्र) and appliances (यन्त्र), remedial oils (अगदस्रव) and bandages (बन्ध) and nurses with appropriate food and beverage, accompanied the army, and encouraged the soldiers. For the treatment of the diseases of animals, there were veterinary surgeons..... Several steps were taken for the plantation and growth of medicinal plants and herbs. Portions of fields cultivated directly under Government supervision were set apart and used for this purpose..... The State controlled and regulated medical practice in the land."

"Measures were also taken for prevention of diseases. Thus, adulteration of all kinds was punished, e. g., adulteration of grains, oils, alkalies, salts, scents, and medicines. The health of the people in cities or crowded places was secured by sanitary measures. Throwing dirt, or causing mire or water to collect in roads and highways was punishable. Committing nuisance near temples, royal buildings and places of pilgrimage, or in reservoirs of water, was penalised, but exceptions were made when this was due to disease or the effect of medicine. Throwing inside the city the carcasses of animals, or human corpses, was also visited with fines. Carrying dead bodies through the gates or along paths not meant for the purpose, as well as the interring or cremation of dead bodies beyond the limits of the prescribed burial places and crematories, was also a violation of the sanitary regulations."

We are further informed that not only was post-mortem examination not un-

known in ancient India but it was a common procedure.

For this purpose, the corpse was smeared with oil to prevent putrefaction. All cases of violent death caused, for instance, by suffocation, hanging, drowning, etc., or by poisoning, were at once brought to the morgue, and the medical officers in charge had to find out as far as possible the exact cause of death from an examination of the symptoms, several of which are enumerated in the Artha Sastra. The whole affair was subjected to a careful scrutiny, and if foul play was suspected, evidence was taken and the matter left to be disposed of in the law court."

In those days the duties of citizens were well-defined. Here is an instance in point :

If a house-owner is not found to have ready with him five water pots, a *kumbha* (a water vessel of that name), a *drona* (a water tub made of wood), a ladder, an axe (to cut off beams), a winnowing basket (to blow off smoke), a hook (to pull down the burning door panels), pincers (to remove haystack), and a leather bag, he shall be fined 1/4th of a pana. They shall also remove thatched roofs. Those who work by fire (blacksmith) shall all together live in a single locality. Each house-owner shall ever be present at the door of his own house. Vessels filled with water shall be kept in thousands in a row without confusion not only in big streets and at places where four roads meet but also in front of the royal buildings. Any house-owner who does not run to give his help in extinguishing the fire of whatever is burning shall be fined 12 panas; but a renter is not.

Ignorance is the enemy of all progress. The patriotic and progressive ruler of Baroda has introduced many modern innovations in his state to remove the ignorance of his people. The establishment of

Free Libraries in Baroda

is one such laudable enterprise, which has produced marvellous results. From an account published in the *Local Self-Government Gazette* for May we learn that

While in 1910 there were only about 188 subscription libraries in the State, with next to no readers and not any vitality to speak of, we find towards the end of July 1915, a total of 385 village libraries, 35 town libraries, 3 district libraries and a handsome central library in the City of Baroda itself, having a total stock of over 2,10,000 books and a total circulation in the preceding year of over 2,20,000 books. To understand the full significance of these figures, it should be borne in mind that the total population of Baroda State is only two millions, that the number of towns in it with a population exceeding 4,000 is only 39 and the number of villages exceeding 1,000 inhabitants is reckoned at 426.

The chief lines of work have been made clear in the following lines :

"The library is not going to be a mere storehouse of books, but will use every means to make its books accessible to all those who want them and to see

that those who need them realise that need and act accordingly. The duties of a modern library extend to the entire community, instead of being limited to those who voluntarily enter its doors. It believes that it should find a reader for every book in its shelves and provide a book for every reader in the community; and that in all cases it should do the actual work of bringing book and reader together. This requires great multiplication of facilities, such as lending books for home use, free access to shelves, cheerful and homelike library building, rooms for children and women, co-operation with schools, inter-library loans, longer hours of opening, more useful catalogues and lists, the extension of branch library systems, and of travelling and home libraries, and co-ordination of work through lectures, exhibits, and translations into vernaculars."

The following account of the working of the Central Library at Baroda would give the readers a correct idea of a free library in Baroda :

Here each and every citizen of Baroda is a member of the library. He can go there, select his own books direct from the shelves, and either read them there or take them home to read at his leisure. If you are not personally known to the librarian or any responsible member of the library staff, you have only to give a reference to some respectable person living in the State and give your exact address and occupation. Any State employee drawing a salary of Rs. 40 or more, any one owning landed property in the State, any income-tax payer, or inamdar, in short, any person of such position and standing in the State as gives confidence to the librarian, can stand as guarantee for you, that you will not damage the books; and that is all that is necessary to enable you to take home any books from the library. Of course reference books and specially valuable and rare works of art are not in any circumstance allowed out of the library. There is always a reasonable margin allowed for the wear and tear of books and strict and meticulous attention is not paid to trifling damages done to them by a not unreasonable handling of books by the readers. And the general experience of this policy of trust has been that there have been very few losses of books, thus proving that the number of black sheep in any large community—even though it be the reading community—is very small.

We further read :

All the libraries started under the new scheme in Baroda are free in the sense already described. They are classified as village, town, district and central libraries. The Central Library is the guide, philosopher and friend of all the other libraries. The District Library is entrusted with the supervision of all the minor libraries in the district. Some Town Libraries are deputed to look after the concerns of a few of the adjacent village libraries. Every library has to send in a quarterly report of its working to the Curator of the Central Library. In places which have not yet started a library of their own, the Curator is prepared to send down a set of travelling libraries, if the villagers express a desire for them. These travelling libraries consist of about 30 books, packed in well-made boxes and carefully selected so as to meet the needs and suit the tastes of the average villager. The books are allowed to remain for a period of 90 days and should then be returned to

the Central Library with a short statement showing the number and kind of books issued to and used by the villagers. This return serves to indicate in what direction the tastes and tendencies of the villagers lie.

All these libraries are in part supported by the State, by private subscriptions and by contributions from the local bodies. The rule is that whatever is the amount raised annually by the villagers, an equivalent sum is contributed by the local panchayat and the State separately. To form a village library, it is enough for the villagers to raise a sum of Rs. 50 per annum from among themselves. That will give them an income of Rs. 150. Out of this they are empowered to spend a maximum of 25 per cent on books, 30 per cent on periodicals, not more than 25 per cent being allowed to be spent on rent and furnishing of the library. And in the matter of purchasing of books the Central Library comes to their aid by providing books worth Rs. 100 for every sum of Rs. 25 handed over to it by the village library. Each village library is managed generally by a small committee appointed by the subscribers from among themselves, the village schoolmaster being the librarian.

To form the Town Library, similarly, the townsmen have to raise a maximum of Rs. 300 a year, which will be trebled by the contributions from the Government and the local municipality. The maximum will have to be raised to Rs. 700 if the townsmen are ambitious of raising their library to the status of a District Library. The same rule of part contribution applies to the construction of library buildings, provided that the design and estimate for the buildings are in each case passed as suitable by the Central Library Department. The minimum cost of a village library building comes to Rs. 1,500, while the cost of the town library building varies between Rs. 3,000 and 7,500. It may be noted that about fifteen town libraries and nine village libraries have been so far built, while six town and six village libraries are in course of erection.

Denmark is famous for its many Co-operative institutions. An interesting and informing account of

Co-operative Dairies in Denmark

has been published in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* for May.

We are told that "most of the Co-operative Dairies in Denmark were founded between 1886 and 1890. In 1909, 1157 Co-operative Dairies were at work in Denmark, and they treated about 77 p.c. of the total milk production of the country."

A co-operative dairy is generally founded for a definite period of time, varying from 10 to 15 years. During this period, the farmers engage to supply all the milk they produce, except what is consumed on their farms or sold retail to their neighbours. They recognise themselves also as jointly and severally liable for the engagements of the society, in proportion to the number of cows they each possess.

The funds required are generally raised by means of a loan from a bank or savings bank, so that the members need pay no contribution. Interest

and sinking fund are paid out of the profits of the business. The initial capital is generally from about 30 to 40 crs. per cow.

The members can only be relieved of their joint and several liability before the expiration of the term fixed for dissolution of the society, in case of death or the sale of their holdings, or by vote of the General Meeting. At the end of the period fixed, a new society may be formed for a new period, to include all the old members or only such as desire it. For the purchase of the dairy from the former members a new loan is contracted, the amount being distributed among the producers in proportion to the quantity of milk supplied by each, in the whole period of working.

The supreme authority in the business of the society is the General Meeting, which is, as a rule, only called once in six months. The rules often provide that the decisions of the General Meeting cannot be impugned in a court of law, a provision which has the force of law. The members have almost always the same voting rights, irrespective of the number of cows they possess. For this reason the large landholders long hesitated before entering the co-operative societies; but now they feel no difficulty about entering, and independent dairies on gentlemen's estates are becoming rarer and rarer.

The Board of Management of the Society deals with the daily business, the book-keeping, the cash, the administrative supervision etc.; it is generally appointed for two years, and is often rather numerous, for it is usual for each member of the Board to make the monthly payments to the members of his district. The Board appoints the Technical Manager (Mejeristen) who is entrusted with the direction of the daily work of the dairy, and the keeping of the accounts. The technical manager now receives a fixed amount with which he must provide himself with the assistance he requires; this system has proved the best possible.

The dairy undertakes the collection of the milk and its return to the producers. In this way the producers who live further away do not pay more for the carriage of the milk than those near at hand, which contributes greatly to the maintenance of good relations between the various members.

As a rule, the dairy only supplies and keeps in good order vehicles suited for the transport of milk; tenders are invited for the contract for transport itself, for periods of one year or six months. In this way, the dairy has not to keep horses.

The vehicles generally make one journey a day and only in certain localities two, keeping to a fixed itinerary, and the producers are bound to bring their milk early to the road, so that they may go on again without delay. Producers who do not live on the road followed by the vehicle generally receive a certain sum in compensation for every 1,000 kg. of milk they supply. However, the route is so arranged as to serve the large producers directly. The vehicles must reach the dairy in a fixed order, at hours established so that the milk may be weighed and separated as rapidly as possible, without interruption and useless delay, and each, as the work proceeds, must be ready to start again to return the separated milk and whey to the producers. When the profits are divided, it is a fundamental rule that the division shall be in proportion to the amount of milk supplied. At first this division was made after a very imperfect fashion, and in some places this continued for a long time; it

was based only on weight and not on the amount of butter fat in the milk.

This problem was promptly solved, by the construction of an apparatus which allowed of the amount of cream in a large number of samples of milk being determined by means of a single observation. Most of the dairies then began to calculate the value of the whole milk supplied in accordance with the amount of cream or butter, on the basis of the current price of butter. This method, very good and reasonable in itself, which possesses the advantage of preventing any adulteration has also a great merit which will only be greater in the future, as it draws attention to the advisability of only rearing cows which give rich milk, and of exercising quite special care in the selection of good bulls. This method has also inspired the constitution of "control" societies, which, in their turn, have favoured the change to the new system of distribution of profits. The latter system is in use in almost all the co-operative dairies, whilst most of the old dairies worked in common have remained faithful to the old system.

The calculation of the value of the milk is based on the regular control of the milk of the various producers, generally tested twice a week. The simplest process, which has fairly recently been introduced and has become widespread on account of its simplicity, is to multiply the weight in pounds of the milk by the percentage of cream ascertained, and distribute the price of the butter in direct proportion to the number of what it has been agreed to call "cream units" thus arrived at.

In this way, it is only necessary to divide the amount the whole milk has yielded in butter produced and milk sold; payment is made once a month. As regards the separated milk and whey the dairy does not sell, and does not use for cheese making, the producers are bound to take back, but the value is ascertained quite differently. The milk is returned in proportion (up to a certain point) to the whole milk supplied, at a given price, which is very low, and which while in some degree corresponding with its value as food for cattle, does not take special account of that, and is calculated so as amply to cover the working expenses of the dairy. Generally, the price is calculated so as to leave a large margin of profit.

The separated milk and whey are paid for by means of deductions from the monthly contributions. Deductions are also made for butter and cheese bought by the producers at the dairy, as well as for expenses the dairy has been put to for the account of the producers as, for example, the tinning of the cans used for carrying the milk. In dairies which also engage in the co-operative sale of cattle foods, there is a further provision that the department for co-operative sale of cattle foods may, if the producers of the society are debtors up to a certain amount for the purchase of cattle foods, keep back the whole or part of the price of the milk or the surplus profit.

The rules of the dairy provide that its members shall only supply pure and natural milk and never supply milk from sick cows or from those that have too lately calved. Often also the employment of certain kinds of cattle foods, known to have a deleterious effect on the quality of the milk, is forbidden. In several districts the milk supplied by each farmer is analysed at regular dates, for example, once a week or once a fortnight. The "Societies for the estimation of the value of the milk" have shown great activity in extending this system.

As regards the co-operative sale of dairy pro-

duce, there is a series of societies for the export of butter, formed among federated dairies engaging to sell the butter they wish to export through the medium of the society in question, and to accept joint and several liability in regard to the production of butter. In general non-co-operative dairies may also be members of these societies. The first such society was founded in 1888. Now there are six, in various districts of the country; they associate 275 dairies and the total annual business done by them is about 43,000,000 crs.

As regards the co-operative purchase of dairy machinery and other industrial apparatus, 175 dairies united in 1901 to form the "Co-operative Society for Purchase and Manufacture of Machinery for Danish Dairies". The society has 20 sections, and 851 dairies are now affiliated to it. The total annual business done by it is about 2,200,000 crs., half in connection with the manufacture of machines and half in connection with co-operative purchase. The members of the society are in no way obliged to make purchases.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Lajpat Rai's Message to Indian Students in the U. S. A.

The editor of the *Hindusthane Student*, which is the official monthly organ of the Hindusthan Association of America, having asked Lala Lajpat Rai for a short message of advice to Indian students in America, he has written the following paragraphs, which we take from the journal named above:

IGNORANCE OF INDIAN HISTORY.

1. I say in no spirit of carping criticism that the first thing which has struck me about the Indian students in foreign countries is their lack of knowledge of the history of their country and of the origin and development of Indian institutions and Indian thought. Their knowledge of the present condition of the country is also lacking in exactness. This is an age of facts and figures, and every young man ought to develop the faculty of appreciating facts and figures and being exact and scrupulous in his thoughts as well as statements. I would advise every Indian student to reserve three hours a week at least to the study of Indian literature or literature relating to India. This does not include newspapers. Every Indian student in this country should read the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), and it should be the business of the different chapters of the Hindustane Students' Association to supply it to the members.

LEARNING TO THINK NATIONALLY.

2. It is gratifying to see that Indians are now thinking nationally. It will take time for this habit to grow in perfection, and there is no reason to feel discouraged or depressed by the outburst of provincialism and sectarian feelings that now and then introduce disharmony and discord. What is wanted is that every provincial and sectarian movement should be interpreted in national terms. What does it contribute to the national cause and how it can be used to increase its quota. Run down the sectarian, provincial and narrowing tendencies, but not the movements themselves. Acknowledge their contribution to the growth and development of nationhood, and do not expect the whole country to think, to

feel, to move and to act, in one plane and in one groove. It would be a poor world if everything was reduced to one dead level of monotony and similarity. The world is rich in variety. We have no reason to be ashamed of the multiplicity of varieties in India. That is only another proof of our being rich in spirit though poor in material wealth. Only let not these varieties produce disharmony and discord. They are all more or less contributories to the same cause, different paths to the same destination, different means to the same goal. There are some that have mischievous tendencies, have possibly been started with bad motives. Try to understand them and find out how they can be used for national purposes. That may perhaps be a better employment of our energy than in working out their destruction. At least that is how I am at present inclined to think. But I have no desire to be dogmatic. You can think and decide for yourself.

CO-OPERATION INSPIRE OF DIFFERENCES.

3. One thing, however, I have no doubt of, in my mind, viz., that we have to learn to agree to differ, in non-essentials, and in methods. Every sincere and honest worker in the national cause has his own place in the national machine. No one has a right to run down another unless he is positive about his motives. Honest, candid criticism, more often outspoken than not, is the sine qua non of progress. But criticism, to be effectual, to be convincing, to be assuring, need not be expressed in vulgar, acrimonious language. At times it is a duty to strike hard. No one should shrink from doing it when necessary. But even when striking hard one should not forget that he is a gentleman. Even when criticising and condemning opinions, beliefs, modes of action, one should study to find out points of agreement, rather than emphasize the points of disagreement. Indians of all classes and opinions must learn to co-operate in spite of differences—differences in ideals, in opinions, and in methods of work. Co-operate with one another as far as you consider you can go together, and then separate without ill-will. I can not sufficiently impress upon you the desirability, nay, the necessity of this course. Take it from me that I say so, after thirty-three years' experience of public life in India. We have too often frittered away our energies and resources, in fighting against supposed enemies and in carrying on fruitless controversies. The time for controversy has passed. It is time to act—to act like men, each in his own sphere, according to the light of his conscience. As long as you are

students I do not urge you to act, but to develop the spirit of co operation and of united action, inspite of and in face of differences.

NEVER FORGET THAT WE ARE "HINDUS."

4. Never forget that we are Hindus (using the term in the sense in which it is used in America, i.e., Indian). Our people have a name for grace—in bearing, in expression, in language and in manners. In these matters every nation has a method of expression peculiar to itself. Living in Rome, we have to change it temporarily only so far as to make ourselves agreeable to those among whom we live and move, but that does not necessitate our forgetting ourselves. In any case, it will not do to exchange our grace with their slang. They have many good things to teach us. Learn the spirit of their manliness, their self-reliance, their intolerance of snobbishness, their dislike of being patted, and so on, but do not imitate the ways in which they sometimes express their manliness and independence. What in them may look admirable may be outlandish in you. Take their spirit, robe it with your own gracefulness, and remember that you are, and shall be, a Hindu first and a Hindu last, whatever you may choose to learn from others and wherever the circumstances may throw you in the course of your life's journey.

Though the message is addressed to students, we, their elders, have much to learn from it.

Mr. Lajpat Rai on Education in America.

Indian universities do not afford sufficient educational facilities. Hence those Indians who can go abroad earnestly desire to be educated in some foreign university. Such students naturally ask the question: "Where should I go? To England, Germany, Japan, or America?" Mr. Lajpat Rai has travelled extensively and has observed the conditions of education in many countries. Hence, what he said to a representative group of the members of the faculty of the University of California in February last, ought to prove instructive. We take some passages from his address from *The Hindusthane Student*.

"In my humble person and in the persons of other Hindus who come to this country as visitors, the friends of humanity in America see some slight reflection of an India struggling to improve her lot and to regain her proper place among the nations of the world. Possibly she has not yet put forth her very best in the effort, but she is honestly striving to probe into the causes of her fall and to remove them. It is in this pursuit that her young sons come to your shores to gain that knowledge which is a sine qua non of progress in this age. They attach great value to what learned and up-to-date America can teach them in science, in politics, in philosophy, and in the arts. But what they need even more, and what they hanker after even more earnestly, is the inspiration

which America, and America alone, can give them. There are certain things which cannot be learned in lecture rooms and laboratories; there are certain others from which one cannot fully profit unless they are taught in environments which illustrate their practical application to life; last, but not least, there are certain things which can only be effectively taught by teachers who practise them in their life. There are also certain things which can only be inhaled from the atmosphere of the place or the country where the young aspirant for knowledge lives or resides. No teaching can bring about the best results unless it is done in a spirit and atmosphere of absolute sincerity, frankness and truthfulness, and where the relationship between the teacher and the pupil is not of absolute frankness and friendliness."

AN ATMOSPHERE OF EQUALITY, FRATERNITY AND LOVE.

"Throughout the West, the atmosphere of educational institutions is generally free from limitations, but not so in the East, at least, at present. What the Indian student mostly needs is stimulation unhampered by conditions of race and color. What he wants is an atmosphere of equality, fraternity and love, an environment where he may feel that he is as good as anybody else; where he may have the fullest liberty of expression; where no one looks down upon him as inferior by virtue of his being a native of his country; last but not the least, where he has a chance of building up his character and making a career for himself by his own efforts, unaided by patronage or charity, or even the help of parents and guardians. This he can get in America, and perhaps nowhere else."

Mr. Lajpat Rai is conscious of the difficulties that are to be faced by the students who intend to go to America for education. He says:

"Those who are financially dependent upon their parents have to accept their decision, about the place of their education, but those who feel that they have sufficient strength of mind and body to work up their way start for America, even in defiance of the wishes of their parents. Here they find what they have been seeking for—an opportunity for self-development and self-expression. Some of them have to put up an awful fight. Angry parents refuse to send remittances; for a time it is difficult to get work; nobody knows them and no one can stand for them. Sometimes the season is slack and no work is to be had, or it is not regular or well paid to meet all their requirements. Again, even in democratic America they have to face a certain amount of race and color prejudice. Some succumb and wreck themselves, but the vast bulk of them win the fight and learn a lesson which is the most precious for them personally and for the country of their birth."

Speaking of the general advantages which one is sure to enjoy in an American university, Mr. Lajpat Rai says:

"Besides American conditions of life, physical, Social and Political are such as to afford him more practical lessons for their application to life in India. Here for the first time he comes into contact with all the representatives of the races of mankind, with all the languages

of the globe, with their different points of view, their different cultures, and their different habits and manners. He sees how under the influence of democratic institutions and a government of the people formed by the people for themselves, all these differences disappear in the course of a short time and melt away in the sunshine of American life to produce a united American nation. This is an object lesson which he can learn nowhere else. American experience fills him with new possibilities for his country, lofty ambitions and high ideas. The blood in his veins begins to course more swiftly and with noble emulation, after he has been in this country for some time. It is rather distressing to see that your immigration authorities should be so hard in admitting Indians to this country. Some of them are sent back without sufficient reason, on suspicion of being adventurers seeking admission to compete with your labour population. But once they are in, they are accepted as equals, and treated with kindness and consideration. The American university is the most democratic of all institutions it the world. Here prince and peasant, the son of a millionaire and the youngster who earns his bread and lodging by washing dishes, are treated alike. On the campus he is an equal among equals, with nobody looking down on him on account of the poverty of his dress or the color of his skin. The American professor is as a rule represented to me by Hindu students as an ideal teacher who makes no distinction of race, color or creed; who gives away what he knows freely, equally and earnestly; who is most friendly, outspoken and comradelike. It has been my privilege during my travels in this country to visit several universities in the East, in the Midwest, in California. Everywhere I have had the good fortune of coming in touch with a group of professors who, nobly backed by their wives, take paternal interest in Hindu students, make them feel at home, and treat them as their children. Specially did I notice it at Urbana, Illinois."

India's Duty to Java and Bali.

In an interesting article in the *Hindustanee Student* on "Hindusthanees in Java" Mr. H. K. Rakshit describes how the islands of Java and Bali owe their culture and civilization to India. He says:

Bali is the only stronghold of Hinduism in the entire archipelago.

The people of Bali are the followers of Siwa. At the dawn of day in their solemn invocation the Hindus in Bali prefix their sayings with the all-embracing sound "Aum Siwa chatur-bhujā." Some day the echo of that sacred sound from the lips of Balinese is sure to touch our idle ear. Some day we must heartily respond to that thrilling call even tho we lose our social position for crossing the water to attend a call of duty. The Hindus there are sincerely eager to know about their mother country. They complain of the loss of religious literature, and make anxious inquiry respecting their existence in India.*

Today Java is under the domination of Holland—

* Mr. Crawford, the historian and late British resident at the court of the Sultan of Java, on his visit to Bali was asked by the Hindus about the availability of religious scriptures in India.

Holland whose colonial policy has always been actuated by economic greed. The so-called "Cultural Movements" in Java by the Dutch has no real meaning; it is a bombastic nothing. The education of the Javanese should not exceed certain limits, lest they be a hindrance to the brutal but scientific exploitation of their country and person as well by the Dutch. "The Dutch do not profess to study the well-being of their Javanese subjects. . . . It receives as pure tribute more than one-third of her colony's income. Holland of set purpose keeps its eastern subjects as stupid and ignorant as possible." So declares Dr. Boys in his admirable little book "Some Notes on Java."

Such is the fate of Java to-day. Holland is guilty of not ruling her in her own interest. India is guilty of deserting her in her time of distress. We gave them our civilization, but we apparently refused to safeguard and nourish it.

And now our moral sense demands action. Not half-hearted or desultory action. What is needed is a systematic, thoroughgoing and persistent propaganda of Hinduism.*

WHAT THE HINDU UNIVERSITY SHOULD DO.

The Hindu University is just going to be established in India, which will mark the turning point in the history of our country. Can the Hindu University do something for the Hindus in Java? I do not know. But I venture a suggestion. If one of the prime purposes of the Hindu University is to interpret Hinduism in its noblest aspects; if the purpose of the Hindu University is to inculcate in our mind the true significance of our civilization, then surely it is the duty of such an university to prop the interest of Hinduism whenever and wherever occasion demands to do so. Unless you first aim at self-preservation, how dare you think of bestowing the greatness that is yours to others? Let our Hindu University establish scholarship for the Hindus in Java; let them come here and study Hinduism in the place where it was born. A healthy atmosphere will then be created again between us and much of the past indifference will thus be atoned. The glorious days of Hindusthan were those when Taxila, Nalanda and Odantapuri, shining in the world in their own light, threw open their gates to which flocked thousands of students from the four corners of the globe. Is not the Hindu University a sequel to these? Should we not then invite all the world, not to speak of our kinsmen in Java and elsewhere, to come there and study at all cost?

Hinduism believes in persuasion, and scornfully discards force. To spread our "Kultur" we will never draw the sword from our sheath. To accomplish our purpose thru persuasion we need thousands

* I would be the last man to maintain that the whole world should be Hinduised, Mohammedanized or Christianised. For the sake of world-progress this should not be. In many cases uniformity, good or bad, is not a healthy sign; it may mean inaction at the end. The key-note of progress is competition, and only freedom and variety of situation can bring competition into force. "East is East and West is West, God forbid it should be otherwise, but the twain shall meet in amity," says Rabindranath. Different we are and different we shall remain. But we must exhibit our ideas and thoughts, i.e., Civilization in the competitive market for proper valuation. That is what I mean by "propaganda."

of missionaries. We shall be gathering these missionaries, from her colonies, from everywhere. But, alas, will the colonies respond to the call of the mother country? Again the momentous question comes; "What have we done for them?" It is not too late yet; we can win them if we only will. Why does the prestige of the British Empire today loom so large in the political and moral horizon? The support of the colonies when the mother country is in action is a tremendous asset. A renovated India needs the moral help of her colonies during the process of her re-birth, as she will need it afterwards. We cannot afford to lose them, and especially the one—Java—our last stronghold in the mighty Pacific. Let our countrymen not forget it.

THE DUTY OF INDIAN MUSALMANS.

The Mohammedans in India have also an equal duty toward their coreligionists in Java. By the influence of educational institutions like the Aligar College, by establishing scholarships they can do much to give a new impetus to the helpless Mohammedans in Java. Here we find a common cause worth developing. In our formation of nobler and greater India we must feel a bounden duty on us to supply the spiritual needs of our people abroad, be he a Hindu or a Mohammedan or a Christian, according to their desires, and it is only thus that we can expect to maintain the integrity of the spiritual relation of India with her colonies abroad.

Our Duty to other Indian Colonies.

There are large Indian populations in Mauritius, Natal, Cape Colony and the Fiji Islands. There are Indians in Canada, U. S. A., British Guiana, British East Africa, Australia, &c., also. It is our duty to send to these places educators, physicians, and lawyers.

The State of Things in China.

Rev. Robert E. Speer has contributed a very informing article to the *International Review of Missions* on "the present Missionary environment in China," from which a good deal can be learnt about the political, industrial, educational, and religious conditions of that country. Regarding China's material advancement the writer says:

It will suffice to mention as a single illustration the Hanyehping Iron and Coal Company whose manager, Mr. K. S. Wang, told us that they employed now five thousand labourers, that the whole great Plant both at the mines and the furnaces was conducted by Chinese, that there were no Japanese whatever in their works and only a few and diminishing number of foreign expert advisers. The immense capacities of the country for production and progress have been only in the slightest degree released, but the young men of China and their friends ought not to be discouraged at the beginnings which have been made.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

As we have gone on in China we have found in each department of life, the need of balancing the ground of discouragement and of hope. It is so in the case of the government and of political administration. The young men generally, and indeed all the Chinese with whom we have talked with the exception of a few officials, have been greatly cast down over the monarchical movement. They have recognized that republican government did not exist, but they hoped that the form might be preserved, knowing that it would be easier to develop the reality within the form than to recover the form later if it should be destroyed now. They believed that the change was probably inevitable and they thought that it would be made without disorder, as the president controlled the army and had skillfully distributed it and had reorganized the police so as to have every section of the nation in hand, and also because the merchant class deprecated any further disturbance. If it is said and admitted, as it will be, that a great deal of the old graft and corruption has come back into the public service, it must be recognized also that a large number of young and efficient and honest men who found their way into the government service at the time of the revolution have been retained by the old element which has returned, but which recognizes that a new day has come and that some men must be kept in the public service who can deal with the new problems. It may be said generally that while in governmental administration there has been a reaction, by no means all the ground gained by the forces of progress has been lost, and the general conviction is that Yuan Shi-kai is doing the best he can for the country and is sincerely desirous of promoting its progress at a deliberate pace and without rupture with the past. Whoever studies the Asiatic nations will realize that this is a real problem, and that it requires a very high degree of statesmanship to know what of the old to cut away and what to leave that the new may be grafted on.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In the social conditions of China, also, the elements of depression and hope are mingled to-day. On the railroad train from Tientsin to Peking we fell in with the well-known philanthropist and social reformer, Mr. Yung Tao, who was not a Christian. After an interesting conversation he dictated the following statement of his views and endeavours:

"The most dangerous point of China is that, most people look only after pleasures. In order to get a pleasure they must secure some money either by squeezing or by gambling. When by chance they get money, their first thought is to marry a concubine. The more money they have won the more concubines they will marry. The Chinese can do business as well as others, but they are so engaged with this system of concubinage that they are always satisfied with a little because they want all the time they can have with their concubines. This concubine system has existed in China for thousands of years, but in the olden times only the higher classes of people could have concubines. Now however this thing has spread so widely that it has gone to nearly all classes. If China stood alone such a system would not be bothered about, but now China is open to all countries. She can depend only upon the rich people and the people in power. Now the powerful people and the rich people are nearly all engaged in the concubine system. That is why China is going

constantly down every day because the high class people and the rich people want to get money very quickly by squeezing in order to have their private pleasures. China is hopeless unless this system is prohibited. Instead of prohibiting, however, about four months ago the Chinese government passed a new law allowing people to marry more wives, a thing which has never been allowed in the old law. They think that they deserve to marry so many wives. They never think that this is the weakness of China. Why do they squeeze? Because they want to support their young wives.

"A country is made up of families. The principle of the family is the husband and the wife. The Chinese families of the high class have so many wives kicking each other, being jealous of each other, holding each other down. Why do the girls wish to become a second wife? Because they want to wear good clothes. The poor husband has to support them. That is why when anything comes to their hand they grasp the money or squeeze it out of others. I have looked into this very minutely and every business that is in the hands of people having many wives is never successful. These people have no far-sighted ideas. They only care for the young girls. The concubines and the gambling are the weakness of China.

Ninety per cent. of the Chinese are poor people. These people are good people. Ten per cent are rich people and the people in power. Of this ten per cent, ninety per cent have these bad habits. These poor people are good workers, they are honest, they are diligent, they are economical, they can live in a very poor state. Most of the rich behave so badly that they deserve to have a bad result come upon them. But if anything happens to these rich people, the poor people will have to suffer also.

Such an evil can be stopped, for the rich people and those in power always listen to law. Take opium for example. Once get into the habit and it was very hard to give it up. But when the government prohibits it, then the people give it up at once. The system of concubinage could also be given up easily if the government wished to have it so.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

Industrially China has been and in the main is still an agricultural nation. Agriculture has been supplemented, however, by household trades and these are now beginning to feel the effects of the increasing import of factory-made products from Japan and the West. And the factory system itself has begun in many centres in China and it is already far developed in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and other cities. It is heart-breaking to go into the great cotton factories and see the men and women and children, chiefly women and children of eight years old and upward, working in long twelve-hour shifts seven days in the week and every week of the year. If there are too many lives in China the present factory system will bring a murderous relief. It may well be that the killing strain of the factory life is after all not much greater than the ordinary struggle for existence and that the prohibition of child labour might bring more suffering than its permission entails.

A new industrial order in China is inevitable and it will come with consequences both to China and to the rest of the world which no one can foresee. When the cheapest, steadiest, most efficient labour in the world, representing more than a fourth of the working power of humanity, is employed in its own

mills working up its own raw materials and with the product enters into competition with the West, a new chapter of economic history will begin and a new day for China as well.

EDUCATION.

Dr. Fong See and Mr. H. K. Tong, who are probably as well informed as any men with regard to general educational conditions, while recognizing that all figures are only approximate and that there are few statistics in China at present which can be relied upon, state that 'China has nearly doubled the number of schools since the first revolution. In 1911 there were approximately 39,000 schools, which included high schools, colleges and universities, but exclusive of missionary institutions. At the end of 1914 the number of schools had increased to 59,796, an increase of more than two fifths in less than four years. Of 69,000 schools, 37,000 were private. Peking has more than 700 schools.'

Whatever the statistics may show, however, there can be no doubt about the deep general interest in education and the realization of its importance to the state. On January 1st, 1915, President Yuan began the year with a presidential mandate on national education, significant for its recognition of the necessity of establishing an adequate national system, its emphasis on the moral qualities which seemed to the president most essential, and its assurance with regard to private schools. The mandate was as follows:

"We are now in a transition period and our educational policy has not yet been definitely shaped. . . The matter of governing a country, it is to be remembered, is similar to that of governing a family. The poorer the family the more important it is that the education of its children should not be neglected, and the weaker the nation the more important it is that its people should seek knowledge. . .

"Now that there is no more turmoil in the country and the foundation of the State has been laid, I, the President, intend to carry out educational reforms without further vacillation. The ancient fundamental principles will be retained and upon them will be built a new system into which the results of modern scientific researches will be introduced. In order to make our people a race of great virtue, wisdom and courage we will first build their character on a basis of loyalty, filial piety, unselfish devotion and uprightness, and then teach them modern arts and sciences. A martial spirit shall be cultivated in them in order to prepare them for military service; and emphasis must also be laid to make them all practical men and discourage degenerate frivolity. Their honesty should be enkindled and they are to be taught to exalt patriotism before every other virtue: they are to be trained to endure hardships and despise the practice of hunting for offices. They should learn to rebuke themselves and consider it a shame whenever they are behind others in their literary pursuits. The discipline in the schools shall be as strict as that which a general exercises in commanding his troops, but the relation between the master and pupil shall be as cordial as that between a father and a son.

"We are now aiming at establishing a system of universal education so as to enable every one of our people to rely on himself and get rid of the habit of depending on others. Private schools, if satisfactorily conducted, will be treated in the same manner as public institutions. The Ministry of Education should also compile lectures on the principles of free education to be delivered to the people. Then, as

soon as the finance of the country is in a more healthy state, the different grades of schools will be gradually established.

A CONFERENCE WITH CHINESE LEADERS.

We laid this whole question of the present political, social, educational and religious situation in China before a large group of the ablest and most influential younger Chinese leaders who were together in one city, and asked them whether the general view which I have stated here is correct.

'I have been back in China only a little while,' said the second speaker, but I think China is making progress in all these four lines. If there are signs of reaction, nevertheless the main currents are onward and the backward movements are only eddies in a running stream. In governmental affairs there has been great progress in comparison with the old day. There really has been a national awakening. The Revolution was only one of the signs of it. We must not exaggerate the Revolution and then be disappointed with our exaggeration. It was only a sign of a real movement that preceded it and that lasts after it. And probably the Revolution was too sudden. Young and inexperienced men rushed into government and were not able to carry the responsibility of it, so the older men came back. Nevertheless they have kept many of the new men as indispensable and while they are subordinate they are still wielding influence. Socially a revolution sometimes works more harm than good and it does not change moral practices. Some of the old evils, like concubinage, continue. Still I believe that this practice is increasingly condemned. I know some men whose fathers kept concubines who have resolved not to do so. It is true that most of these men live in treaty ports and owe their higher moral view to foreign influence. The existence of the evil in higher circles makes it hard to fight the matter openly because there is no real freedom of speech. Educationally there is much uneasiness but there is also real progress. The president has declared that he is going to pay special attention to education. His acts endorse his word. He has been giving his own money and the money of the state for the establishment of schools and the preparation of text books. This has brought a new life into education. Religiously I have not heard much of the restoration of old beliefs. Several years ago there was a movement to promote Confucianism but this has lost its ardour and the men who promoted it are now silent. The present situation is not so gloomy as some think. Many influences are working for the uplift of China—education, communications, the Christian churches with their schools and hospitals, the magazines and the press; the forces of these movements cannot be stopped. If the number of men willing to sacrifice for China can be increased there is no need of fear.'

'I am a man from the backwoods,' said the fourth speaker, who, though he came from an inland city, was as a matter of fact one of the most widely experienced men in the group, 'and I do not understand these great problems and I am naturally a pessimist. As to political conditions, I don't know. A man told me that the Revolution was no use, that the people were unchanged, the squeezing was worse and bribes more common and the nation poorer. The birth-rate gives us more ignorance than the schools dispel. The old style private schools are gone. What can be done? Will a pail of water quench a great fire? We men ought to make the new con-

science. Have we done this? Many students have gone abroad to study. They come back puffed up talking English, foreignized, wanting to be served. Have the returned students done much to better our conditions? How can we get good students from abroad to change the economic conditions in China? We must get them from abroad or else produce them in China, and we had better produce them here if we want to keep them Chinese, as we must do if they are to lead the people. Our problem is an economic problem. Our soldiers wear watches. Our people carry umbrellas. We have taken to foreign shoes, but we make none of these things. We import them all. We have not even a tannery.

'The present situation,' said the fifth speaker, 'is very amorphous, intangible, inchoate. We can hardly say anything definite about it. Of course China is making progress, just as the world is even during this great war.

There is a tendency to go back to the old order and to make order and not progress the rule of life. Of course we must have order but not as opposed to progress. There may be order, such as the business men want for trade, which is the very enemy of progress. Progress relates to the free expansion of the individual. We have less freedom for this than we had under the Manchus.

'I too,' said the second speaker, 'had heard that the number of schools had decreased and I looked into the matter and learned from the Minister of Education that the number had increased and that the 1,600,000 pupils reported a year ago are now 2,100,000.'

As the conference closed all turned to one recognized as a true man, a true leader, and a true Chinese. What did he have to say?

'I have some answers to give,' said he, 'to the questions that have been raised, but it is late and I will not say them. I believe that it is true that God is laying on us great responsibilities, that He expects us to lead China and to make it a Chinese China, but we are not ready yet to stand all alone. We need the friendship of unselfish peoples. Some may be disposed to say to us, "You cannot do the work that needs to be done. We wish to help China and we will come to your assistance." No. No nation can help us. China must be left to help herself. Not even America can help us. If China cannot heal her own evils and work out her own problems and accomplish her own mission, no one can do it for her. And she can do it for herself if she is not interfered with. I speak plainly. There ought to be only friendship and fullness of trust and generous and unselfish helpfulness between Japan and China. There ought not to be suspicious and boycotts and unfriendliness. The Japanese yellow papers talk about the inferiority of China, the impossibility of reforms and the division of the country. The thoughts of the Japanese people are misled and the Chinese read these things and are both grieved and goaded by them. Why does not Japan seek to win the love of China? She has had an unparalleled opportunity to do it in the case of the tens of thousands of students from China who have studied in Tokyo. Let Japan remember what China has given her in the past in art and literature and philosophy, and let her be generous and just and patient now until we have had time to deal with our gigantic task and to achieve it.'

To this task these men, and scores of men and women like them, are devotedly bending them-

selves. Turning aside from political ambitions they are devoting their lives to the great work of social and educational regeneration which they realize needs to be done within Chinese life and character. To some of them, nevertheless, political opportunity has opened, and in high and low places they are giving the nation enlightened and patriotic service. Others of them in private life are laying out their souls where they see the need to be greatest.

The two conditions of all progress are steadfastness and mobility. Are not both these conditions met in the Chinese people? What people possess more steadfastness? Three centuries ago the Manchus overthrew the Chinese, but who, really, was overthrown? For those three centuries the Chinese kept the line of racial cleavage sharp and distinct, subtly drained away the energies of their conquerors, and now after two hundred and fifty years of steadfastness of purpose have broken the hated yoke. Where on earth is there any other

nation with such abiding qualities of stability and endurance? And only those who are ignorant of Chinese history can think of the Chinese as impassive or immobile. No nation has ever been shaken by mightier upheavals or responded more readily to new ideals or shown a more unflinching will for moral change. There are many who would regard the wiping out of the saloon and the liquor traffic in the West as child's play in comparison with the suppression of the opium traffic and the annihilation of the opium habit in China, and yet within a period of ten years China has broken and burned up these chains. Not once did we smell opium where twenty years ago its odours were in every Chinese city. Not once did we see an opium victim although twenty years ago they could be found on every highway. The moral enthusiasm and energy with which China wiped out the opium curse is a proof that she is equal to any moral reform or can be made equal.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Higher Criticism" and the Date of Sukraniti.

(Continued from the June number.)

1. Samudragupta, as Vincent Smith states, was "unknown even by name to the historians" until the publication of his work in 1905.

2. The achievements of the Pala and Sena Emperors of Bengal were matters of idle gossip until Mr. Chanda's somewhat audacious statement of the case in the Bengali work *Gauda-Rajamala* (1911). In the third edition of Mr. Smith's work (1914) of which the very first copy I happened to see in his reading room at Oxford, the author admits that "Dharmapala and Devapala succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India." This admission must have been due to his having in his possession the proof sheets of Banerji's *Memoir on The Palas* (in the J. A. S. B.), as he could not read Chanda's work in Bengali. It need be observed that Banerji's *Memoir* has been accessible to the public for the last few months only.

3. In the third edition of his *Early History*, Vincent Smith has admitted the claims of Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj as real Empire builders. This also is a new fact.

4. In Banerji's *Early History of Bengal* (1915) written in the Bengali language we read of another Empire-builder, Chandravarman of Rajputana in the 4th century. He was a contemporary of Samudragupta; it is his name that remains inscribed on the Iron Pillar at Delhi.

5. As for the details of administration, finance &c., available from the inscriptions and other sources it may be said that the investigation has not yet been seriously begun. The only satisfactory account full of details is that relating to the mediæval Chola Empire given by Mr. S. R. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India*. The data furnished by the military, political or administrative history are thus as yet too meagre to enable anybody to locate any treatise of *Nitisastra* in one or other of the epochs of government. It may be asked naturally, "Were the authors of the Suka cycle, whether state officers or private citizens,

men of Pratiliputra, Kanauj or Gauda or Vijaynagara, or Poona?"

"Was Sukraniti compiled under the Guptas, or Cholas, or Gurjara Pratiharas or Palas or of other Indian Napoleons and Frederick the Greats yet to be discovered and rescued from the limbo of oblivion?"

Until and unless a satisfactory answer to such a question can be given the dates hazarded on the strength of simple passages or sections are quite meaningless.

An attempt has been made by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji in his introduction to Mr. Naren Law's *Hindu Polity*, to indicate that the *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya is an authentic work of the Maurya age. A similar attempt has to be made with regard to *Sukraniti*, and in fact, to every *Nitisastra* or *Samhita* be it known after Manu, Jainavalikya and so forth.

So far as I could hastily gather from the fragmentary details of administration under the Bengalee Empire the technical terms in the *Sukraniti* do not fit in well with those used in the Pala and Sena records. And as for the Empire of the Tamil Napoleons *Sukraniti* does not yet seem to be a Gazetteer, official or non-official, of that system either. We know very little about the Gupta and Vardhana, and Rashtrakuta and Chalukya administrations. The scrappy details in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims do not supply any positive circumstantial evidence by which treatises like *Kamandaki-niti*, *Sukraniti* which could be interpreted as works of the 4th-7th cent A. D. But in the case of *Arthasastra*, fortunately, the report of Megasthenes has been a great external evidence. With regard to the second condition laid down in the *Positive Background* it need be observed that treatises on politics, economics and international law have not been accorded the attention they deserve. The study has begun only recently. Just a few years ago the political writings of the Hindus were supposed to be those found in the *Santiparva* of the Mahabharata and Chapters VII and VIII of *Manusamhita*. In fact, it was the custom to treat the Hindu genius as thoroughly non-political, non-military, non-economic, in one word, non-secular. Recent scholarship has subverted that fiction started

about Hindu character by the first batch of European scholars. It is now going to be well established that the alleged pessimism of the Nirvanist Sakya-sinha, the doctrines of *Ahimsa* (Non killing), Non-Resistance, &c., were platitudes in which neither the Mauryas, nor the Kushans, nor the Guptas, Gurjara Pratiharas, the Palas, Cholas, Marathas, nor any responsible people in Hindusthan, ever cared to indulge; and that those theories of subjective metaphysicians have to be interpreted with reference to Empire-building, military renowns of *Digvijaya*, extra-Indian commercial enterprise, &c. &c. It is when the secular philosophy of the Hindu has been well studied that a historical treatment of *Nitisastras*, *Kamasastras*, *Silpasastras*, &c. would be possible. It would then be time for students of comparative chronology to assign text to epoch by "checking" the conclusions of literary history with the findings of archeology.

I happen to have been the translator of *Sukraniti*. I beg to make a few remarks with regard to the text.

My text was that of the Madras Government, and I did not care to standardise the text by comparison with the other texts, printed and manuscript. My object was to understand the general trend of thought on administrative and international questions; and it seems that by the translation of the work into literal English a large demand has been satisfied, as the edition has been exhausted within two years. But it need be noted that a thoroughly reliable text is absolutely necessary now that interest has been created. And this not only in the interest of scholarship but also for practical convenience. Thus whenever I find Mr. Jayaswal quoting *Sukraniti* I cannot trace his passages. In the February number of the "Modern Review" Dr. Sudhindra Bose quotes a passage from *Sukraniti* which has not the same position in his text as mine. Probably both of them have been using the Calcutta edition.

BENOVKUMAR SARKAR.

NOTES

Wanted more Colleges.

An idea prevails among the opponents of high education in India that University education has been already overdone. This is a mistaken notion. A few comparative figures will enable unprejudiced persons to form a correct opinion.

In India Bengal contains a larger number of College students than any other province. But even Bengal is far behind the civilised countries of the West in high education. Take the case of Scotland. In Bengal the careers open to educated men are those of clerks, teachers, professors, and pleaders. A few men also become doctors, Government servants of lower grades, and fewer still, engineers. There is little education available in the country which can fit men for other kinds of careers, professions or work. The people of Scotland have all possible careers open to them; from none are they shut out. The Church, the Navy, the Army, the Home, Colonial and Indian Civil Services, Medicine, Law, Engineering, Education,—all are open to them. They can, besides, engage in mining, ship-building, all kinds of manufacturing, and internal and foreign trade. They have ample facilities for receiving the kind of education which fits men for all these different kinds of careers, professions or work. Under the circum-

stances, if there had been a larger proportion of men studying in Colleges in Bengal than in Scotland, that would not have been a matter for surprise. But as a matter of fact, in proportion to its population Scotland has a larger number of College students than Bengal. Scotland has a population of 47,60,904 (census of 1911). In 1913-1914 the number of its university students was 7,550. The population of Bengal, according to the census of 1911, is 4,54,83,077. During 1913-14 the total number of scholars attending Colleges in Bengal was 18,017. But according to the standard of Scotland, there ought to be in Bengal more than 72,900 college students, which is more than four times the number that it has.

As almost all Colleges in Bengal are overcrowded, in order to accommodate four times the number of students which they at present teach, *there ought to be three more additional colleges for each college that we have at present.*

University education is not so widespread in England as it is in Scotland, the Scotch being a more highly educated people than the English. But even in England, there is, proportionately, a larger number of students in the Universities than in Bengal. According to the census of 1911, England has a population of 3,40,45,290. In 1913-14 the number of

University students in England was 24,010. According to the standard of England there ought to be more than 32,000 college students in Bengal, whereas we have only 18,017.

So whether we accept Scotland or England as our standard, there ought to be a far larger number of Colleges and College students in Bengal than we have. And over and above these additional colleges affiliated to the University, we ought to have institutions for imparting education to enable men to follow all those careers which Englishmen and Scots follow.

But, instead of facilitating the establishing of new colleges, the Syndicate of the Calcutta University has rejected the application of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar for permission to open the Swarnamayee college on grounds which will not bear examination. It has been said that if a college be located in Corporation Street in Calcutta, near the Municipal Market, there may be collision between soldiers and students. But that market and the Maidan are already frequented by soldiers and students. How many fights have occurred? It has been also said that as cases of consumption have occurred among Calcutta students, there ought not to be another College in Calcutta. But it might be similarly argued that as there is a larger percentage of deaths from consumption among women than among men in Calcutta, further increase of the female population of Calcutta should be stopped! A new college in Calcutta with very spacious class-rooms is more likely to lessen congestion among the students than increase it. This makes the trotting out of the consumption bogey still more absurd than it is. Besides, where are the facts and figures to support the assertion that there is an alarming prevalence of consumption among students in Calcutta? And supposing the statement were true, how is it that affiliation has been granted to a new College in the Bhowanipore quarter of the town? Is that part consumption-proof?

As there ought to be a very large increase in the number of Colleges, so, in order to feed them, there ought to be a corresponding increase in the number of schools.

Expansion and Efficiency.

In "Indian Education in 1914-15" published by the Government of India Bureau

of Education, Mr. Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, observes: "Efficiency is frequently decried as a watchword of obstruction. But the word too often means only the removal of the grosser defects and the provision of those elements which go to make up the simplest kind of educational institution."

It is very kind of bureaucrats to think that the people of India do not like efficiency, that in fact they prefer inefficiency to efficiency. The truth, however, is that we think some sort of education, even inefficient education, is better than ignorance. In all civilised countries educational expansion and increase of efficiency have been found not incompatible, they have gone hand in hand. We do not see why we can not have both in India.

Expansion of Education only apparent.

There is, no doubt, some increase of pupils every year. But the increase is not rapid enough, and, considering the increase of population every year, *the increase in the number of pupils is more apparent than real*. Mr. Sharp's "Indian Education in 1914-15" tells us that "the five years from 1909 to 1914 had shown an encouraging increase of nearly one and a third million pupils. The increase in the year 1913-14 alone was 357,203." And he estimates that in 1914-15 there was an increase of 260,000. From 1901 to 1911 the increase of population in the whole of India was 20,795,340, which means that in five years the population increases by more than 10 millions, and in one year by more than 2 millions; whereas the increase in pupils was only one and a third million in five years, and 357,203 in one year. Even if we accept as true the wrong official estimate of 15 per cent. of the total population as the maximum school-going population, we get an addition of 15 per cent. of ten millions, or one and a half millions, to the *maximum* school-going population in five years; whereas the *actual* increase in pupils was only one and a third million pupils. So that it is literally true that *the natural increase of the population gives us more ignorance than the schools and colleges dispel*.

It is not clear from Mr. Sharp's statement whether the increase of 260,000 in 1914-15 took place in British India or the whole of India. If it be for the whole of

India, it is less than 300,000, which is 15 per cent of the annual increase of population. So we say again that *the birth-rate* (minus the death-rate) *gives us every year more ignorance than the schools and colleges dispel.*

The Limitation of Classes.

Mr. Sharp says in "Indian Education in 1914-15":—

Sometimes the first and second year classes are permitted to take in as many as 150 or even 200 students each. The Director in the United Provinces makes some comments on this point, suggests that there are some to whom it seems preferable to overcrowd than to refuse admission, and quotes the Principal of St. Andrew's College, who says, "Our university (Allahabad) is not so bad as others in India"*** but even in our university it is frequently the case that a professor has to teach classes of from 50 to 60 students, and it is obvious that, if such be the case, it is humanly impossible for the professor, however sympathetic he may be, to get to know the specific needs of individual students." This is the most pressing problem in collegiate education. It has various aspects. There is the point of view of the student, who, having completed his school course, naturally resents any difficulty which he may meet in gaining admission to a college. There is the point of view of managers of privately managed institutions which subsist largely on fees, who naturally desire to see full classes. There is the point of view of the professor who, owing to the growth of inferior English schools and variable standards of matriculation, finds it increasingly difficult to cope with large numbers of ill-prepared students who are unable to understand and follow lectures. The universities and thoughtful educationists can hardly regard with equanimity a condition of things, which, though it is probably by no means universal, threatens to cast discredit upon higher instruction. The idea is growing and has found expression (as was mentioned in last year's report) that the proper solution is a prolongation of the school course so as to include all or part of the intermediate stage, with possibly some curtailment of the college period. The whole question is certainly one which deserves careful consideration.

We quite understand the value of small classes containing a moderate number of students; but, if colleges cannot be multiplied sufficiently rapidly, we would prefer large classes to allowing our children to grow up in ignorance. However small the classes in our schools and colleges may be made by the Education Department and the Universities, the Anglo-Indian officials are not affected thereby in any way; for their children are not educated in these institutions, and not a single white child or youth is deprived of the advantages of education by the limits imposed. It is, therefore, quite easy for the Anglo-Indian officials to insist upon ideal conditions of education in India.

But in England, which is a far richer country than India, we learn from the *London Times*, "one way of economising expenditure in the education department has been found by reverting to the old system of larger classes." This is because owing to the excessive war expenditure economy has to be exercised in all civil departments, including education. *The Times* says:

"In the bad old days, when classes numbered normally 70 or even 80 pupils, the wonder was how much good work was done. Teachers will rise to the occasion now as they did then, and they will have a satisfaction that was denied their predecessors; for in doing their work under distressing conditions they will be doing their part in the great effort the nation is making."

This is with respect to schools, where attention to the individual needs of pupils is more necessary than in Colleges. The financial condition of England is not more straitened in these war times, than is the chronic financial embarrassment of the people of India. Nor is India richer than England was in "the bad old days" of which the *Times* speaks. Yet here a rigid limit of 30 or 35 pupils per class is imposed on the size of school classes. If England's culture and prosperity could be built upon the foundation of those "bad old days" when classes numbered normally 70 or even 80 pupils, why is a cataclysm predicted if people complain of the inflexible limits in India?

The Principal of St. Andrew's College complains that in the Allahabad University (which is "not so bad as others in India"), it is frequently the case that a professor has to teach classes of from 50 to 60 students. In Calcutta and elsewhere professor has often to teach a class of 150 to 175 students. But can anybody assert or prove that, speaking generally, Bengal, Bombay or Madras graduates are worse educated than U. P. graduates?

Large classes do not in themselves imply inefficient education. "The Students' Hand-book to the University and Colleges of Cambridge, 1914-1915," tells us:

"A great part of University and college teaching consists of lectures, delivered to audiences varying from 10 to 300 students, under the formal conditions of the lecture room."

If in rich England and in such a superior seat of learning as Cambridge lectures to 300 students in one room are tolerated, why are classes of 50 or 60 or 150 in India considered unbearable?

As for "the specific needs of individual students," the older a student grows, the less individual care he ought to require. Prof. J. N. Fraser, editor of *Indian Education*, wrote in the March number of his journal:

Much is said of the need for individual teaching in colleges and of the impossibility of giving this to large numbers. We think it would be more sensible to recognise at once that individual teaching in colleges is neither possible nor desirable. The place for individual teaching is the school: a young man is not fit to go to college till he is able to stand alone. College lectures should, of course, be suitable to the average student, and the professor should spare no pains to be audible and intelligible, but it is not his business to spend time after his lectures explaining points to the densely stupid and ill-prepared. To impose this on him is simply to ruin all college ideals. The students on whom a professor may and should spend time are the able students, and it should be left to him which he chooses to cultivate. A professor should make it his business to start small societies for the benefit of these and try to get them to do a little original thinking. But to ask him to give monotonously a few minutes per week to every student—good, bad and indifferent—is to mistake the nature of college work and ideals.

If some students cannot understand and follow lectures, the remedy lies in improving the schools, and in appointing an adequate number of tutors to bestow individual care on the students, particularly the backward ones. It is easier to have large colleges and large classes and appoint a sufficient number of tutors than to establish and maintain a large number of small colleges with small classes. The New Regulations of the Universities, added to the official bias against high education, have practically put a stop to the foundation of new colleges. One rarely hears of one or two per annum in a country inhabited by 315 million persons, the vast majority of whom are illiterate. If the classes are also to be made small, that would mean the forcible prevention of the expansion of education.

We are opposed to "a prolongation of the school course," "with possibly some curtailment of the college period." We know what that "possibly," italicized by us, means. The prolongation of the school course, if officially agreed upon, would be sure to come, and the possibility of the curtailment of the college period would vanish. But that is not the main ground of our opposition. We oppose the proposal because few, if any, of our schools are fit to teach the intermediate course, and it is better for boys of 16 and over to be taught by

the professors of our colleges than by school teachers, though the latter are generally estimable men, and many very able, too.

An incorrect and misleading educational Assumption.

In official reports in India, the word "school" in such expressions as "school-going population" and "school-going age," is taken to include schools, colleges and universities. "The school-going population" means, in Indian official parlance, persons of both sexes who are actually receiving or are of an age to receive education in any kind of school or college or university; and it is in this sense that we shall use the expression in the present note. The question is, what proportion of the population may be taken to be of school-going age in the sense explained above? We are told in Mr. H. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912" that "the school-going population has been calculated in India as 15 per cent. of the population."

But the fixing of the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the total population is arbitrary and is an obvious underestimate. For we find that in many countries a much larger proportion of the population than 15 per cent. is receiving education in schools, colleges and universities. If 15 per cent. really represented the maximum population of school-going age, how could the actual number of persons under instruction in any country exceed this maximum? Moreover, in all countries which are educationally most progressive, year after year the number of pupils is increasing, showing that though their school-going population is now much more than 15 per cent. of their total population, they are far from having yet reached the possible maximum or enrolled in their educational institutions all persons of school-going age.

Let us now prove our assertion that in many countries more than 15 per cent. of the population are already at school, college and university. The figures for the United States of America will be quoted first. The table printed below is compiled from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, U. S. A., for the year ended June 30, 1913.

States	Per cent. enrolled in each grade of institutions.	Elementary	Secondary	Higher	Total
United States	19.45	1.40	37	21.22	
Maine	18.76	4.00	42	21.18	
Connecticut	19.61	1.64	43	21.68	
Michigan	19.87	1.69	47	22.03	
Wisconsin	19.57	1.66	53	21.76	
Minnesota	20.06	1.80	45	22.31	
Iowa	22.17	2.19	45	24.81	
Missouri	20.61	1.33	47	22.41	
North Dakota	21.06	1.26	31	22.57	
South Dakota	20.36	1.38	34	22.03	
Nebraska	22.23	2.12	64	21.99	
Kansas	21.75	2.05	50	24.30	
West Virginia	22.04	.76	24	23.04	
North Carolina	23.45	.89	26	24.60	
South Carolina	21.44	.75	34	22.53	
Georgia	20.89	.73	23	21.85	
Kentucky	22.58	.76	27	23.61	
Tennessee	24.83	1.00	28	26.11	
Mississippi	26.43	.69	16	27.28	
Arkansas	25.05	.66	11	25.82	
Oklahoma	23.97	.83	23	25.03	
Colorado	19.66	1.88	50	22.04	
Utah	22.97	2.24	32	25.53	
Idaho	22.57	1.65	25	24.47	

It will be seen from this table that *taking even the elementary grade by itself* these States have all an enrollment exceeding 15 per cent. of the population, some exceeding 25 per cent., and one having 26.43 per cent. It is only in the single State of Nevada that we find an enrollment of less than 15 per cent., every other state having more. Turning to the total enrollment, we find the State of Mississippi having so high a proportion of its entire population as 27.28 per cent. under instruction. So it is a glaring underestimate to take 15 per cent. of the total population of a country as the possible maximum of persons which it may send to school, college and university.

But we must not rest our case entirely on the educational statistics of the United States of America. The figures we are going to quote are taken from the U. S. A. Commissioner of Education's Report for 1913. "The latest statistics of *elementary schools* available for Norway pertain to the year 1909, at which time the enrollment was equivalent to 14.6 per cent. of the population." The percentage of the total population receiving *elementary education* is in

Austria 15.30, the German Empire 16.30, England and Wales 16.84, Scotland 17.74, Ireland 16.16, Holland 15.42, Cape of Good Hope 15.66, Natal 16.53, Al-

berta (Canada) 16.53, British Columbia 15.10, Manitoba 15.17, New Brunswick 19.66, Nova Scotia 21.12, Ontario 18.22, Quebec 21.13, New South Wales 15.13, Queensland 16.91, Victoria 17.86, and New Zealand 17.7.

These figures, which, it should be borne in mind, relate only to pupils in the elementary grade, are generally of the year 1911; none are later than 1912-13. Since then further progress must have been made. Among European countries the most backward is Russia; it is partly Asiatic. Its percentage for the elementary grade is 3.77. Among the large South American countries the percentage of Brazil is the lowest, being 2.96. But education is more widely spread even in these countries than in India. The figure for Japan, 1910-11, is 13.16, for elementary education alone. Marked progress has been made since then.

It is clear, then, that the Indian Education Department greatly underestimates the possible maximum of persons who may be under instruction in assuming it to be only 15 per cent. of the total population. As we have found that in one State of America the *actual* proportion of persons under instruction is 27.28 per cent. of the entire population, it would be nearer the truth to fix the possible maximum population of "school-going age" at 30 per cent. of the whole population.

Agriculture and Education.

The justification of the official assumption of 15 per cent. is found in the following words from Mr. H. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912," vol. I, p. 15:—

".....where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily shorter than under more complicated social conditions and the amount of education required is less."

Mr. Sharp is absolutely mistaken in thinking that an agricultural population requires little education or that their period of education is necessarily short. This baseless assumption shows astounding ignorance of or blindness to the facts of agricultural education in the United States of America and various other civilised countries, including England.

Let us take England first. The following institutions in England and Wales, according to Hazell's Annual, provide full courses of instruction in agricul-

ture and the allied sciences. They are of university rank, and the highest courses can lead up to a degree; the period of education is, therefore, not short. Courses of a less advanced character are also provided at them.

Oxford University; Cambridge University; Victoria University, Manchester; University College of North Wales; Leeds University; Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne; University College of Wales; University College, Reading; South-Eastern Agricultural College, Wye, Kent.

Courses more or less complete, but not leading up to a degree, are held at six other Colleges. In addition, there are many institutions which either give general agricultural instruction of a less advanced character or confine themselves to some particular branch. There are also a number of agricultural or farm institutes.

In the United States of America, where a larger number of persons depend on agricultural pursuits for their livelihood than on any other single class of occupations, there are sixty-nine Universities and Colleges teaching agriculture. Of these 17 are for coloured students, i. e., Negroes and mixed races. Surely if the Negroes of America, who were until some 50 years ago, savages in a state of slavery, require universities to teach them agriculture, it cannot be said to be axiomatic that the period of education among an agricultural population is *necessarily* shorter than among others, or that the amount of education required by agriculturists is less than what is required by others. It should be borne in mind that the American universities and colleges which teach agriculture are in addition to the numerous elementary and secondary schools which have the same object in view. In 1912-13, the number of agricultural high schools in the United States was about 2,300. The number of elementary agricultural schools was very much greater. We refrain from quoting figures for other civilised countries. The curious reader is referred to the Report of the U. S. A. Commissioner of Education.

If it be said that an agricultural population may require agricultural education, but not general literary education, we reply that agricultural education, whether elementary, secondary or collegiate, implies literary education, and that the Indian Education Department has made an ab-

surdly inadequate provision for the agricultural education of the people. In all advanced countries, the period of agricultural education is, from the elementary grades to the finishing of the university courses, generally quite as long as that of any other kind of education.

We may, however, be met with the objection that though the agricultural population may require agricultural education together with what literary education may be needed for the purpose, among the general population of a mainly agricultural country, including agriculturists, the possible maximum of scholars must be low. We shall now dispose of this argument.

According to the Statesman's Year Book, 1914, of the total *active* population of France numbering 20,720,879 in 1906, the largest number, viz., 8,777,053 had agriculture and forestry as their occupation; the next largest class, those engaged in manufacturing industries, numbered 5,979,215. So France is largely an agricultural country. But here out of the total population of over 39 millions, 6,336,241 scholars, or about 16 per cent., are enrolled in infant, primary and higher schools alone, leaving out of calculation colleges and universities. Thus in this mainly agricultural country, the Indian Education Department's possible maximum of scholars of all grades has been exceeded in schools alone.

Canada exports agricultural produce of far greater value than any other class of goods. Its dominant agricultural character is, therefore, undoubted. Still, the pupils in the elementary schools of all its provinces number much more than fifteen per cent. of the total population.

For example, "Nova Scotia is largely an agricultural province." (Statesman's Year Book, 1914, p. 276.) But the elementary scholars there form 21.12 per cent. of the whole population.

"Although manufactures have increased tremendously of recent years...agriculture is still the predominant industry of the United States, employing nearly half of the workers, and probably giving subsistence to considerably more than half of the people of the country." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 639.) Nevertheless we have seen that in that country the pupils in elementary grades alone form 19.45 per cent. of the whole popu-

lation. The State of Mississippi is mainly an agricultural State. But the pupils in its elementary schools form 26.43 per cent., and scholars in all grades of its institutions form 27.28 per cent. of its whole population. "The principal industry of Minnesota is agriculture" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*), but it is a highly educated State. Missouri is "an agricultural State" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*) but is highly educated. Iowa stands "pre-eminently as an agricultural State" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*) but it is an enlightened State. In Nebraska "agriculture is not only the chief industry but is also the foundation of the commerce and manufactures of the State;" but in spite of Mr. Sharp's authoritative dictum, it is an enlightened State. And so on and so forth.

Lastly, we learn from Whitaker's Almanac for 1915 that "Ireland is essentially an agricultural country." But, nevertheless, its elementary scholars alone form 16.16 per cent. of its population.

We hope we have shown conclusively that "where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily" not "shorter than under more complicated social conditions, and the amount of education required is" not "less."

There is one unanswerable argument which we can recommend for the use of Indian educational officials in defence of the position that Indians require less education and a briefer period of education than other peoples and that consequently 15 per cent. of the total population is the possible maximum of the Indian "school-going" population. That argument is, "India is India."

"A shame to any nation."

In one of its recent Educational Supplements the London *Times* draws attention to the alarming fact that in Great Britain nearly twenty lakhs of children are allowed to grow up without any education, and regards the consequences as serious. Five lakhs of these children are between the ages of 12 and 14 and the remainder are between 14 and 17. The Consultative Committee in their report of 1909 observed that "at the most critical period in their lives a very large majority of the boys and girls in England and Wales are left without any sufficient guidance and care." The consequences are

national inefficiency and injuries to character; and the *Times* observes: "These facts are a shame to any nation."

The population of British India is 24,29,88,947. Fifteen per cent. of this figure, i.e., 3,64,48,342, represents the population of "school-going age" according to the official assumption, which we have shown to be a ridiculously low estimate. Only 74,48,419 are under instruction, leaving 2,89,99,923 without any education. We suppose this is at least as great a shame as the ignorance of 20 lakhs of British children.

The official estimate of 15 per cent. as the population of "school-going" age is wrong. The correct figure is somewhere near 30 per cent. Therefore in British India the maximum number of persons who may be under instruction is 8 crores or 80 millions, of whom only 74 lakhs or 7 and a half millions are under instruction, leaving more than 72 millions in ignorance.

"Secondary Education for All."

The remedy suggested by the *Times*, of course for Great Britain, is "secondary education for all." It says: "If we are to face the future with any confidence after this exhausting war, we must face it as an educated people. We shall not be able to afford to waste the efficiency of a single English child." It declares itself against mere primary education, as "it merely supplies uncorrelated knowledge leading nowhere." In the opinion of this prominent British journal, there should be preparatory education up to the age of eleven years, "and from that age onwards there should be in every school in the land compulsory secondary education for every child, given by teachers who have received a secondary training and, in ever-increasing numbers, a university training." For "there is no more appalling fact in our national economy than the waste of that supreme natural product—the child."

Cheap education.

While we admire, and earnestly desire that wherever possible there should be, good school buildings and the best school furniture appliances and apparatus, we hold equally emphatically that nowhere should children be denied the advantages of education owing to the absence of these external requisites or to their being not up to the ideal standard. In the first half of

the 19th century, before the establishment of the Universities in India, the educational authorities were more reasonable than they are at present. In his very useful and interesting Bengali work on "The Hindus and Education," Lieutenant-colonel U. N. Mukherji, M. D., I. M. S.⁴ (retired), quotes the following observations of a European Inspector of Schools from one of the early Bengal Educational Reports :—

"The apparatus now universal in Europe is only just appearing in vernacular schools, and I believe never will be used extensively. It is the genius of the Hindus to obtain great results by apparently inadequate means. No person watches the Dacca weavers or goldsmiths or shell-workers without astonishment. The loom from which the most beautiful patterns woven in transparent Muslin are produced appears to European eyes a rickety frame of bamboo splints. The silversmiths make a little hole in the ground and quickly metamorphose a rupee into a beautiful brooch. The shell-worker, with the aid of a circular saw and a sharp nail, transforms a pretty shell into a set of bracelets, whose graceful curves and tracery extort admiration even from English jewellers.....From these and such-like indications, I believe that our schools will produce good results with very imperfect apparatus. Even now in some schools, a round earthen pot, costing one farthing, serves for a globe; a black board is made of a mat stiffened with bamboo splints and well plastered with cow's dung. The brown surface thus produced answers all the requirements of a black board. If the walls of the school house are made of mud, and washed, as is usual in Hindu houses, with cow's dung, the whole wall serves as a black board, and can be renewed every other day. I expect to see the time when these brown surfaces will be universal in Bengali school rooms. The boys who draw maps make their own ink from charcoal, and paint from jungle plants. They also glaze the maps by rubbing them with a smooth stone." Pp. 655-656 of "*Hindu-jati o Siksha*."

Some time ago a European Inspector of Schools in Bengal issued a circular that all schools in his jurisdiction (including village schools) must purchase blackboards from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. !

Commercialism and Oriental Studies.

When we first heard of the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies, we thought it was intended to promote Oriental learning and a knowledge of Oriental culture and civilisation. But it seems we are mistaken, as the following Reuter's telegram would appear to show :—

Presiding at the first meeting of the Governors of the School of Oriental Studies, the Cabinet Minister Mr. Henderson, emphasised the hope that the school would play an important part in the reconstruction of commerce and industry by assisting Britain to secure and control the sources of raw material and

open new markets in Africa and the East. He hoped that the school would become the centre of research to which learned Indians and Egyptians would turn for guidance in their studies.

The commercial motive is seldom absent from the thoughts of Occidental people. We will give an example or two. When in 1813, on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, it was debated in the House of Commons whether Christian Missionaries should be allowed freely to preach Christianity in India and convert the natives, the evidence of many prominent Anglo-Indian witnesses was taken. Warren Hastings, who was one of them, said :—

"He also remembered a Catholic priest who resided near Dacca and had about him a large flock of men whom he called Christians. But they were Christians only in name and dress, and the priest was ignorant of the common language of the country. On hearing this allusion to the dress of the converts some members from the manufacturing districts enquired whether the clothes they wore were of European manufacture, and Mr Hastings replied that he had never seen them," &c.

In 1820, when the Rev. Mr. Ward of Serampore was on a visit to England, he wrote a letter on the education of the people of India to Mr. J. C. Villiers, at that time a minister of the British Government, in expectation of some grant in aid of missionary education. Here is an extract from the letter.

"At present the Hindoos of the middle ranks, not to speak of the lower, want nothing which can be supplied from England; sixty millions of subjects requiring not one article from the governing country. Improve their faculties, they will then learn in how many ways they may increase their rational enjoyments; their industry will hence be stimulated to procure them :"—.....

Of course from England !

The Representation of India.

It is seldom that in any consultative imperial gathering, whether political or non-political in character, the representation of India is thought of, though India is the biggest unit of the British Empire and the principal passive cause of its prosperity. But when the question of the representation of India does arise or is discussed, it is taken for granted that an Englishman chosen by Englishmen would be a fit representative of Indians ! For instance, it was cabled to India some time ago that the "Indian" representatives at the imperial council of commerce were :

Sir E. Cadle and Messrs. C. McLeod and T. McMorran (Bengal) ; Sir Hugh Fraser and Mr. A.



Some of the Men, Women, and Children after the conflagration in village Tiluri.

J. Yorke (Madras); Sir James Walker and Mr. H. Chalmers (Panjab); Sir A. Binning and Mr. C. Finlley (Burma); Sir Alexander McRobert (Upper India), and Mr. G. M. Gordon (Aden).

Can Englishmen imagine that a Japanese chosen by Japanese would be a proper representative for them? True, the British are an independent people and we are not. But the fact of independence or dependence cannot alter the natural fitness of things. Either allow us to choose our representatives, or let us remain unrepresented; do not pretend to believe that we are represented when it is only the British bureaucrats and exploiters in India who are represented by their nominees. To speak of India being represented by such persons is ridiculous, and undiluted nonsense. *The Review of Reviews* gives the Indian point of view in a mild way in the following paragraph:—

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE CABINET.

Mr. Sydney Low has been interviewed regarding what should be done about giving India representation in "the Empire Cabinet," the formation of which he advocates for conducting Imperial affairs, as distinguished from the domestic affairs of these isles. He admits that India's war services entitle her to be taken into full partnership with the Dominions. He considers, however, that India cannot be allowed representation on the basis of population, for that would swamp the United Kingdom and Dominions, the inhabitants of India numbering two and one-half

times as many as those of the whole British Empire without her. Mr. Low frowns upon the inclusion of Indians elected by their countrymen, and also upon the concession of self-government to India. He thinks that the presence of the Secretary of State for India in the Empire Cabinet would be quite sufficient.

But in order to give satisfaction surely it would be better that one or more Indians, elected by Indians and not selected by Anglo-Indians, nor even "elected" by a packed official majority, should be included in the Cabinet. We cannot very well concede that Indians are fit to help us govern the Empire without giving them power to govern themselves. The problem is certainly complicated, but the monopolist instinct in us should not be allowed to dictate its solution. The war has given us a splendid opportunity to give concessions to Indians that they ought to have had long ere this. It is satisfactory to note that, while India's claims are being discussed, from all sources comes the news that Indians are continuing to do yeoman service to help us to win the war. Soldiers, munitions, and subscriptions to war funds are being constantly given to Britain.

Famine in Bankura.

On account of the rains, the number of persons in receipt of gratuitous relief from the private agencies engaged in the work of alleviating the distress, has to some extent decreased. But the decrease is only temporary. In 3 or 4 weeks the work of transplanting rice seedlings will be over, and the laborers in the fields will be again out of work. We are receiving very few donations now. We



A View of Village Tiluri (Bankura) after the conflagration

do hope, those who can will continue to help the poor sufferers for a few months more. We are so comfortable in our remoteness from the homes (when they have any) of the hungry, half-clad, shelterless people, that when occasionally the news of their condition comes to us freighted with woe, we remain comparatively unmoved. Out of sight is out of mind. Our sympathies ought to be quick, even though they be painful. It is not well for us to shut our hearts, our minds, and our consciences against the woful plight of an entire impoverished and hungry district.

We wrote in our last number of the large village of Tiluri being almost entirely destroyed by fire. Out of about 1600 houses, nearly 1100 were reduced to ashes. The photographs here reproduced were recently taken for the Bankura Sammilani.

Absenteeism and Poverty.

Bankura is the poorest district in Bengal, because the soil is not very fertile, and

because facilities for irrigation, natural or artificial, are almost absent. But there is another cause of its poverty. We learn from the official District Gazetteer that the greater part of Bankura is now under large non-resident proprietors, such as the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, Kumar Rameswar Malia, and the Raja of Pachet, the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan owning about half the district. This absenteeism means that the wealth produced in Bankura goes out of the district to a great extent and is spent outside its limits. This system of absentee landlords is to blame, not any particular persons who may be the proprietors for the time being. Still they are not without responsibilities, which, though not legal, are morally binding. Though the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan owns about half the district, he has contributed, so far as we are aware, only a paltry sum of Rs. 2500 for famine relief. He and his ancestors have received millions of rupees from Bankura; but the Burdwan Raj does

not maintain a single college, school, hospital, orphanage, or charitable dispensary in the district; nor do we know of a single tank, canal, or well, excavated by the Raj for the people. We shall be glad to learn that we have been misinformed.

It seems to us an irony of fate that the producers of food are the first to suffer from the scarcity of food, while others who neither sow nor spin, live in comfort and luxury. It is an unnatural arrangement, and the day is sure to come when the tiller of the soil will alone be the proprietor of the soil.

The Pacification of Ireland.

In Ireland, most probably on account of the great war that is raging, British statesmen seem to recognise, though a little too late to prevent bloodshed, that conciliation by the meeting of just demands is an immediate necessity. It seems to have dawned on the minds of all parties now, that if Home Rule had been granted before the out-break of the war, or if at any rate the Irish people had been absolutely sure that they would have it after the war, there would not have been any Irish rebellion. So cabinet ministers are settling the details of the measure with a view to grant it as early as practicable.

Freedom is so natural and so precious, and beyond compare, that we shall rejoice when the Irish obtain Home Rule, though we are not they and they are not we.

Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

A discussion is going on in the press as to who should be elected president of the Indian National Congress this year. Several names have been mentioned. We think it should be ascertained by cable whether, if elected, Mr. Lajpat Rai can come to India in December next. If he can come, he should be elected president. If he cannot come, either Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Achariar or Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar should be elected. Among the Mahomedan names suggested Mr. Mazhar-al-Haque is fit to be elected president, but as he is comparatively young, and junior as a congress-worker to the gentlemen named above, he may have his turn afterwards. As for the Imam brothers, let the public have the opportunity to know them as congress-workers for some time, and then the question of their election may be raised.

The U. P. Municipalities Act.

There is recent precedent for the Viceroy withholding his assent to a Bill passed by a provincial legislature. Assent was not given to the Punjab Canal Colonies Bill and the Orissa Tenancy Bill. But in spite of Hindu opposition all over the United Provinces,—all over India, in fact—Lord Chelmsford has given his assent to the U. P. Municipalities Bill, which now becomes an Act, driving a wedge between Hindus and Mahomedans. This is a bad beginning for the Viceroy to make. But all those Musalmans and Hindus who love India must strive their best to love and respect one another and co-operate with one another in the national cause in spite of measures like the Morley-Minto "Reform Scheme" and this latest U. P. Act. This does not mean that we are to accept these dividing barriers as settled facts. We are irreconcilably opposed to them and must go on using against them the weapons of sober reason and indisputable facts, till they are battered down. Let there not be the least trace of bitterness in the hearts or mutual dealings of patriotic Hindus and patriotic Mahomedans on account of these things.

Communal Representation not a Source of Strength.

So far as we are aware, it is only in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire that there is any communal representation. *But there the number of representatives in the Diet is fixed according to the number of the inhabitants professing each religion, representation in excess of their numbers is not granted to the followers of any religion, and communal representation is granted, not to one favoured sect only, but to each and all.* In these two Austro-Hungarian provinces, in the town councils, too, a proportionate number of councillors represent each religious community; there is no favoured religious community. But though the scheme is so far fair and impartial, neither the Austro-Hungarian Empire, nor the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be said to be ideally free, prosperous and strong.

It is not very creditable for British statesmanship to have to go to two backward provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for models for legislation. It is

said the latest Press Act in India was forged after an Austrian model. But if we are to have Austrian or Bosnian legislation in India, the whole model ought to be exactly copied, and not merely the retrograde parts of it. For instance, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Diet or representative body is chosen by universal suffrage. There is nothing like it in India. Out of 92 members of the Diet, 72 are thus elected and only 20 nominated. Such is not the case in either the Imperial or the provincial councils in India. In the town councils two-thirds of the councillors are elected by the citizens. This is not the case throughout India. In the diet and the town councils each and every community has representatives. This is not the case in India. Besides, in the law courts, the assessors vote equally with the judges, and three votes decide the verdict. This is not the case everywhere in India. Education for boys and girls between the ages of seven and fifteen is free. This is not the case in India.

Of course, our opinion is that as regards communal representation the Austrian model ought not to have been followed at all, either wholly or in part. But as it has been copied, the partially redeeming features ought not to have been left out.

Though an effort has been made by Austria to treat each religious community on the credal basis as a distinct unit in other matters also besides representation, the result has not been satisfactory. We learn from the "Encyclopædia Britannica" that "considerable bitterness prevails between the rival confessions, each aiming at political ascendancy, but the government favours none." If the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy desire such a state of things, let the separatist policy be followed all over India to the minutest detail. But let not the patriots of any religious community dance to the Anglo-Indian tune.

An Empire to be strong should be strong in every part. But as a house divided against itself cannot stand, so communal representation, *particularly when it is given only to one community and in excess of its numerical proportion*, cannot conduce to the strength of any part of the Empire. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy look at the matter only from one point of view. They perhaps think that Hindus and Mahomedans pitted against

each other cannot offer united opposition to bureaucratic absolutism and win civic rights by united effort. But there is also the other side, namely, that in the hour of need Government cannot have the united, whole-hearted, and, consequently, strong support of the whole of India. Weak opposition means also weak support.

The lesson for patriots is that we must attain national solidarity inspite of all unfavourable circumstances.

Lord Kitchener's Death.

The death of Lord Kitchener is a great loss. Had he died in 1914 or even 1915, the loss would have been much greater than it is now. For at the time when he left England on a visit to Russia, he had, by his uncommon energy, extraordinary administrative capacity, and great powers of organisation, succeeded in creating a bigger army than Great Britain ever possessed. And the British people being independent, and there being room for all capable persons to develop their ability to the full, there can be no gap created by death in the ranks of their leading men which cannot be filled. There may not be another Kitchener to succeed him, but Mr. Lloyd George, one may be sure, will not be a failure as War Minister.

Internments.

The internment of many persons, including a large proportion of students, is creating great resentment and bitterness in Bengal. Those who are thus deprived of their liberty are not told what their offence is, and they cannot therefore make any representation to disprove the charges brought against them. In the last resort, Government are guided by police evidence in thus punishing men. Even if police evidence were better than it is, it would be dangerous to be guided solely by it in depriving men of their freedom. India is no doubt a part of the British Empire, which is at war, but a state of war does not prevail in India itself. There is no crisis or emergency here to necessitate the punishment of men without trial. If Government will not give up internments, let the interned at least be told what the charges are against them and be allowed to make representations. The Government executive officer or officers entrusted with the duty of deciding who are to be interned should have

associated with them an equal number of barrister judges of the Calcutta High Court.

The case of the interned students is particularly distressing. Those among them who are perfectly innocent and their relatives cannot but feel that great wrong is being unjustly, though unintentionally, inflicted on them. A ruined career gives rise to deep-seated resentment and bitterness. This fact ought to be taken into consideration. The spirit and temper which led Sir Edward Baker to declare in the council chamber that he was not afraid of driving sedition under ground, are unstatesman-like. It is a mistake to think, as the successors of Sir Edward found, that the resentment of the weak cannot produce evil consequences.

An Anglo-Indian contemporary observed a few weeks ago that the policy of internment had found ample vindication and justification in the fact of the cessation of political dacoities and similar outrages. This so-called fact, however, is not a fact. But even if it were, what is the value of the temporary cessation of a particular kind of offences, owing to the punishment of a considerable number of persons without trial? Such a method of punishment cannot but victimise many innocent persons. It is a wise and humane legal maxim which says that it is better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent person should be punished. Order is preserved not so much by the laws as by public opinion being enlisted on their side. And public opinion is certainly against the policy of internment.

The Indian Women's University.

The preliminary formalities in connection with the Indian Women's University have now been gone through. The Fellows have been duly elected, and the University has found a worthy Chancellor in the person of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who is rightly held in reverence for his deep and extensive scholarship and his high character and piety. The Mahila Vidyalaya at Hingne Budruk, Poona, which has been doing excellent work for years, has been affiliated to the new university. The Indian Women's University is a genuine national university, not owing its origin to any external suggestion, or its existence to any official help. It is sure to do much good to the women of Maharashtra, and

may lead to the establishment of similar institutions in other parts of India. As in this university some of the higher knowledge of modern times will have to be imparted to the students through the medium of Marathi, it will enrich Marathi literature. This will indirectly help in the indigenous culture of the male population, too.

It has been observed that many vernacular literatures in India are enriched by translation from other more advanced vernacular literatures. This shows that the enrichment of the educational literature of Maharashtra is expected to exercise a beneficial influence on other vernacular literatures in India.

The Mysore Economic Conference.

The Mysore Economic Conference is an institution of which that progressive state and its energetic, able and enthusiastic Dewan may well be proud. As the *Mysore Patriot* points out—

It is nearly five years ago since this conference came into existence. A great impetus has been given to the promotion of education in the province. Primary Education has been made compulsory in more than 27 towns. Before long it will be made compulsory throughout the State. Arrangements are being made to give life to industrial education. The Chamarajendra Technical Institute, the Mechanical Engineering School, Bangalore, and the Workshops in Mysore and Bangalore bid fare to become centres where useful employment can be given to the unemployed and where the lessons of self-help and self-reliance can be taught. Special attention is paid to the education of girls and women, both literary and industrial. Attention is paid also to commercial education, and the Commercial Classes in Mysore and Bangalore may, in the fulness of time, develop themselves into commercial colleges. The curricula of studies both industrial and literary have been revised. The education of the depressed classes has not been left unattended to. The Panchama Boarding School, Mysore, is a monument of the generosity of His Highness' Government in the matter. The education of adults is being well cared for. The night schools, the continuation schools, the organisation of lectures, the public libraries, the village libraries, the reading rooms, speak volumes on the progressive education policy of the Mysore Government. The establishment of the Mysore University may be regarded as a crown of glory to His Highness the Maharaja.

The Industries and Commerce Committee has been doing a lot of good work. Special impetus has been given to the industries and trades at Chanapatana, Davanagere, Tiptur, Mysore City, etc. The Tanning Industry at Bangalore has been encouraged. The prospects of establishing a match factory have been improving. The distillation of sandal-wood oil has been going on. Encouragement has been given to hand-loom weaving and rice-hulling. Glass and bangle-manufacture has been encouraged at Tharikere. An improved method of making jaggery has

been introduced. The Co-operative and State Banking have been attended to.

Labour-saving machines, agricultural and industrial, are being gradually made to prepare paper-pulp from bamboos. A large number of bulletins about different industries have been published. A number of experiments in different kinds of agriculture and industries is going on and as soon as the results of these experiments are found to be profitable companies will be created, capital will be supplied and work will be started. A large number of experts on agriculture, industries, arts and crafts, are already in the field and a large number of people have been trying to become experts in many of the minor industries, arts and crafts. The whole province has been throbbing with industrial activity.

The Mysore Dewan's Speech.

The opening address of the Dewan of Mysore Sir M. Visvesvarayya at the last Economic Conference shows how that eminent statesman has grasped all the factors that go to make an enlightened, strong, healthy and prosperous people. As his speech is not verbose, it is difficult to give an idea of it without quoting it in extenso. The Mysore Economic Conference is doing work which ought to rouse emulation in the other Indian States and in British India. The following comparison, taken from the Dewan's speech is instructive :

A few weeks ago we all read a Reuter's telegram which stated that the Commonwealth of Australia possessed property valued at £1,000 millions or Rs. 1,500 crores. Rough calculations indicate that the total value of property in Mysore, excluding the gold mines, amounts to about Rs. 125 crores. This disparity will seem particularly striking when it is remembered that the population of Australia is only 5 millions against our 6 millions in Mysore. The value of farm produce calculated per head of population in Australia is estimated at Rs. 138 and including dairying, pastoral produce, etc., at Rs. 351; in Mysore the corresponding figure is Rs. 24. In industries and manufactures Australia produces articles valued at Rs. 171 per head and Mysore only Rs. 7 per head. The value of the total production of Australia comes to Rs. 621 per head as against Rs. 31 or about twenty times that of Mysore. In Australia again there are 3 acres of cultivated land per head of population against 1 acre per head in Mysore. Notwithstanding this, the Australians are not content with agriculture, but are devoting special attention to the expansion of industries.

The estimated total trade of Mysore amounts to Rs. 26 per head and that of Australia to Rs. 405 per head. Formerly Mysore was fairly self-contained in regard to the small necessities of the people, such as clothing, building material, etc., but, owing to increase of communications and keen foreign competition, we get most of our supplies from outside at lower rates than we can manufacture locally with our crude hand labour. A large number of our people have, in consequence, lost their former occupations and been driven to agriculture.

If you take the figures for education it will be seen,

as I have so often said before, that the percentage of the literate population in Mysore is about 8 while in progressive countries it is over 80. The calculated average duration of life of the people of Mysore is 25 years and that of the people of progressive countries 45. The low level of education is the cause, and the shortened lives the effect of the low productive power and the low standard of living in the country.

We badly need a similar comparative statement with regard to the other Indian States and the British provinces. We are afraid few of them will have a better tale to tell.

Coming to the remedies the Dewan observed :—

We must spread sound ideas of economic progress among our people. They should come to know that their economic vitality, it entirely dependent on agriculture will always remain low ; that local wants should be supplied as far as possible with local labour and that the combination of agriculture and manufacture will make larger demands on the energy and skill of the people, and will therefore contribute to the maintenance of a higher civilization. Advanced countries copy one another's progressive methods and inventions, but our people are not yet fully awakened to follow their examples. A persistent effort is needed to train the people to cultivate an enquiring turn of mind and alter their ideals and habits of thought from a fatalistic to an economic basis. We must seek economic salvation through work, skilled work and organised work. The prosperity of the country will reach its high water mark only when large numbers of people have begun to work in unison for their mutual benefit, when their hours of daily toil approximate more closely to those of progressive peoples, when every one capable of earning is at work, and the number of the inefficient and the idle is reduced to a minimum.

"The Hindusthanee Student."

The Hindusthanee Student is a very useful and bright monthly magazine published by our students in America. As the annual subscription for India is only Rs. 4-8, we hope many of our readers will subscribe for it. We receive many enquiries regarding American universities. This monthly furnishes the kind of information required. The address is 114, West Newton Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A. As most of our students in America are self-supporting and the magazine has only a small circulation, they want a permanent fund of Rs. 7000, to which we hope our readers will contribute. The Chinese students in America have an organ of their own, but that is helped by the Chinese Government and the Y. M. C. A. Contributions are to be sent to Narayan S. Hardikar, Chairman, Hindusthanee Student Fund, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U. S. A.

The repeal of the Press Act is demanded by Indian journals all over India. Public meetings have also been held in Madras, Bombay and other big towns to emphasise the same demand and to denounce the abuse of its provisions. Ostensively meant to crush the propaganda of terrorism, political assassination and the cult of violence in general, it has been used for very different purposes. It ought to be repealed. It is so inclusive and elastic that it is impossible for any honest and self-respecting journalist not to feel that whatever he might write he would be guilty of a technical offence.

As the word Government is defined in the Indian Penal Code to denote "the person or persons authorised by law to administer executive government in any part of India," Lord Curzon was "government," and Lord Hardinge also was "government." But the former partitioned Bengal and the latter annulled the measure. Many of those who went to jail in course of the anti-partition agitation wanted to do no more than what Lord Hardinge subsequently did. Yet these men were punished as criminals, and Lord Hardinge was a great statesman. The irony of the Press Act lies in requiring us to worship both Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge, though what one did, the other undid.

One can understand ordinary penal legislation, for theft is always theft. But to feel that you are not infringing the Press Act, you must at one time say that Lord Curzon was an angel as he partitioned Bengal and then afterwards say that Lord Hardinge, too, was an angel as he undid the partition; for both the Lords were "government" according to the legal definition, and you must not bring either into contempt.

The Act takes it for granted that every one who wishes to start business as a printer and every one who wishes to publish a newspaper is a possible criminal and it is as a matter of favour that any printer or publisher commencing business is exempted from depositing security. This fact is a source of constant irritation and humiliation to a considerable number of men, who may be presumed to have some self-respect.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins showed in his

judgment in the *Comrade* case that there is practically no remedy against any executive action taken under the provisions of the Act, and that any piece of writing may be under its operations, so ingenious. It is this piece of legislative feature. Its vagueness is its worst innocent piece of writing, degrading for a writer to always write, that even the most indite, he is able to do, that he may right enjoyed by a free man, that he may is mercifully suffered to do by some matter of tive authority.

The Act poisons the source of all honest and truthful writing, and indirectly affects honest thinking, too. It makes men think of the cunning devices by which its provisions may be evaded. In this way it saps the foundations of manhood.

Literature at its best is the complete self-expression of the highest manhood and highest womanhood. Where there is a Press Act like the one that has been forged for us, the growth of such literature is impossible. Therefore the Act is the most injurious piece of legislation on the statute book, and no effort should be spared to get it repealed.

Filipino Independence.

In the United States House of Representatives the Clarke amendment to the Jones Philippines Bill provided that after four years the Philippines should have independence. In its stead the House has passed, by a vote of 251 to 17, the original Jones Bill, which gives the Filipinos a larger measure of home rule, and reaffirms the purpose of the United States to grant them independence in due time.

Revival of Shipping needed.

In concluding his lantern lecture in Darjeeling on Indian Shipping before Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Carmichael and a distinguished audience, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee said :

Before I resume my seat, I may be permitted to express a hope that this Indian Shipping of which I have given Your Excellency some account to-night and which played such a considerable part in the history of India, in the development of its commerce and the spread of its civilization may be revived under the aegis of the British rule by the establishment of a dockyard for the building of ships and of naval schools and colleges for the training of the necessary men. The Indian navy and mercantile marine, thus revived, will, it may be hoped, form an

important link in the chain of the Imperial Navy which binds together the remotest parts of the British Empire and has secured for it the command of the seas. India, My Lord, has a right to contribute to the naval defence and strength of the Empire, and there is no reason why her abundant maritime resources both in men and material should not be developed to relieve the Imperial Navy of a part of its heavy burden in respect of the defence of her home waters.

In thanking Lord Carmichael Dr. Brajendranath Seal observed :—

The story of Indian colonial and commercial enterprise has been long known, but Dr. Mookerjee's valuable researches have brought out prominently the fact that these colonies and these markets in foreign lands were built up with the aid of an indigenous mercantile marine, and not with the help of foreign shipping, as used to be absurdly assumed. Our lascars, then, represent ancient and hardy sailor stocks, and, given proper training and opportunities, they may yet prove to be a valuable asset to the British Empire as the martial races have shown themselves to be.

It is unquestionable that our ship-building industry and maritime enterprise require to be revived. But those who know how and why during the East India Company's regime our ship-building industry decayed and disappeared will also expect that even if the Government of India resolve to come to our aid they will have a tough fight with the British ship-builders and ship-owners.

As for a Navy, we do not expect to have one before winning home rule.

Our Lascar Seamen.

A fine tribute, says *India*, was paid to Lascar seamen in the course of an article in the "Manchester Guardian" of May 12 on the "fighting" Clan liners. The writer describes how three ships of the fleet, the "Clan Lindsay," the "Clan Macfadyen," and the "Clan Macfadyen," have defended themselves against German attacks at sea, in two cases with the happiest results, and says:

It is common knowledge that German "frightfulness" on the high seas has in no degree deterred British seamen from carrying on the work of the country. On this point it is well to remember that the crews of these three fighting Clan liners have all been Lascars, and their officers say that in the engagements the men have shown not the slightest sign of fear or panic.

The Paper Industry.

We are glad to learn from the *Leader* that Prof. N. C. Nag of Agra College and Prof. Saligram of Muir Central College have succeeded in their experiment in making a bleaching liquid for the paper mill in Lucknow. We hope they will succeed in manufacturing it on a commercial scale. Then the paper mills in India will be able to overcome the difficulty caused by the discontinuance of the importation of bleaching powder into India because of the war.

The War and Indian Educational Appointments.

In "Indian Education in 1914-15" Mr. Sharp describes some of the effects of the war on education in India. The third effect enumerated by him is, "great difficulty has naturally arisen in recruiting professors and inspectors from England." But we do not see why there should be any difficulty in obtaining good professors, unless there be a firm determination that Indians in general and Bengalis in particular must be excluded from the Indian Educational Service. We know only a few of the recent distinguished Indian graduates of British and other European Universities; we do not know even all such Bengali graduates. But among the few we know, we can name 3 or 4 D. Sc.'s of London, 2 D. Sc.'s of Edinburgh, 2 Ph. D.'s of Berlin, and 2 first class honors men of Cambridge, who are not at all inferior in academic distinction to the European members of the Indian Educational Service, particularly to those recently recruited. Why are not these distinguished graduates given suitable appointments in their own country? We know some three or four Indians have been appointed to the I.E.S., but that serves only to prevent the universal proposition being laid down that our students are wholly excluded from it. These few appointments cannot be characterised as a just recognition of their claims and merit.

ERRATA

The page numbers from 727 to 742 should read 25,26, &c., to 40.

Page 3, column 2, line 22, for *parades read* paraded, and line 55, for *garbs read* garb.

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• MY REMINISCENCES •

• BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(24) *Ahmedabad.*

WHEN the *Bharati* entered upon its second year, my second brother proposed to take me to England; and when my father gave his consent, this further unmasked favour of providence came on me as a surprise.

As a first step I accompanied my brother to Ahmedabad where he was posted as judge. My sister-in-law with her children was then in England, so the house was practically empty.

The Judge's house is known as *Shahibagh* and was a palace of the Badshahs of old. At the foot of the wall supporting a broad terrace flowed the thin summer stream of the Savarmati river along one edge of its ample bed of sand. My brother used to go off to his court, and I would be left all alone in the vast expanse of the palace, with only the cooing of the pigeons to break the midday stillness; and an unaccountable curiosity kept me wandering about the empty rooms.

Into the niches in the wall of a large chamber my brother had put his books. One of these was a gorgeous edition of Tennyson's works, with big print and numerous pictures. The book, for me, was as silent as the palace, and, much in the same way I wandered among its picture plates. Not that I could not make anything of the text, but it spoke to me more like inarticulate cooings than words. In my brother's library I also found a book of collected Sanscrit poems edited by Dr. Haberlin and printed at the old Serampore press. This was also beyond my

understanding but the sonorous Sanscrit words, and the march of the metre, kept me tramping among the *Amaru Shataka* poems to the mellow roll of their drum-call.

In the upper room of the palace tower was my lonely hermit cell, my only companions being a nest of wasps. In the unrelieved darkness of the night I slept there alone. Sometimes a wasp or two would drop off their nest on to my bed, and if perchance I happened to roll on one, the meeting was displeasing to the wasp and keenly discomforting to me.

On moonlight nights pacing round and round the extensive terrace overlooking the river was one of my caprices. It was while so doing that I first composed my own tunes for my songs. The song addressed to the Rose-maiden was one of these, and it still finds a place in my published works.

Finding how imperfect was my knowledge of English I set to work reading through some English books with the help of a dictionary. From my earliest years it was my habit not to let any want of complete comprehension interfere with my reading on, quite satisfied with the structure which my imagination reared on the bits which I understood here and there. I am reaping even to-day both the good and bad effects of this habit.

(25) *England.*

After six months thus spent in Ahmedabad we started for England. In an unlucky moment I began to write letters about my journey to my relatives and to the *Bharati*. Now it is beyond my power to call them

back. These were nothing but the outcome of youthful bravado. At that age the mind refuses to admit that its greatest pride is in its power to understand, to accept, to respect; and that modesty is the best means of enlarging its domain. Admiration and praise is looked upon as a sign of weakness or surrender, and the desire to cry down and hurt and demolish with argument gives rise to this kind of intellectual fireworks. These attempts of mine to establish my superiority by revilement might have occasioned me amusement to-day, had not their want of straightness and common courtesy been too painful.

From my earliest years I had practically no commerce with the outside world. To be plunged in this state, at the age of 17, into the midst of the social sea of England would have justified considerable misgiving as to my being able to keep afloat. But as my sister-in-law happened to be in Brighton with her children I weathered the first shock of it under her shelter.

Winter was then approaching. One evening as we were chatting round the fireside, the children came running to us with the exciting news that it had been snowing. We at once went out. It was biting cold, the sky filled with white moonlight, the earth covered with white snow. It was not the face of Nature familiar to me, but something quite different—like a dream. Everything near seemed to have receded far away, leaving the still white figure of an ascetic steeped in deep meditation. The sudden revelation, on the mere stepping outside a door, of such wonderful, such immense beauty had never before come upon me.

My days passed merrily under the affectionate care of my sister-in-law and in boisterous romps with the children. They were greatly tickled at my curious English pronunciation, and though in the rest of their games I could whole-heartedly join, this I failed to see the fun of. How could I explain to them that there was no logical means of distinguishing between the sound of *a* in warm and *o* in worm. Unlucky that I was, I had to bear the brunt of the ridicule which was more properly the due of the vagaries of English spelling.

I became quite an adept in inventing new ways of keeping the children occupied and amused. This art has stood me in good stead many a time thereafter, and its

usefulness for me is not yet over. But I no longer feel in myself the same unbounded profusion of ready contrivance. That was the first opportunity I had for giving my heart to children, and it had all the freshness and overflowing exuberance of such a first gift.

But I had not set out on this journey to exchange a home beyond the seas for the one on this side. The idea was that I should study Law and come back a barrister. So one day I was put into a public school in Brighton. The first thing the Headmaster said after scanning my features was: "What a splendid head you have!" This detail lingers in my memory because she, who at home was an enthusiast in her self-imposed duty of keeping my vanity in check, had impressed on me that my cranium* and features generally, compared with that of many another were barely of a medium order. I hope the reader will not fail to count it to my credit that I implicitly believed her, and inwardly deplored the parsimony of the Creator in the matter of my making. On many another occasion, finding myself estimated by my English acquaintances differently from what I had been accustomed to be by her, I was led to seriously worry my mind over the divergence in the standard of taste between the two countries!

One thing in the Brighton school seemed very wonderful: the other boys were not at all rude to me. On the contrary they would often thrust oranges and apples into my pockets and run away. I can only ascribe this uncommon behaviour of theirs to my being a foreigner.

I was not long in this school either—but that was no fault of the school. Mr. Tarak Palit† was then in England. He could see that this was not the way for me to get on, and prevailed upon my brother to allow him to take me to London, and leave me there to myself in a lodging house. The lodgings selected faced the Regent gardens. It was then the depth of winter. There was not a leaf on the row of trees in front which stood staring at the sky with their scraggy snow-covered branches—a sight which chilled my very bones.

* There was a craze for phrenology at the time. *Tr.*

† Latterly Sir Tarak Palit, a life-long friend of the writer's second brother. *Tr.*

For the newly arrived stranger there can hardly be a more cruel place than London in winter. I knew no one near by, nor could I find my way about. The days of sitting alone at a window, gazing at the outside world, came back into my life. But the scene in this case was not attractive. There was a frown on its countenance; the sky turbid; the light lacking lustre like a dead man's eye; the horizon shrunk upon itself; with never an inviting smile from a broad hospitable world. The room was but scantily furnished, but there happened to be a harmonium which, after the daylight came to its untimely end, I used to play upon according to my fancy. Sometimes Indians would come to see me; and, though my acquaintance with them was but slight, when they rose to leave I felt inclined to hold them back by their coat-tails.

While living in these rooms there was one who came to teach me Latin. His gaunt figure with its worn-out clothing seemed no more able than the naked trees to withstand the winter's grip. I do not know what his age was but he clearly looked older than his years. Some days in the course of our lessons he would suddenly be at a loss for some word and look vacant and ashamed. His people at home counted him a crank. He had become possessed of a theory. He believed that in each age some one dominant idea is manifested in every human society in all parts of the world; and though it may take different shape under different degrees of civilisation, it is at bottom one and the same; nor is such idea taken from one by the other by any process of adoption, for this truth holds good even where there is no intercourse. His great preoccupation was the gathering and recording of facts to prove this theory. And while so engaged his home lacked food, his body clothes. His daughters had but scant respect for his theory and were perhaps constantly upbraiding him for his infatuation. Some days one could see from his face that he had lighted upon some new proof, and that his thesis had correspondingly advanced. On these occasions I would broach the subject, and wax enthusiastic at his enthusiasm. On other days he would be steeped in gloom, as if his burden was too heavy to bear. Then would our lessons halt at every step. His eyes wander away into empty space and his mind refuse to be dragged into the

pages of the first Latin Grammar. I felt keenly for the poor body-starved theory-burdened soul, and though I was under no delusion as to the assistance I got in my Latin, I could not make up my mind to get rid of him. This pretence of learning Latin lasted as long as I was at these lodgings. When on the eve of leaving them I offered to settle his dues he said piteously: "I have done nothing, and only wasted your time, I cannot accept any payment from you." It was with great difficulty that I got him at last to take his fees.

Though my Latin tutor had never ventured to trouble me with the proofs of his theory, yet upto this day I do not disbelieve it. I am convinced that the minds of men are connected through some deep-lying continuous medium, and that a disturbance in one part is by it secretly communicated to others.

Mr. Palit next placed me in the house of a coach named Barker. He used to lodge and prepare students for their examinations. Except his mild little wife there was not a thing with any pretensions to attractiveness about this household. One can understand how such a tutor can get pupils, for these poor creatures do not often get the chance of making a choice. But it is painful to think of the conditions under which such men get wives. Mrs. Barker had attempted to console herself with a pet dog, but when Barker wanted to punish his wife he tortured the dog. So that her affection for the unfortunate animal only made for an enlargement of her field of sensibility.

From these surroundings, when my sister-in-law sent for me to Torquay in Devonshire, I was only too glad to run off to her. I cannot tell how happy I was with the hills there, the sea, the flower-covered meadows, the shade of the pine woods, and my two little restlessly playful companions. I was nevertheless sometimes tormented with questionings as to why, when my eyes were so surfeited with beauty, my mind saturated with joy, and my leisure-filled days crossing over the limitless blue of space freighted with unalloyed happiness, there should be no call of Poetry to me. So one day off I went along the rocky shore, armed with MS. book and umbrella, to fulfil my poet's destiny. The spot I selected was of undoubted beauty, for that did not depend on my rhyme or fancy. There was a flat bit

overhanging rock reaching out as with a perpetual eagerness over the waters; rocked on the foam-flecked waves of the liquid blue in front, the sunny sky slept smilingly to its lullaby; behind, the shade of the fringe of pines lay spread like the slipped off garment of some languorous wood nymph. Enthroned on that seat of stone I wrote a poem *Magnatari* (the sunken boat). I might have believed to-day that it was good, had I taken the precaution of sinking it then in the sea. But such consolation is not open to me, for it happens to be existing in the body; and though banished from my published works, a writ might yet cause it to be produced.

The messenger of duty however was not idle. Again came its call and I returned to London. This time I found a refuge in the household of Dr. Scott. One fine evening with bag and baggage I invaded his home. Only the white haired Doctor, his wife and their eldest daughter were there. The two younger girls, alarmed at this incursion of an Indian stranger had gone off to stay with a relative. I think they came back home only after they got the news of my not being dangerous.

In a very short time I became like one of the family. Mrs. Scott treated me as a son, and the heartfelt kindness I got from her daughters is rare even from one's own relations.

One thing struck me when living in this family—that human nature is everywhere the same. We are fond of saying, and I also believed, that the devotion of an Indian wife to her husband is something unique, and not to be found in Europe. But I at least was unable to discern any difference between Mrs. Scott and an ideal Indian wife. She was entirely wrapped up in her husband. With their modest means there was no fussing about of too many servants, and Mrs. Scott attended to every detail of her husband's wants herself. Before he came back home from his work of an evening, she would arrange his arm-chair and woollen slippers before the fire with her own hands. She would never allow herself to forget for a moment the things he liked, or the behaviour which pleased him. She would go over the house every morning, with their only maid, from attic to kitchen, and the brass rods on the stairs and the door knobs and fittings would be scrubbed and polished till they shone again. Over and above this domestic

routine there were the many calls of social duty. After getting through all her daily duties she would join with zest in our evening readings and music, for it is not the least of the duties of a good housewife to make real the gaiety of the leisure hour.

Some evenings I would join the girls in a table-turning seance. We would place our fingers on a small tea table and it would go capering about the room. It got to be so that whatever we touched began to quake and quiver. Mrs. Scott did not quite like all this. She would sometimes gravely shake her head and say she had her doubts about its being right. She bore it bravely, however, not liking to put a damper on our youthful spirits. But one day when we put our hands on Dr. Scott's chimneypot to make it turn, that was too much for her. She rushed up in a great state of mind and forbade us to touch it. She could not bear the idea of Satan having anything to do, even for a moment, with her husband's head-wear.

In all her actions her reverence for her husband was the one thing that stood out. The memory of her sweet self-abnegation makes it clear to me that the ultimate perfection of all womanly love is to be found in reverence; that where no extraneous cause has hampered its true development woman's love naturally grows into worship. Where the appointments of luxury are in profusion, and frivolity tarnishes both day and night, this love is degraded, and woman's nature finds not the joy of its perfection.

I spent some months here. Then it was time for my brother to return home, and my father wrote to me to accompany him. I was delighted at the prospect. The light of my country, the sky of my country, had been silently calling me. When I said good bye Mrs. Scott took me by the hand and wept. "Why did you come to us," she said, "if you must go so soon?" That household no longer exists in London. Some of the members of the Doctor's family have departed to the other world, others are scattered in places unknown to me. But it will always live in my memory.

One winter's day, as I was passing through a street in Tunbridge Wells, I saw a man standing on the road side. His bare toes were showing through his gaping boots, his breast was partly uncovered. He said nothing to me, perhaps because begging was forbidden, but he looked up

at my face just for a moment. The coin I gave him was perhaps more valuable than he expected, for, after I had gone on a bit, he came after me and said: "Sir, you have given me a gold piece by mistake," with which he offered to return it to me. I might not have particularly remembered this, but for a similar thing which happened on another occasion. When I first reached the Torquay railway station a porter took my luggage to the cab outside. After searching my purse for small change in vain, I gave him half-a-crown as the cab started. After a while he came running after us, shouting to the cabman to stop. I thought to myself that finding me to be such an innocent he had hit upon some excuse for demanding more. As the cab stopped he said: "You must have mistaken a half-crown piece for a penny, Sir!"

I cannot say that I have never been cheated while in England, but not in any way which it would be fair to hold in remembrance. What grew chiefly upon me, rather, was the conviction that only those who are trustworthy know how to trust. I was an unknown foreigner, and could have easily evaded payment with impunity, yet no London shopkeeper ever mistrusted me.

During the whole period of my stay in England I was mixed up in a farcical comedy which I had to play out from start to finish. I happened to get acquainted with the widow of some departed high Anglo-Indian official. She was good enough to call me by the pet-name Ruby. Some Indian friend of hers had composed a doleful poem in English in memory of her husband. It is needless to expatiate on its poetic merit or felicity of diction. As my ill-luck would have it, the composer had indicated that the dirge was to be chanted to the mode *Behaga*. So the widow one day entreated me to sing it to her thus. Like the silly innocent that I was, I weakly acceded. There was unfortunately no one there but I who could realise the atrociously ludicrous way in which the *Behaga* mode combined with those absurd verses. The widow seemed intensely touched to hear the Indian's lament for her husband sung to its native melody. I thought that there the matter ended, but that was not to be.

I frequently met the widowed lady at different social gatherings, and when after dinner we joined the ladies in the drawing

room, she would ask me to sing that *Behaga*. Every one else would anticipate some extraordinary specimen of Indian music and would add their entreaties to hers. Then from her pocket would come forth printed copies of that fateful composition, and my ears begin to redden and tingle. And at last, with bowed head and quavering voice I would have to make a beginning—but too keenly conscious that to none else in the room but me was this performance sufficiently heartrending. At the end, amidst much suppressed tittering, there would come a chorus of "Thank you very much!" "How interesting!" And in spite of its being winter I would perspire all over. Who would have predicted at my birth or at his death what a severe blow to me would be the demise of this estimable Anglo-Indian!

Then, for a time, while I was living with Dr. Scott and attending lectures at the University College, I lost touch with the widow. She was in a suburban locality some distance away from London, and I frequently got letters from her inviting me there. But my dread of that dirge kept me from accepting these invitations. At length I got a pressing telegram from her. I was on my way to college when this telegram reached me and my stay in England was then about to come to its close. I thought to myself I ought to see the widow once more before my departure, and so yielded to her importunity.

Instead of coming home from college I went straight to the railway station. It was a horrible day, bitterly cold, snowing and foggy. The station I was bound for was the terminus of the line. So I felt quite easy in mind and did not think it worth while to inquire about the time of arrival.

All the station platforms were coming on the right hand side, and in the right hand corner seat I had ensconced myself reading a book. It had already become so dark that nothing was visible outside. One by one the other passengers got down at their destinations. We reached and left the station just before the last one. Then the train stopped again, but there was nobody to be seen, nor any lights or platform. The mere passenger has no means of divining why trains should sometimes stop at the wrong times and places, so, giving up the attempt, I went on with my reading. Then the train began to

move backwards. There seems to be no accounting for railway eccentricity, thought I as I once more returned to my book. But when we came right back to the previous station, I could remain indifferent no longer. "When are we getting to———" I inquired at the station. "You are just coming from there" was the reply. "Where are we going now, then?" I asked, thoroughly flurried. "To London." I thereupon understood that this was a shuttle train. On inquiring about the next train to—— I was informed that there were no more trains to-night. And in reply to my next question I gathered that there was no inn within five miles.

I had left home after breakfast at ten in the morning, and had had nothing since. When abstinence is the only choice, an ascetic frame of mind comes easy. I buttoned up my thick over-coat to the neck and seating myself under a platform lamp went on with my reading. The book I had with me was Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, then recently published. I consoled myself with the thought that I might never get another such opportunity of concentrating my whole attention on such a subject.

After a short time a porter came and informed me that a special was running and would be in in half an hour. I felt so cheered up by the news that I could not go on any longer with the *Data of Ethics*. Where I was due at seven I arrived at length at nine. "What is this, Ruby?" asked my hostess. "Whatever have you been doing with yourself?" I was unable to take much pride in the account of my wonderful adventures which I gave her. Dinner was over; nevertheless, as my misfortune was hardly my fault, I did not expect condign punishment, especially as the dispenser was a woman. But all that the widow of the high Anglo-Indian official said to me was: "Come along, Ruby, have a cup of tea."

I never was a tea-drinker, but in the hope that it might be of some assistance in allaying my consuming hunger I managed to swallow a cup of strong decoction with a couple of dry biscuits. When I at length reached the drawing room I found a gathering of elderly ladies with among them one pretty young American who was engaged to a nephew of my hostess and seemed busy going through the usual premarital love passages.

"Let's have some dancing," said my hostess. I was neither in the mood nor bodily condition for that exercise. But it is the docile who achieve the most impossible things in this world; so, though the dance was primarily got up for the benefit of the engaged couple, I had to dance with the ladies of considerably advanced age, with only the tea and biscuits between myself and starvation.

But my sorrows did not end here. "Where are you putting up for the night?" asked my hostess. This was a question for which I was not prepared. While I stared at her, speechless, she explained that as the local inn would close at midnight I had better betake myself thither without further delay. Hospitality, however, was not entirely wanting for I had not to find the inn unaided, a servant showing me the way there with a lantern. At first I thought this might prove a blessing in disguise, and at once proceeded to make inquiries for food: flesh, fish or vegetable, hot or cold, anything! I was told that drinks I could have in any variety but nothing to eat. Then I looked to slumber for forgetfulness, but there seemed to be no room even in her world-embracing lap. The sand-stone floor of the bed room was icy cold, an old bedstead and worn out wash-stand being its only furniture.

In the morning the Anglo-Indian widow sent for me to breakfast. I found a cold repast spread out, evidently the remnants of last night's dinner. A small portion of this, lukewarm or cold, offered to me last night could not have hurt any one, while my dancing might then have been less like the agonised wriggings of a landed carp.

After breakfast my hostess informed me that the lady for whose delectation I had been invited to sing was ill in bed, and that I would have to serenade her from her bed-room door. I was made to stand up on the staircase landing. Pointing to a closed door the widow said: "That's where she is." And I gave voice to that *Behaga* dirge facing the mysterious unknown on the other side. Of what happened to the invalid as the result I have yet received no news.

After my return to London I had to expiate in bed the consequences of my fatuous complaisance. Dr. Scott's girls implored me, on my conscience, not to take this as a sample of English hospitality. It was the effect of India's salt, they protested.

(26) *Loken Palit.*

While I was attending lectures on English literature at the University College, Loken Palit was my class fellow. He was about 4 years younger than I. At the age I am writing these reminiscences a difference of 4 years is not perceptible. But it is difficult for friendship to bridge the gulf between 17 and 13. Lacking the weight of years the boy is always anxious to keep up the dignity of seniority. But this did not raise any barrier in my mind in the case of the boy Loken, for I could not feel that he was in any way my junior.

Boy and girl students sat together in the College library for study. This was the place for our *tete-a-tete*. Had we been fairly quiet about it none need have complained, but my young friend was so surcharged with high spirits that at the least provocation they would burst forth as laughter. In all countries girls have a perverse degree of application to their studies, and I feel repentant as I recall the multitude of reproachful blue eyes which vainly showered disapprobation on our unrestrained merriment. But in those days I felt not the slightest sympathy with the distress of disturbed studiousness. By the grace of Providence I have never had a headache in my life, nor a moment of compunction for interrupted school studies.

With our laughter as an almost unbroken accompaniment we managed also to do a bit of literary discussion, and, though Loken's reading of Bengali literature was less extensive than mine, he made up for that by the keenness of his intellect. Among the subjects we discussed was Bengali orthography.

The way it arose was this. One of the Scott girls wanted me to teach her Bengali. When taking her through the alphabet I expressed my pride that Bengali spelling has a conscience, and

does not delight in overstepping rules at every step. I made clear to her how laughable would have been the waywardness of English spelling but for the tragic compulsion we were under to cram it for our examinations. But my pride had a fall. It transpired that Bengali spelling was quite as impatient of bondage, but that habit had blinded me to its transgressions.

Then I began to search for the laws regulating its lawlessness. I was quite surprised at the wonderful assistance which Loken proved to be in this matter.

After Loken had got into the Indian Civil Service, and returned home, the work, which had in the University College library had its source in rippling merriment, flowed on in a widening stream. Loken's boisterous delight in literature was as the wind in the sails of my literary adventure. And when at the height of my youth I was driving the tandem of prose and poetry at a furious rate, Loken's unstinted appreciation kept my energies from flagging for a moment. Many an extraordinary prose or poetical flight have I taken in his bungalow in the moffussil. On many an occasion did our literary and musical gatherings assemble under the auspices of the evening star to disperse, as did the lamplights at the breezes of dawn, under the morning star.

Of the many lotus flowers at *Saraswati's** feet the blossom of friendship must be her favorite. I have not come across much of golden pollen in her lotus bank, but have nothing to complain of as regards the profusion of the sweet savour of good-fellowship.

* *Saraswati*, the goddess of learning, is depicted in Bengal as clad in white and seated among a mass of lotus flowers. *Tr.*

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

Royal Institution of Great Britain, of Morse, the electrician, and the great scientist Louis Agassiz, on whose tomb is inscribed the simple epitaph, "Here lies Agassiz the teacher." To Agassiz distinction as a scientific man was nothing compared to that of the teacher who moulded the character of his pupils. Here again at Boston was for the first time demonstrated the anesthetic property of ether. Here also Bell succeeded in transmitting human speech through wires; in History the State claims Bancroft and Prescott; in Poetry Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes; in Philosophy Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker and William James; in Philanthropy Miss Howe; in Oratory Webster, and Phillips; in Statesmanship Adams; in Fiction Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe, Henry James and Margaret Deland.

During this and his previous visit in 1907 he became acquainted with the leading thinkers of Boston, of whom I shall give here a brief account.

The name of Professor Lowell the astronomer, is well known all over the world as one who has devoted all his life for the establishment of his theory on the existence of life in the planet Mars. He has recorded the occurrence of regular canals on the surface of the planet which from their nature could not but be artificial and therefore the work of intelligent beings. His theories had at first been ridiculed and he met with strong opposition from other astronomers. At first his records were thought due to optical illusion or to aberration of the telescope. In order to meet all objections, he has established an astronomical station on the desert region of Arizona, where he obtains ideal condition for astronomical research. He showed my Master some of the remarkable photographs obtained there and which strongly supported his views. Lowell's theories after meeting the usual opposition are now receiving respectful attention of the astronomers.

MARGARET DELAND.

A reception was organised to meet my Master by the famous novelist Margaret Deland. In her philosophical analysis she reminds us of George Eliot; but her characters show greater strength and virility. She is one of the leading writers of the Harper's Magazine and this led my

master to relate to her an incident connected with his friend Rabindranath Tagore. During his visit to the West in 1907 he had some of Rabindranath's short stories translated, and read them to Prince Kropotkin, who was deeply affected by them and regarded them as masterpieces. Encouraged by this he sent these stories for publication in the Harper's; who returned them to him with the remark that they would be of little interest to the Western readers! Mrs. Deland was greatly amused to find such obtuseness in her publishers and wrote to them about their blunder in missing the great opportunity of discovering the great Indian poet. At this reception he met the eminent psychopath Dr. Morton Prince, who in his practice has demonstrated the multiple personalities of human beings. These personalities in normal individuals are unified in harmonious relation but in pathological cases they become dissociated. There may then be exhibited the dual characteristic in an identical individual, such distinct and antagonistic characterisations occurring at definite intervals of time. There is an authenticated and remarkable instance of this in one of Dr. Prince's lady patients. She during a definite period of the year was serious in her temperament and had a profound religious tendency, but at a different period there was sudden transformation, when her mental characteristics underwent a complete reversal; she now became very brilliant and gay, and along these mental variations there was a concomitant change in her sensibilities. Dr. Prince has succeeded in effecting a remarkable cure by inducing a combination of the dissociated personalities in one harmonious individuality.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

Another remarkable personality with whom my Master became intimately acquainted during his previous visit was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. She was undoubtedly the most distinguished, the most beloved, and the most highly honoured woman in America. Her husband Dr. Howe had fought for the liberty of the Greeks and when the time came he went to the front in the war for the liberation of the slaves and Mrs. Howe followed her husband. Her Battle Hymn of the Republic, of which two stanzas are quoted below, was the clarion call which drew men to fight under the banner of righteousness.

he renounced the normal life and built himself a nest of his own construction in the pine slope of the Walden pond, which was entirely built and maintained by the labours of his own hands. He lived the life of a recluse and came to know beasts, birds and fishes with an intimacy which was extraordinary. Wild birds flew to him at his call. The beasts caressed him and the fishes in the lake would glide and rub against his hands. He loved his own kind as he loved the animals, but he found the furred and the feathered tribes far more interesting. When he lay in his death bed he kept talking of his mute friends. "But you must now think of the next world," admonished the pastor. "One world at a time, my friend," replied the unabashed pagan.

Only once did the humanity of this animal-lover rise to white heat. It was when opportunism was the characteristic of the Boston politicians and when they declared that they would not harbour slaves from the South that Thoreau refused to pay taxes imposed on him as a citizen and for this he was consigned to prison. To him came Emerson. "I am more than surprised that you should be here in prison," remarked Emerson. "I am more than surprised that you should choose to remain outside," was Thoreau's rejoinder.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WASHINGTON.

The next important engagement was to give an address at the capital of the United States, Washington. For this three leading Societies had organised a joint meeting,—the Academy of Science of Washington, the Botanical Society of America and the Bureau of Plant Industry. This last mentioned Institution is a State organisation having numerous branches all over the country. There are more than one thousand experts appointed to carry out various experiments on the scientific study of plant life and its application in agriculture. Research stations are spread all over the country to acclimatise plants under widely varying conditions in the American Continent. Numerous expeditions are sent round all over the world to collect and introduce various plants in the country. We met two of these experts who spent a long time in Bengal and the Upper Provinces collecting the best specimens of mangoes,—*Mahlab*, *Lengra* and others.

They were then experimenting on their cultivation on a large scale in Florida. I have a fear that under scientific management there may come a time when the fruits imported from America will try to undersell the homegrown product.

The lecture was arranged in one of the large Halls, but so great was the crowd that every available space was filled long before the lecture hour. Even the entrance was blocked by the people who could not get admittance. Mr. Graham Bell, the inventor of Telephone, who came quarter of an hour before the lecture time could not reach the lecture Hall. For the success of our experiments the temperature had to be raised to a point almost unbearable. The President at the beginning of the lecture warned the audience of this fact and gave them the opportunity to leave before the commencement of the lecture. In reply instead of leaving, those who crowded the passage sat down on the floor; some even climbed up the window sill. The lecture proved of such absorbing interest that the audience refused to leave the Hall and at the end of the hour they demanded that the lecture should be continued for another half an hour.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

This premier institution of America is regarded as one of the leading scientific societies of the world. It owes its origin to the bequest of a single man, James Smithson who wished to 'found at Washington under the name of Smithsonian Institution an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.' It was the faith of a single individual that served as a nucleus for the growth of an Institution which has become famous all over the world. Among its statutory members are the President of the United States, the Vice President and the Chief Justice. Its Board of Regents consists among others, of three Members of the Senate and three Members of the House of Representatives. Among the Secretaries of the Institution may be mentioned Professor Henry, the eminent Physicist, and Professor Langley, who was a Physicist and also an Astronomer. It was to Langley that the world owes a debt for his discoveries of the principle of aerial navigation and for his demonstration to the world on May 6th 1896 of the successful flight of his experimental machine

heavier than air propelled by its own power. This first successful flight was only seen by a few of his personal friends among whom was Graham Bell. But in the public demonstration a small screw was left loose by the carelessness of a workman, with the result that the machine instead of rising was precipitated into the river. The press overwhelmed the inventor with ridicule and Langley died of a broken heart. The same machine which failed, was tried once more a decade later and flew up the air with Mr. Curtiss as the pilot. It was not for the pioneer to reap the reward of his labours. It was left to Wilber Wright and his brothers to follow the lead of the original inventor and astonish the whole world by their aerial triumphs in France and in another ten years a revolution had been effected by its means in the fields of peace and war. The original 'aerodrome' of Langley is now preserved and exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution, this being the first machine devised by man to achieve the conquest of the air.

The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution submits every year to the United States Congress an account of the most important scientific work accomplished during the course of the year. I felt highly elated when my Master received the following letter from the Smithsonian Institution.

"Smithsonian Institution,
Washington.
November, 5th 1914.

"Dear Sir,

The Smithsonian Institution will be pleased with your permission to include in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents to Congress your interesting Paper on 'Plant-Autographs and their Revelations.'

Very respectfully yours,
C. D. WALCOTT
Secretary."

RECEPTION AT THE HOUSE OF GRAHAM BELL.

One of the men whose contributions in practical science has created a revolution in modern life is Graham Bell the inventor of telephone. His invention for the transmission of speech is in constant use all over the world. The use of this convenience has now become indispensable; ordinary marketing even in a village being done by its aid. The distance through which tele-

phonic communication is possible is now enormously increased. Mr. Bell recently held a conversation with his old and original instrument from the Senate House at Washington to the Panama Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, the intervening distance being more than 3,000 miles. It is to be remembered that Mr. Bell receive royalty for every instrument in use, from which we can get some idea of the monetary value of a successful invention. In America the charge for each conversation over the city limits is 5 cents. I had the curiosity to ask Mr. Bell how much he had to pay for his telephonic calls. To this he laughingly replied that the Exchange people had not hitherto sent him any bill! Mr. Bell has recently been experimenting in devising a new type of flying machine, where instead of a single flyer he is using the outspread wings of a flock of birds-like machines to attain greater lifting power.

As Mr. Bell could not gain access to my Master's lecture through the block of a crowded audience, he organised a reception in honour of my Master to which all the leading men of Washington were invited. There we met many distinguished politicians and scientific men who were profoundly impressed by the astonishing performances of the recording instruments whose working they had the opportunity of watching at close quarters.

Among the distinguished visitors who came to meet my Master was Mr. Curtiss, the famous American aviator and inventor, who is trying to construct a flying machine to cross the Atlantic. There was also Mr. Lansing, the present Secretary of State of America, who was specially interested in the wide outlook opened out by my Master's work.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

So great was the interest created at the capital by his experiments that my Master received an official invitation from Mr. Bryan, the then Secretary of State, to give an Address at the State Department, where the heads of the different Departments would be assembled.

The great personality of Mr. Bryan is of dominating influence in America. Among politicians there is hardly a man so intensely sincere in his convictions. His detestation of settling of national differences by the savage expediency of war is profound.

and he has been unremitting in his efforts to promote peace by arbitration. When he found that America was drifting into a possible participation in the present war he did not for a moment hesitate to resign his high position and to give up the chance of his becoming the next President of the United States. So uncompromising is he in his attitude towards all that he regards evil, that he created a sensation when the assembled diplomatic guests found at his table an inverted bottle prominently placed as a reminder that no alcoholic drink was to be served. In all diplomatic functions in all countries of the world the generosity of the host is gauged by the liberality and excellence of the alcoholic beverages that are served. The innovation by Mr. Bryan in this respect gave rise to world-wide comment and his taste was questioned when he offered to his guests unfermented and insipid grape juice for the more potent beverages by the liberal supply of which good fellowship is supposed to be cemented. One of the standing jokes in the American press is Mr. Bryan's uncultured taste in his preference of the simple grape juice.

When we arrived at the State Department we found that the Diplomatic Reception room had been arranged for our demonstration. We noticed a feverish activity all round, as news of international complications were pouring in and important communications were being received from the Chancellories of the different European States. The corridors of the State Department were crowded with the press representatives who hung round to obtain fragments of news to be immediately telegraphed all over the country.

Mr. Bryan and his colleagues gave us a most cordial reception. Before our demonstration began he opened the door and allowed the crowd of press representatives to rush in, telling them how they would have the chance of seeing something of far greater import than those to which they had been accustomed. The following are some of the samples of the heavy-headed head lines that appeared next morning in the different papers of America.

"BRYAN SEES PLANT DRUNK ;—INDIAN SCIENTIST DEMONSTRATES WITH ALCOHOL, NOT WITH GRAPE JUICE ;—DON'T BORE PLANTS ; IF YOU DO, THEY ARE APT

The following appeared in the New York Times under the heading "Indian Scientist Shows Plant's Emotions" :—

"In the Diplomatic Reception Room of the State Department this afternoon Dr. J. C. Bose performed before Secretary Bryan and a group of State Department officials experiments which showed that plants had sensitiveness just like human beings. Experiments were conducted with living plants, but the Secretary of State shows the greatest interest when Dr. Bose produced a chart that indicated in wavering lines the effect of alcohol on plant life.

"By means of a delicate and complicated instrument Dr. Bose made plants record the emotion they experienced as the result of his actions. He explained that if a man was pinched in the wrist a certain impulse was communicated to the brain. To demonstrate the same fact with reference to a plant he pinched one of the growing things he brought with him, and immediately a fine needle attached to a lever connected with the plant became agitated and exhibited its emotion by making dots on the smoked side of a plate of glass. Dr. Bose put one plant to death by giving it a dose of cyanide of potassium, and Secretary Bryan and others watched the death-struggle with bated breath."

BASISWAR SEN.

THE EVERLASTING SORROW

YANG Kuei-fei, the beloved mistress of the Sovereign Ming Huang, one glance from whom, to use an oft-used phrase, would overthrow a city, two glances an empire, was lost at the foot of the Ma-wai

hill. The Sovereign, ever so sad in memory of her cloud-like hair and flower-like face, supreme among the powder and paint beauties of his harem, commanded a Taoist priest of Liu-ch'ung to find Yang Kuei-fei's

lost soul by means of his rare wizardry. This magician, by the august command of the Sovereign, went high up to Heaven and low down to earth, searched the Empyrean above and the Yellow Springs below; and he was almost discouraged when he started as a final effort toward the Isle of Blest away in the dream-covered Oceans. His heart jumped joyfully when he was told by a dweller of the island that Yang Kuei-fei, having been formerly a goddess of the world of Fairies, had now returned home from the world where she passed her temporary life in a "golden house" by the Sovereign's particular favor, wafted into ecstasy on the fumes of love and wine, and was at present the queen of the Palace of Eternity. On approaching the Palace he found it rising like the five-colored rainbow clouds. Its splendor far surpassed that of the Hibiscus Pavilion of her life's days, where dance and laughter frightened away the dulness of the night. Yang Kuei-fei was seen by the eastern window of the turret as the Taoist priest knocked at the jade door of the western gate. He recalled how the roll of the rebel war-drums had broken the air of the "Rainbow Skirt and Feather Jacket" which she was dancing. Let Po Chu-i write the scene of her flight:—

"The dust clouds rise by the nine-folded city;
A thousand horses and chariots to the south west move.

"Feathers and jewels onwards and then a halt;
A hundred miles from the city on the west,

"The soldiers refuse to advance, nothing with them
can be done;
Alas, in sight of them the moth-eye-browed beauty
is forced to die.

"On the ground lie ornaments with nobody to pick
them up,
Kingfishers' wings, golden sparrows, and hairpins of
jade.

"The sovereign covers his face, powerless to save;
Turning back, his tears and blood he lets flow."

Hearing the voice of the Taoist priest announcing that he is an ambassador sent by the sovereign, Yang Kuei-fei, whose beauty was observed to be subdued as if a spray of pear-bloom in a rain-wet spring morn, descended from the turret, pushing away the flower-curtains, and asked what message he brought to her. The priest said:—

"You know how he hated to keep the morning audience, and how he wished to be with you amid revels and feasts; and

since your sudden death, his sad heart is never brightened by even the brightness of the moon. The sound of a bell through the evening rain only gives him pain of memory. The Ssuch'nan hills and the Ssuch-nan waters are ever so dark; and the Sovereign is consumed by grief and tears night and day. I am sent here by him to find your soul, lost from the world, and to render to you in person his words of longing. How glad I am to find you beautiful and young as of old."

And again he expressed the Sovereign's sadness as Po Chu-i has written:—

"In the hibiscus he sees her face, in the willow her
eye-brows;

How should not his longing tears flow,
When the peach or plum blooms in spring breezes,
When in autumn rain the wu-t'ung leaves fall?

"To the south of the western palace are many trees,
But the fallen leaves on the steps no one sweeps.
The Pear-Garden entertainer's hair is white as if
with age,
The beauties of the Pepper-Chamber look no longer
young.

"The fireflies flit by the even hall only to make him
sad;
Even when the lone lamp is burnt out, he still fails
to sleep;

The slowly-passing watches tell the night is so long;
Clearly shine the constellations as if the morn would
never come.

"On the duck-and-drake tiles of a roof the heavy
frosts rattle;
The kingfisher coverlet is cold with none to share
its warmth;
Parted by life and death, time still goes on;
Never once does her spirit come back even in his
dream."

Yang Kuei-fei, restraining her grief and emotion, said:—

"How since we parted I have missed his form and voice! Our love on earth so soon came to an end; but the days and months in the Palace of the Blest are long and long, and I have to suffer the more in my longing. And how often I turn and gaze down toward the world and mortal life, and cry at not seeing at all the Imperial City in dusts and mist! Oh, how pleased I am to be assured of the Sovereign's love in sending you here to see me! But to have no communication at all with him and his world would rather lighten my sorrowful thought and pain. Now having his sweet message, my sad heart burns in love and memory of the days past; oh, what longing I feel toward my beloved Sovereign!"

"The Sovereign will be glad, I am sure, to know that I have met you and to receive your words of love. But I pray that

ever written and that they would be a revelation to him, Mallherbe replied, "Pardon me, Madam! If, as you say, the verses are the most perfect ever written, I have already seen them, for they must be my own." Mirabeau, one of the most prominent figures in the French Revolution, maintained his vanity to the last. When he was in his last moments, he ordered his loving attendant thus, "Prop up my head carefully, for it is the most remarkable head in all France." Though his remains were placed in the Pantheon, yet the very assembly of which he had been the guiding spirit before, declared him a gross traitor within a month after his death.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of vanity in French annals was furnished by a letter written by Victor Hugo to Prince Bismark in which the following sentences appear: I love thee, because I am greater than thou art. Were we allied as one man, history would cease. Thou art the body, I am the Spirit; thou, the cloud, I the lightning; if thou art power, I am fame. Which is the greater, victor or vanquished? Neither. I, as poet, am greater than either, for I celebrate both.

Rossini could not check his vanity in the home circle. Many of his letters to his mother bore the inscription, "To Mrs. Rossini, the mother of the famous maestro." Michael Angelo, the greatest painter and sculptor of all time, was in-

tensely jealous of Raphael, whose reputation though later than his own was so great as to threaten to throw him in the background. Michael Angelo used to say "Raphael will never be anything more than my pupil. The little art he knows he learnt from me." Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher, was not without a full sense of his importance. When he was asked to choose the place where he would like to be buried, he said, "As to the place, that matters nothing; the future ages will know enough where to look for me."

It seems to be a stern fact that as long as there are great men they will always prove that they are human by similar exhibitions of their vanity.

Mr. Whistler, the gifted artist, was another that would not claim modesty as one of his attributes. When once a flattering friend said to him, 'There are only two great artists living, yourself and——' Mr. Whistler gave a prompt retort by saying, 'Yes, but why include the other man.'

It is very seldom that such outbursts of personal greatness are suppressed by geniuses in art and learning. In the face of such facts, one has to pause and think if there be much soundness of judgment in the words: Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works.

M. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

JAPAN IN HER FOREIGN RELATIONS

Japanese methods in China.

A CHINESE writer named Mr. H. K. Tong has contributed an article to the *American Review of Reviews* in order to expose Japanese methods in China. "Mr. Tong is a member of a company of Chinese journalists who conduct a native newspaper at Peking, as well as one in English..... he spent several years in Columbia University."

It appears that Baron Shibusawa recently made a proposal that "China's natural resources should be developed with American money and Japanese brains." On this Mr. Tong says:—

JAPAN'S MONOPOLIZING AMBITIONS.

But behind the clever, though seemingly innocent scheme of Baron Shibusawa there is a dark and sinister design to close the door in the Orient. With the financial assistance of the British Government, Japan has been able to close the Manchurian market,

and has even been trying to oust British interests from the Yangtse Valley, which is still considered a British sphere of influence. When Japan succeeds in securing American money, the door of commerce in the Orient will be completely shut.

In Manchuria, the Japanese Government grants rebates for Japanese goods on the railways whose construction was made possible through credit established in London. Favored by government subsidies, special railway rates, preferential customs treatment, and exemption from internal taxation, Japanese merchants have practically ousted the commodities of all other nations from the market in Manchuria, which is now credited with 17 per cent. of the total foreign trade of China. America fares the worst in this commercial struggle.

In the Yangtse Valley, likewise, the Japanese Government has been giving every support to its subjects in competition with all foreign merchants, especially British and American. The Nissen Kisen Kaisha—whose ships ply between Hankow and Shanghai, two of the biggest commercial ports in China—has been receiving from the Japanese Government an annual subsidy of \$1,000,000, which has enabled it to charge the lowest freight and passage fares. As a result it has almost monopolized the river trade between Hankow and Ichang and between Hankow and Changsha, which once belonged to British merchants. Finally, two British shipping companies and one Chinese company were driven to a combination. But even with such co-operation they have had little success in the face of the heavy subsidy granted to the Kaisha.

SHUTTING DOORS IN YOUR OWN FACE.

Japan has closed the door in Manchuria with British money. Will she be able to bolt the door in China, against the whole world, with American money?

MILITARY EXPANSION OF JAPAN.

With the enormous profits which would accrue from American capital invested in China through her, Japan would be able to build more battleships, train more soldiers, erect a greater number of munition plants, and construct more aeroplanes. Should any nation, aware of what Japan is aiming at, protest against the questionable business methods of her merchants, Japan would instantly accept the opportunity and start a world-wide war with a view to finding her place in the sun. She would be possessed of a powerful army and a still more powerful navy, besides millions of Chinese coerced into her service.

HOW JAPAN PROMOTES HER COMMERCE.

I do not suppose that the United States Government would send a battleship to accord protection to seven of her citizens engaged as experts or engineers in an iron mine in China. But the Japanese Government is doing it. The Tayeh Iron Mines, a Chinese concern, some time ago concluded a loan with a Japanese firm, the principal and interest to be paid in ore. The Japanese investors have sent an engineer and six experts to watch their interests. There is a Japanese battleship stationed there, under the pretense of according protection—although the Chinese believe that it is really engaged in smuggling into port arms and ammunition for the use of trouble-makers.

Japan has also secured a small concession at

Chingchow, in Hupoh province, in the heart of southern China, where there are five Japanese. A Japanese consulate looks after their interests, a special Japanese post-master handles their mail, and a Japanese inspector protects them. This is the kind of commerce that Japan is accustomed to carry on in China, and the Japanese would, in the opinion of most Chinese, like to do the same thing in California or in Mexico.

The Baron's proposition has been tried in China and found beneficial only to the Japanese. The Chinese have invested much money through Japanese hands in the promotion of companies and the development of natural resources, but they have lost all their capital and have eventually been compelled to give up their shares in joint enterprises.

A MANCHURIAN INSTANCE.

Numerous illustrations can be cited to substantiate this statement, but suffice it to give one. Yonder in Manchuria there were prosperous forests, the supply of lumber from which was almost inexhaustible. The Japanese saw an opportunity for making money. As they were poor, they approached a number of Chinese for capital, in the manner of Baron Shibusawa. They obtained the necessary funds and a joint company, called the Yalu Timber Company, was immediately established. When the company was organized, a capable Chinese represented the interests of the Chinese merchants, and he proved too shrewd for the Japanese. With much manipulation and corruption and the assistance of their Government, they got rid of him and secured in his place the appointment of a man who knew nothing whatsoever of the lumber trade. Then peculiarly Japanese business tactics came into play. At the end of the first year, the Yalu Timber Company paid 6 per cent. in profits to the shareholders. The second year a dividend of 1 per cent. was declared and the third year there was no dividend. In the fourth year, the company was losing money. No one can believe that the company does not continuously make profits. With a capital of three million dollars it monopolizes the whole lumber trade in Manchuria. All merchants who buy timber from the company are making profits, and it is incredible that the company itself is unable to pay dividends. Inside information tells us that the Japanese are using this method to force the Chinese shareholders to give up their interests in the company thereby acquiring the whole concession themselves.

Japan and China.

The *Japan Magazine* contains an article on "Japan and China" by the Editor of "Japan and the Japanese." It gives us some idea of Japanese ambition in China. The writer begins thus:

The harmonious cooperation with China that Japan has been seeking for so long seems still as far off as ever. It is, however, an ambition that should long ago have been realised. That such a concert will be the best policy for both countries has been very generally understood and carefully studied in both lands. China and Japan belong to similar races, are close neighbors and use the same ideographs in writing. And the numerous unexploited regions of China should give ample scope for the application of Japanese knowledge and enterprising energy. The immense advantage that such cooperation would

bring to their common interests, especially in the way of economic development, proves the necessity of their intimate association. This is the firm conviction of Japan and it is believed no less by China. Nevertheless, the two countries are not only no nearer a concert than before, but are even glaring at each other like cats and dogs.

The penultimate paragraph ends with an open threat.

Those who neglect to keep themselves well informed as to their real interests deserve no sympathy if they fail. If the leaders of China are too egotistic to take an adequate interest in what is for the good of their country, what hope is there for China? China's fearful slowness is due for the most part to this overweening egoism and pride. It is very difficult to say whether China will soon break away from her traditional policy of checking Japan's progress on the continent of Asia. It is probable that China will incline to the sympathy of Germany or the United States, or some other distant country, to help her against the intrusion of Japan. Such a policy can only result in the ultimate partition of China. In any case China would suffer great loss. It will be most wise for China to take warning from the past and see what disasters her traditional policy has wrought. If she persists in her opposition to Japan there is no country of earth can save her. Japan will take just what measures she deems best under the circumstances.

Japan and England.

The Christian Register of Boston says:—

Popular opposition in Japan to the continuance of the alliance with Great Britain on its present terms is a feature of the political situation in the island empire. Recent public utterances by such authorities as Profs. Tatabe, Nitta, Fukuda, Negase, and Kambe indicate a growing conviction that under the provisions of her agreement with Great Britain, Japan is undertaking greater responsibilities than are compensated for by the advantages specified. One of the objections to the existing relation which is pointed out by these leaders of Japanese thought is based upon English trade aspirations in China. These, it is pointed out, are incompatible with the interests of Japan. Among the significant news from Japan are continued reports of commercial friction between Japanese and British, not only in China but also in Japan. The British press in China comments with undisguised bitterness upon Japanese political and commercial policy in China as being inimical to British interests in the Far East.

Owing to the agitation in Japan in the press and on the platform on the subject of the Anglo-Japanese alliance,

The Japan Times has published a symposium presenting "the other side" or negative to the proposition advanced in the affirmative by a few doctrinaires and agitators, eagerly seized upon by the German agents and echoed by those whom Baron Kato—in his speech at Osaka—classified as "certain weak-kneed Japanese." Their suggestion, says the Tokio journal, was that Japan is opposed to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and seeks to find excuse for breaking it. The negative is overwhelming. From representative men of every class and every affiliation comes a denial. The German newspapers and the mischievous news-

paper correspondents in Berlin and Tokio take the affirmative. But in face of the series of interviews which have been published, the *Japan Times* says it must have been demonstrated to the meanest intelligence that there is no foundation for the assertion, except as may be found in the essays of a few academic writers, sophomoric controversialists and a number of worthy people who may be depended upon to "pick the wrong horse" anyhow.

The symposium gives the opinions of 21 leading men of Japan, including Count Okuma. *The Kobe Herald* has given a summary of these opinions, from which we make a few extracts below.

1. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is regarded in Japan by all leaders of public opinion and thought as a vital necessity.

2. With changed conditions after the war, some clauses and terms of the present treaty must be altered so as to bring the Alliance into harmony with the situation and the responsibilities of Great Britain and Japan.

3. While, unquestionably, this is the position of a vast majority of the people of this country of all classes, it is, nevertheless, a fact that an element of the people of Japan have begun to regard the British in the Far East with suspicion and disavowal.

4. The attitude of British residents in the Far East towards the Japanese has given cause for Japanese antagonism and bitterness.

"Japan's Alliance Coquetry"

is the heading given by the *Literary Digest* to a summary of the opinions of several papers published in Japan. We learn from this summary that

"The veiled hostility toward Great Britain which has for many months been noticeable in a certain section of the Japanese press gains a fresh importance from the statement recently made to the Japanese House of Peers, by Baron Ishii, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Baron told the House, according to cabled dispatches, that the Japanese and British Governments were in negotiation with regard to Japanese emigration, a subject fully covered by the existing treaty between Great Britain and Japan. Despite the denials of the Japanese Foreign Office that there is any thought of abrogating the present treaty, the papers of the Mikado's Empire believe that something is afoot. This view is also taken by *The Japan Advertiser*, an American paper published in Tokyo, which considers it possible that Japan may withdraw from her alliance with England. *The Advertiser* says:

"Before the war began, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a target of continuous attack, the complaint then being that Japan derived no economic benefit from it. Since the war began, the attacks on England have never been more bitter, never more heedless, never more ready to exaggerate every trivial incident or rumor that seemed to tell against their ally's cause.

"The Japanese public are continuously instructed by their press that the Alliance is a one-sided and worn-out contract, and so persistently is this proclaimed that it is impossible for any foreign reader to escape the conclusion that a considerable body of Japanese opinion is hostile to the Alliance."

Among the Japanese papers the Tokyo *Yamato* has been the leader in the agitation against the treaty, and has published a series of articles on the subject from the pens of men prominent in political or academic circles. In one of these articles Prof. Latche Lett exclaims:

"The present war in Europe has made it clear to us that there is no community of ideals between Japan and England. Japan stands for loyalty and justice, Germany for loyalty and injustice, while England stands for selfishness and injustice.

Our country cannot afford to keep a company with such a nation as England."

In another *Yamato* article Mr. Shimata, the president of the Japanese House of Representatives, frankly says that "the bond of union between England and Japan is loosening, and the critics have begun to say that the value of the Alliance to Japan has decreased to the vanishing point." The list of prominent papers in Japan that have adopted an antialliance attitude is remarkable; it includes the Tokyo *Kokumin*, the *Yorodzu*, the *Chugai Shogyo*, the *Osaka Asahi*, one of the most powerful papers in Japan, and the *Mainichi*. The panacea for all alliance ills that seems to be fashionable at the moment is a *rapprochement* with Russia. The Tokyo *Sekai* argues:

"From now on the British supremacy on the sea may not have the same paramount value, and we should therefore stand well with the great land-powers. We must open a new chapter of diplomacy by an *entente* with Russia as a prelude.

"British diplomacy is like that of the Chinese—it tries to balance one Power against another, but Russian diplomacy is entirely different. The Russians who are half Asiatics—have now realized that white men are more to be feared than the yellow. Russia, too, wants to open a new chapter in her history—a chapter of reliance upon Japan's friendship, and here Japan and Russia have a common ideal."

"Japan's Challenge to England"

is the heading of an article in the *American Review of Reviews* by Mr. Bronson Batchelor, "whose analysis of the Far Eastern situation leads him to the opinion that Japan and England are the inevitable future rivals for political and trade domination in Asia." He charges British diplomacy with a great blunder, namely, its failure "to prevent the entrance of Japan into China." He is of opinion that the next war is likely to have its root at Kiau-chau.

Only at the expense of British interests can Japanese expansion take place, as it has in the past in Manchuria and Korea. British merchants have long felt the competition and have bombarded the Foreign Office with petitions for redress. But for one of the few times in British history, Downing Street was obliged by treaty obligations to turn a deaf ear to the commercial classes.

No sooner was Tsing-tau taken than it was closed to all but Japanese ships. Only after a protest were British vessels admitted to the port. Next the withdrawal of practically the whole of European shipping for war service gave Japan another chance. An Imperial edict was issued that preference for Japanese cargoes must be shown on Japanese vessels. It was thus sought to repeat on the sea the policy pursued

on the Manchurian railways, where discriminatory rates have practically driven all but Japanese goods from the field. In ally lines the government sought to stimulate the exploitation of the new markets by liberal bonuses and assistance.

Japanese statesmen are not so vain as to believe that they can challenge British sea power. Although with the passing of the Germans from the Orient, the Anglo-Japanese alliance has largely lost its value to both nations, it is to Japan's interests, so long as it lulls British suspicions, to preserve it. Under its cover she is striving to construct a new Asiatic balance of power, which will allow her independence of action, but tie the hands of Europe.

JAPAN'S FUTURE ALLIANCES.

With the utmost naivete Japan is now seeking an alliance with Russia, her foe of a decade ago. Her public men are outdoing themselves to show their friendship for the Czar. Fortresses have been stripped, and guns and officers sent to aid the Russians; factories and arsenals are running overtime—if such a thing be possible in Japan—to replenish Russia's depleted munition supply.

Of course Japan is thus enabled to pay off a part of the crushing national debt, under which she was staggering toward ruin, but to the subtle Oriental mind there is an additional value in such an alliance. Japan seeks to detach Russia from the Asiatic policy of England, and with the offer of an increased share in Manchurian and Inner Mongolian concessions, win Petrograd to her own purpose. What could be more effective to counter Britain, for instance, than a revival of the Russian menace to India?

There is some evidence, too, that Russia has not lent an unwilling ear to these proposals. Despite the strain of war, perhaps Russia also has an eye to the future. For the rearrangement of Asia, she does not wish to be unprepared.

Japanese statesmen and publicists have even gone so far as to advocate an alliance with Germany after the war. Emperor William, before England made her compact, was eager for such a treaty. The extreme courtesy with which the Japanese treated the Germans at Kiau-chau was so noticeable as to excite comment. Perhaps the Kaiser might forgive the loss of his Eastern possessions for a new chance of striking at Britain's sea power. At any rate it is a card the Japanese are not neglecting.

THE ONE ASSURED RIVALRY.

It is, of course, too early to say how successful Japan will be in her projects. Much depends upon the strength of the belligerents as they emerge from the war. If Great Britain comes out with her fleet undiminished, and with no domestic quarrels between labor and capital, already menacing, to threaten her, she will be free to bring Japan at once to an understanding. Many difficulties in the future could thus be avoided.

Much also depends upon China in her efforts at self-regeneration. If her new nationalist spirit is strong enough she may yet be able to throw off the Japanese menace and regain control of her own destiny.

Before his death, Prince Ito, the Bismarck of Japan, made a remarkable prophecy. "The next war," said the Prince, "will take place in Europe. It will be followed by a second conflict, the struggle for the mastery of the Pacific."

Whether the Prince's words were the echo of

Japan's own determination to win that mastery we do not know. But it is at least clear that the only possible contenders for the prize are Great Britain and Japan. On the success of Japan's present diplomacy much of the issue depends.

Russian Mission to Japan.

The Japan Magazine says:—

Perhaps the most important question arising out of the visit of the Russian Grand Duke is that of an alliance between Japan and Russia. The question of a formal alliance between Japan and Russia has been discussed in the public prints for a long time, but now it seems to be approaching practical possibility. Some have opposed it on account of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the *Entente Cordiale* between Japan and Russia, which seemed to render further agreements unnecessary. Others feared that Russia could not forget her defeat by Japan and would be disposed some time or other to seek revenge; while still others argued that owing to rapid changes in international situations it would be better to wait and put no trust in alliances. The visit of the Grand Duke has done much to remove our suspicions of a contemplated Russian revenge; while leading statesmen of Russia have time and again declared the peaceful attitude of their country toward Japan.

There is now a very general conviction in Japan that an alliance with Russia need in no way militate against the alliance with Britain and that therefore the Russo-Japanese Alliance should be formulated at once. If the two countries are sincere in their declarations of mutual confidence and respect there seems to be no reason for longer postponing the alliance. Our present good relations must never be injured by allowing the presence of suspicion. At present Japan is sending enormous supplies of war munitions to Russia. The Government alone has sold about 60,000,000 *yen* worth of arms; and at least one hundred million more has been supplied by Japanese industry, including shoes, cloth, machinery, tools, medical instruments and medicines.

The Osaka Mint is busy turning out gold coins for Russia to the amount of some 12,000,000; and Japanese bankers are floating Russian treasury bonds to the amount of 50,000,000 *yen*. Taking all these facilities which Japan is offering Russia, together with the visit of the Grand Duke, it is not difficult to see that relations between the two countries were never better and that even something more definite and formal may be expected. At any rate the outlook is bright for a long period of peace between Russia and Japan in the Far East.

Russia and Japan.

A Russo-Japanese convention has been signed. "It provides that the two countries shall unite in efforts to maintain peace in the Far East," which is mere diplomatic euphemism for saying that no other power than these two must break the peace in the Far East nor must China fight to maintain her independence and integrity. This construction is confirmed by what Reuter has cabled out regarding M. Sazonoff's view:

M. Sazonoff stated in an interview that the Russo-

Japanese agreement would enable Russia to devote all her energies to the solution of problems created by the war in the west, with the assurance that no power would take advantage of China to carry out ambitious plans.

The following details of the Agreement given by Reuter are interesting:

The new Russo-Japanese Convention deals with the attitude of each Power in the event of any political engagement or combination directed against the other. It also provides, in the event of any menace to territorial rights or special interests in the Far East of one of the contracting parties which are recognised by the other, that Russia and Japan shall consult regarding measures to be taken with a view to support and cooperation and for safeguarding the defence of these rights and interests.

The Statesman understands from a reliable source that Japan and Russia have agreed

(1) That neither of the two contracting parties shall enter into any political agreement or league the purpose of which is to oppose the other contracting party; and

(2) That, whenever any of the rights or interests of either contracting party in the Far East, which have been recognized by the other contracting party, are in jeopardy, they will deliberate on the measures which should be taken to safeguard and protect those menaced rights and interests with the object of mutual maintenance or co-operation.

The following has appeared in the papers:

Reuter learns that Great Britain has expressed satisfaction at the Russo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance, which is regarded as in every way strengthening the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and consolidating relations between all the Allies in the Far East.

The question is whether under the present circumstances it would have been expedient for Great Britain to express anything else but satisfaction.

The Dutch Indies.

The Dutch are said to be apprehensive that Japan may attack and take possession of Java and the other islands of the archipelago which are under Dutch rule. It is not known how far these apprehensions are well founded. It is at any rate something new for a Christian European power to be afraid of oriental and "heathen" aggressiveness. For centuries international robbery has been the monopoly of occidental Christians.

Australia.

The Australians are said to be now willing to deviate a little from their White Australia policy in favour of the Japanese. Should this willingness materialize, the Japanese would have greater opportunities

in future to exploit the vegetable and mineral resources and the commercial possibilities of Australia.

Japan and U. S. A.

The Burnett Immigration Bill of the United States of America has been agitating the public mind in Japan for some time past. The Government of Japan has protested against it. The following extract from an article on "Japanese Immigration" by Mr. K. K. Kawkami in the *Chicago Unity* will give some idea of the Bill and the Japanese feeling towards it, as well as incidentally indicate the attitude of the British Indian Government :

The Burnett Bill does not name the Japanese among the races it wants to exclude, but proposes to exclude all aliens ineligible to citizenship. On its face the provision is applicable to all Asians. In reality, however, it hits especially the Japanese, because the existing Chinese exclusion law takes care of Chinese immigration, while the Hindu immigration is restricted by the voluntary action of the British government, which is always reluctant to permit Hindus to go abroad for fear that they may start seditious movements against British rule in India. The Burnett Bill specifically names the Hindus as a race to be excluded and then goes on to add "aliens ineligible to citizenship" as another category of excluded Asians. At bottom, and in its practical application, therefore, the phrase "aliens ineligible to citizenship" in this case means the Japanese. That is why Japan thinks the bill is a direct challenge to Japan's honor as well as to her sincerity in adhering to the "gentleman's agreement."

THE JAPANESE PRESS

By LALA LAJPAT RAI.

THE newspaper is as old as civilization itself as well as the institution of organized government, but modern journalism is an institution of recent origin, dating from the invention of the printing press in the West, as printing was known to the Asiatics (Chinese) several thousand years ago. The development of the Japanese press that has taken place within the last 50 years is as wonderful as the development of other modern institutions in Japan during the same period. The first periodical publication which went under the name of a newspaper was printed in Yedo towards the close of the 50th year of the last century. Its contents were mostly translations from Dutch papers, published in Batavia. Three other weekly papers came into existence before the first Japanese daily newspaper made its appearance at Yokohama in 1871. It was called the *Yokohama Manichi Shimbun*. *Shimbun* in Japanese means a newspaper. It was followed in quick succession by the *Nichi Nichi* in 1872, *Hochi* in 1873, *Yomiuri* in 1874 and others later on. These papers still exist and are published in Tokio, the capital of the Japanese Empire. In the

Capital alone are published 21 leading dailies, some of which enjoy a circulation of over a quarter of a million. Several daily papers are also published at Osaka, the Manchester of Japan. In 1915 the total number of newspapers published in Japan amounted to 861, and the total number of periodicals including newspapers and magazines, was 2719.

The Japanese press is not quite free in theory, as there are legal restrictions imposed on them which, in a way, hamper its freedom. For example: the Japanese Press Law requires every periodical discussing current politics to deposit a security, ranging from 175 to 2000 Yen,* according to the place or, in the case of a periodical, to the frequency of publication. The Government possesses the right of using the deposit in the payment of a fine or in the discharge of other pecuniary obligation that may be imposed on the paper by the decision of a court of law, but the security can not be touched nor an editor or publisher fined except by the decision of the court of law. In that respect the Japanese Press Law is more

* The Yen is equivalent to Re. 1-8-0.

liberal than the Indian. Moreover the fixing of the security is determined, not by the arbitrary will of the Magistrate, but by definite rules. There is another article of the Japanese Press Law which is rather unique, *viz.*, the procedure which is adopted in the case of private libel. It entitles the party concerned, to oblige the newspaper which published a libel, to insert a contradiction in one of the three following issues, using the same type as that in which the original paragraph appeared and in columns equally conspicuous as those in which the offensive matter was printed. The contradiction must be accompanied by the name and address of the sender and must not exceed the length of the original statement, any excess to be paid for at the journal's usual advertising rates. Failure to comply with these requirements involves the penalty of from Yen fifty to one thousand. When a newspaper violates the provision of the Press Law, relating to military or diplomatic censorship in time of emergency, it is liable to suppression by the decision of a court of law. There is no provision in the Japanese Press Law for forfeiture of publications. Publications can be prohibited or their sale forbidden. Newspapers may be suppressed or suspended under the law by a decision of a court of justice. In 1914, 453 issues of newspapers or publications were suppressed, one was suspended, and there were 114 cases at law courts. Out of those suppressed or of those the sale of which was forbidden in 1914, 135 cases related to diplomatic or military affairs occasioned by the European War. Besides the newspapers and periodicals published in the Japanese language, there are about half a dozen daily papers printed and published in the English language. Most of them are owned and edited by foreigners, but the majority by Englishmen. Their circulation is necessarily limited. Very few Japanese take them. Their circulation is chiefly confined to foreigners residing or travelling in Japan.

From the above it would appear that the Japanese press is very much hampered by the restrictions imposed by the Press Law, but a few days' residence in Japan, and even a slight acquaintance with the contents of the Japanese papers, makes it clear that in practice the Japanese press is as free as the press in the Western countries and that, except in the matter

of security, the provisions of the Press Law as to prohibition or suppression or suspension are put into operation in only extreme cases. Sometimes the Japanese papers become even more rabid than the yellow press in America.

Another feature of the Japanese press is that there is no prohibition against Government servants owning or writing for the papers. Almost all leading politicians, whether members of Government or in the opposition, have their own organs, owning them wholly or in part.

The opposition papers are as outspoken in their criticism of Government policy and Government measures as the newspapers of the most advanced countries of the West. The members of Government often entertain journalists at dinners or other parties to explain to them the policy of the Government and consult them over national affairs. Members of the opposition press are as freely invited to these entertainments as of the newspapers of the party in power, or those belonging to neither party. Thus the press is in close touch with the Government and is taken into confidence on almost every occasion of national emergency. One notices that, more often than not, ministers inviting the press to entertainments fail to impress the opposition press favorably. Several Japanese papers have their own telegraphic services in the important countries of the world. They subscribe for Reuter's telegrams, too, but generally they depend on their own correspondents in the capitals of the different countries of the world.

The Japanese editor is generally well-informed and up-to-date in world politics. About Indian affairs, they are hopelessly ignorant. The fact is that they do not attach any importance to Indian politics, though of late, a departure in this respect has been noticed. The Japanese dailies employ very large staffs. Some of the leading papers have as many as 200 or 300 writers on their staff, from the chief editor downwards. Every daily paper has a foreign department which is staffed by persons who have received their training in and have been to the foreign countries. Similarly there are commerce, literary, and art departments, each in charge of a special staff. The Japanese newspaper man is not, as a rule, paid as well as men holding similar positions in European and American

countries. In Tokio, the chief editor of a leading newspaper does not get more than 300 Yen a month. I was informed that there is only one newspaper editor in the whole country who gets a salary of 500 Yen a month, but this is of course due to the comparatively low standards of wages and living that prevail in the country. And if one considers the number of writers engaged in preparing a newspaper for the press, it appears that the salary is not small and the Japanese newspaper man is as open to other sources of income as the pressman of other Western countries. Almost all important papers depute members of their own staff to the different countries of the world to study their affairs on the spot, thus keeping themselves in close touch with events which happen in other countries and with the undercurrents of public opinion which can only be studied by personal and close attention on the spot. There is hardly any important paper in Japan some members of whose staff have not been to foreign countries, all specially deputed by their own paper and at its expense. In fact, every paper keeps one or more of its representatives in the important countries of the world. Compared with the Japanese press, the Indian press seems to be in a state of infancy yet. Even the best Indian dailies have no representatives in the outside world except London. Very few have London correspondents, most of whom are non-Indians. The London letters of the Indian press are generally insipid, containing matters which become stale by the time those letters are published. Most of the letters do not contain anything which is not to be found in the Congress Publication "India." In England there are competent Indians who can serve as correspondents of the Indian papers, but the latter seem to have a certain prejudice against them. The fact is that the Indian papers can not afford to pay for correspondents or contributions from abroad. A genuine, intimate and close study of current politics in foreign countries involves a certain amount of expenditure which is beyond the means of those who ordinarily write for the Indian press from outside. This results in that deplorable ignorance which characterises the Indian papers about the true trend of foreign affairs and their bearing on Indian politics.

The truth of the matter is that the press in India cannot be developed without a much greater development of Indian industries. The press and the trade are inseparable under modern conditions. It is business which maintains the press and not the reading public. Big manufactures, developed industries, high class business alone can advertise on terms which make it possible for the newspapers to sell cheap and extend their circulation and influence. That is what accounts for the development of the Japanese press. The Indian paper has no such support. It depends chiefly upon its sales and is sold at comparatively high prices, which naturally limits its circulation.

The limited circulation of the Indian newspaper is also due to the general illiteracy which prevails in India. In Japan, almost every man and woman can read and write. In India only 5 p. c. of the population, if you take the figures together, can do so. So the circle of readers is necessarily small. Besides, the Indians have a vicious habit of reading books or papers purchased by others, even though they have the means to make their own purchases. The Indians have yet to learn that a writer is as much entitled to be compensated for his labor as any other class of workers; that literature cannot be developed in a country where people look upon literary efforts as more or less amateur, not entitling the men engaged in this work to be compensated in money. The literary profession is as honorable, if not more, as any other, and unless the men engaged in that profession are supported by the public so as to make them independent of other means of earning their living, the country cannot expect a high class development of its literature. The reading public in India seems to be under the impression that a literary man creates everything from his imagination which they think does not cost him anything. They seem to ignore that a literary man has to invest, as much money, if not more, "in his tools and instruments" as any other kind of industrial worker has to do. The tools of a literary man are ordinarily books and publications from which he gathers his information and which he has to study and digest if he has to make any valuable contribution to his subject.

All this is true of our countrymen. Yet,

the chief factor in keeping down the circulation of the Indian newspaper is the lack of manufactures and industries, which will pay for advertisements and thus support the press and enable it to sell cheaply. One sometimes wonders how a huge paper, like the *London Times*, can be sold for a penny (equivalent to one anna) and a paper like the *London Daily News* for half a penny (two pice). The American papers are still cheaper. The Sunday Edition of the *New York Times* or the *San Francisco Examiner* or the *Chicago Tribune* is a heavy load, and it can be had all for five cents (two and half annas in Indian money). Considering the purchasing value of Indian money, the cheapness of the English and the American newspapers is still more remarkable. It is a fact well-known that all these papers would go to bankruptcy if they had to depend for their income on their sales. In fact, some of the papers actually suffer losses by larger sales. Their income is derived from advertisements. Similar is the case in Japan. There the daily papers are perhaps even cheaper than in England and the United States. There are evils, no doubt, connected with this system, but at present we are not considering the ethical side of the question. The growth of the Indian newspaper is decidedly retarded by the backwardness of the country in industries and manufacture. It amuses one and sometimes excites one's laughter as well as pity, to scan the advertisements that appear in the Indian vernacular press. One is sometimes tempted to think that the only thing on which the Indian vernacular papers thrive, are the specifics for certain unmentionable diseases. We have no doubt that the country is powerless but whether the medicines advertised in the vernacular press are the proper remedy is doubtful. These advertisements are obscene in the extreme and very objectionable from a moral point of view. Yet even the papers, whose mission is to inculcate purity and morality and spirituality, have to accept these advertisements and make them a prominent feature of their columns. That only shows the poverty of our resources. However, this was only by the by.

I am inclined to think that the pro-

prietors of the Indian newspapers are lacking, to a certain extent at least, in a spirit of enterprise. Some of them are known to have made fortunes in this business. Yet they grudge to invest money in improvements and in getting high class contributions from experts. The Indian paper would do well to club themselves into groups for the purpose of deputing special correspondents to foreign countries and for the purpose of sending the members of their own staff in rotation to study on the spot in the different countries of the world, how the latter have solved the problems which are at the present moment agitating the Indian mind; how India can make money by increasing its trade and how the Indian producer can save the money which at present goes to the pockets of the foreign middle man. The great problem that faces India is what to do with her young men, and I am certain that if the foreign middle man could be replaced by Indians, a great field will be opened for the employment of Indians who are at present rotting in Government offices or eking out a miserable living in the crowded profession of law.

A close study of the Japanese press on the spot leads me to think that the Japanese press is a great power, perhaps greater than the American press in America and the English press in England. The Japanese Ministers make every effort to placate the press and feel very uncomfortable when they are persistently attacked by the press. A press conducted by a few men only is not sufficiently potent to mould and guide public opinion. Its power must eventually depend upon the number and ability of the people who write for it and upon its circulation. Where the newspaper is prepared by a larger number of men than a staff of two or three permanent editors, the public does not feel so much confidence in the opinions expressed by it, as they would if they were conscious that the paper represents the labor of a large number of their countrymen who have devoted time and thought to the writings that make up the paper. This requirement the Japanese press fulfills; and hence its power over the public and the Government and its vigour.

AMERICAN WAYS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

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THE United States may well be described as a congress of nations in permanent session ; for the citizenry of America is an unprecedented mixture of the peoples of the globe. In the veins of the people flows the blood of half the races of the world. For the five year period before the great war in Europe the number of immigrants averaged more than a million a year. *There are in the United States sixty-five different nationalities speaking as many as seventy-three languages and dialects.* At the same time there is among these heterogeneously diversified factors of the population a robust sense of American nationality. Having once set his foot on American soil, the alien becomes quickly inoculated with patriotism for the United States : he vies with the "native-born" American in his profession of loyalty to his adopted country. The incoming immigrant having thrown off his former allegiance finds himself in a vast melting pot where many nationalities are fused preparatory to their being recasted in a new mould called Americanism.

The feeling of unity in America is so intense that it impels assimilation of even the most obstinate elements. The chief solvents in the process are language, education, free government, and public opinion—the greatest and most potent of which is the compelling force of public opinion. Should a foreigner be hardy enough to disregard public sentiment, he may find social and even business avenues barred against him. "If you don't like our country, get out," he will be informed quickly. "Do as others do. Follow the crowd," is the insistent demand of the normal routine of American existence.

I recall with amusement my earlier experiences in America when I was tardy in adjusting myself to the new environment. One by one, almost unconsciously, I had shed my Indian costumes ; but there was one article I fondly clung to : I per-

sisted in wearing my turban. Although it provoked not a little silent mirth among my fellow-students, I was determined not to give up the remaining emblem of the Indian nationality. Fate was, however, working against me. One morning I happened to leave my head-gear in the cloak room of the college. The sight that met my eyes on my return was too tragic for words. The poor turban was gone—gone forever ! It had been coldly assassinated—literally hacked and butchered to pieces. Then came my long-deferred, enforced introduction to the plain, and incidentally ill-fitting, American derby.

The citizens of the United States are brought up on the Declaration of Independence ; they are reared on the theory that all men are equal. That is, indeed, a beautiful theory, a fine ideal. As a matter of fact discerning observers find that though there is no caste in the old meaning of the term, there are pronounced social demarcations in the United States. These social divisions are based on the color of the skin as well as on dollars and cents. In America there is wealth-a-plenty. Mushroom millionaires are so numerous that they are beyond count. The latest *World Almanac* of New York devotes twelve closely printed pages to a list of American families of vast wealth—all multimillionaires. There is, of course, some social intercourse between a colored man or a humble white man and a plutocrat ; but this intercourse is no mark of intimacy, no indication of social equality between the two. Each follows his life in his own particular groove. Many of the men of swollen fortunes toil not, neither do they spin, yet they live on the fat of the land. Some of these millionaires ransack the medieval castles of Europe for ceilings and mantel-pieces, staircases and furniture ; the newly rich hunt the world for tapestries and paintings ; the unwieldy

rich siuk fortunes in Persian pottery, in 650 specimens of Roman drinking cups, or in 120 varieties of Egyptian beetles. Only last month the books, manuscripts, and engravings which the late J. Pierpont Morgan stored away in one of his marble palaces have been appraised at twenty-one million rupees.

The flamboyant prosperity of America has produced a gigantic crop of wealthy men. Money is said to have become the open sesame of life. "Dollar chasers" and "money grubbers" are some of the elegant terms applied to Americans by unsympathetic critics. The English poet Wordsworth spoke of America as "Mammon's loathsome den." Americans themselves deny these charges. Indeed one who has lived long enough in this country and taken an impartial survey of the "struggle for the dollar" knows that the fatal money disease has infected at least a portion of the population. Here and there wealth beyond the dreams of avarice has been accumulated in a few hands. Buoyant, kindly idealism has a hard time in keeping pace with get-rich-quick-scheming, profit-dreaming, fortune-hunting individualism. The spirit of soulless egotism which teaches "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is not wanting.

In this land of contrasts, pauper slums and criminal slums are ever sending forth their silent but pathetic appeals for help. There are the hungry to be fed; the naked to be clothed; the dissolute to be rescued; the criminal to be saved; the unfortunates to be helped upward and onward. Much as I am in love with America, I can not say that it is a paradise on earth, a Garden of Eden, and that its peoples are all like the saints pictured on the tinted church windows. And yet one is forced to observe that the American is human, sometimes charitable, and occasionally idealistic. I have found in this country dull materialism blended with touching idealism. Even in the rushing "sky-scraper" city of New York, throbbing Philadelphia, diplomatic Washington, grimy Pittsburg, hustling Chicago, and multitudes of booming cities of the Middle-west and West, I have caught glimpses of human, self-sacrificing idealism. Contrary to the stereotyped European prejudice, everything American is not materialistic and moneyed. Life is not guided and controlled exclusively from the dollar point of view. Smug, crass mater-

ialism is not the sole passion of the whole population. To thoughtful men and women, money is a symbol—a sign of power, an emblem of success, an instrument of service.

The moneyed aristocrats—oil-kings, steel-princes, stove-lords, coal-barons, lumber-dukes, beef-millionaires—have after all little influence with the masses of the population. The prodigal waste of the rich is the common subject of impatient assaults on the part of independent pens. The public attitude toward the rich—the muck-rakes call them criminally rich—is one of doubt, suspicion, and, upon occasion, of half-humorous contempt. It is doubted whether an ultra-rich American millionaire could ever be elected President of the United States. A redeeming feature of American life is that money kings are coming to regard themselves as mere trustees of their millions which they hold for the larger good of the community. American Cræsus are generous givers. Many of them are found among the aggressive leaders of intellectual and philanthropic life. They build hospitals, found colleges and universities; they establish academies for medical research and scientific investigations; they endow public museums; they support free libraries and art galleries. Dr. Samuel Johnson in the latter part of the eighteenth century described Americans as "kascals—Robbers—Pirates." Most vehemently he called the people of this commonwealth "a race of convicts, who ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." If the good doctor could visit America to-day, he would change his mind.

The psychology of the American people is hard to understand and much harder to explain. If I were asked to name the most conspicuous fact of American life I should say it is democracy. Americans simply will not lift their hats to accidents of birth or blood. Notwithstanding certain appearances to the contrary, it may be safely asserted that there is among them a strong undercurrent of real democracy, which can no more be stemmed by a few plutocrats, irresponsible reactionaries, and vociferous minorities than can the Atlantic be swept back with a broom by Dame Partington. Here in the land of the free the rulers and the ruled are on the same level. The policy of the Government is

shaped not by parchment nobility, but by the will of the common people. Here there is no hat-in-hand, no servile crouching submission to purple robes. Every American is a sovereign. Along with the gift of sovereignty goes religious liberty. There is no state church to call for his allegiance or demand his contributions. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge that there is no hereditary social system which holds a man permanently down to "the station of life to which it has pleased God to call him." Every individual is free to carve out his own destiny as he sees fit. All work is considered honorable; and since there are frequent changes of occupation, doctors become farmers, lawyers shopkeepers, and druggists politicians. I have known a Christian preacher add to his income by working alternately as a farm laborer and a city ditch-digger.

There are in this Republic high government officials and important divines. They are, however, spoken of as men, not as persons occupying high social position. A supreme court justice, a United States congressman, a university professor will all be addressed by a common working man as his equal. No one lies awake nights learning the nice shades of meaning which exist between "His Serene Highness," "His Royal Highness," and "His Imperial Highness"; or between "Right Reverend" and "Most Reverend."

To be sure the American doctrine that all men are free and equal, if taken literally, may appear to be something of an illusion. As long as men differ from one another in their occupation, wealth, and education, they will not be content to be reduced to one dead level. When the Revolutionary Fathers spoke of equality they did not perhaps mean social equality. The ordinary, placid, easy-going Americans of to-day explain that the Jeffersonian doctrine of equality had reference only to equality before the law, and equality of opportunity. America has, therefore, become a synonym for opportunity. Hence Emerson declared "America is God's last opportunity to the human race."

In this democracy every man hopes to get on and up; and he habitually worships the cult of success and achievement. He has unlimited powers of accomplishment. He believes that if he could only liberate the imprisoned energies of his spirit he would be able to mould his environment.

His life is crammed with movement, change, onward rush, struggle, conquest, eternal unrest. He despises soft inertia as a sin. The fundamental qualities of his life are not those of profound thought and calm deliberation; but rather those of will, enthusiasm, impulse, striving, progress. His mind is practical, not meditative. You can make almost anything out of an American but a sanyasi, a hermit.

The time-honored motto of the man toiling up the steep road to success is, "What man has done, man can do." The American has lately improved upon it. With set teeth and clenched fist he says, "I will do what no man has yet accomplished." He is ever on the look-out to break old records, make fresh ones, and set a new pace for the world. He is never satisfied with the conditions of circumstance. He wants more than what he has; he is eager to obtain the very best that life has to offer. What is the magic word in America? What do men talk about most? What do they think about when they think? Business. "How is business?" is the common greeting. "Business is business" is the national proverb.

No one can help being thrilled with the electric impulse of American activity which, indeed, makes "the world go round". It is almost impossible to find an American sitting down quietly for three minutes. He is always on the go. He has little use for holidays—there being only seven legal holidays. Then, too, a holiday is not for him a day of rest and leisure. A holiday consists mainly in changing the forms of activity. The more activity is crowded into a day the more and better he enjoys it. Truly his joy of living comes from the joy of laboring. Work is the object of his idolatry. What has always bewildered me is that sometimes his activity has no definite end, no particular objective. He likes work for work's sake. "Why do you have to work so hard?" I asked an old man abundantly blessed with worldly goods. "I don't know," he replied nervously tugging at his heavy gold chain, "but I must keep busy. I must find something to do."

Someone has said that the sole contribution of America to humanity is hurry. Americans live in an atmosphere of constant bustle and excitement, in a perennial maelstrom of events. "The American is born quick," remarked a

Frenchman, "works quick; eats quick; gets rich quick; and dies quick." I suppose that the first words which American babies are taught to lisp are "Be quick. Step lively." The man in the office hangs over his desk the legend: "This is my busy day. Be brief," or "Time is money. Cut short." The ever-rushed-to-death American will spend millions to take a curve out of a railroad that will save a few minutes. He is economic of time, but lavish of men. Every year ten thousand people are killed in the United States through railroad accidents. Everywhere in business districts of a town one encounters enormous signs purporting to do what you want done—"While You Wait." The shoemaker will repair your shoes, the tailor will iron and press your clothes, the boot-black will shine your boots, the hatter will clean and block your hat "while you wait." Everything is done at aviation speed. Just drop into restaurants or cafes on the corner where they stick up such signs as "Quick Service. Try Our Quick Lunch." These places are very popular. Here you will see people bolt their dinners in less than five minutes. They eat so fast that you would think they are famine victims. The wonder to me is that they do not cut themselves to pieces when they have to carry out so many intricate quick manoeuvres with spoons, knives and forks, especially knives. I confess I have no intimate knowledge of the by-ways of the American mind. I doubt if any foreigner has. But that the American mind would think in short-hand if it could, I honestly believe.

Not a very ceremonious people are these Americans. Politeness such as is known in Japan or India does not exist in America. There are those who are afraid that if things do not improve, politeness will some day become a lost art in the United States. Personally, I think that such a day is afar off. Seeming incivility is more the result of carelessness than deliberate wilfulness. The genuine American is not a member of the blarney tribe: he has a positive dislike of the French habit of adulation and suavity. You recall how the courtly, dignified Caulaincourt, the friend of the great Napoleon, seized by the collar the base traitor Abbe de Pradt and twirling him around upon his heels like a top, exclaimed, "You are a villain, Sir!" In polite European society it is always "Sir"

—"Sir" this, "Sir" that. Your genteel European—if there is still anybody left in that denomination—is always "charmed" to meet a man even when his breath is being shaken out of him. He may be hated, stabbed, shot, bombed, or poisoned, but he will be invariably addressed "Sir." They do not "Sir" in the United States.

Americans are open and accessible. They are about the easiest people in the world to get acquainted with. They are not like that historic Englishman who stood still on the edge of the water and let a drowning man sink because he could not make up his mind to rescue a stranger without proper introduction. American etiquette is different. In parks, theaters, hotels, railroad stations, strangers will now and then approach you and ask, "Got any matches?", "Can I look at your paper?", or "What time is it?"

The American is genial, warm-hearted, independent. He is keenly sensitive to what he considers rudeness or insolence. He is excessively proud; but not, as President Wilson would have the world believe, too proud to fight. The American is a big, two-handed fighter, no "pussy foot." Although he keeps his temper in tight control, he stomachs an insult almost as readily as a bull dog does an irreverent remark from a fox-terrier. Those who know him well find also that there is no pretentious snobbishness in him. He is frank, almost to the point of being brutal. If he has anything to say, he blurts it straight out. There are no buts and ifs, no preludes and postludes. Do you object to a man's walking with his hands buried in his trouser's pockets jingling coins? Do you object to his sitting with his legs crossed or stretched across the table? He would as lief remind you as not: "This is a free country. I can do as I please." It is well within bounds to say that his personality would be rich and immensely interesting if he had some of the refinements of polished manners. Excessive politeness is not his long suit. In fact he says he has no time to waste on politeness. Rough and ready, he is apt to mistake delicate Oriental courtesy for weakness of character. The truth is that the American rushing tide of activity, the unceasing nerve-wrecking hurry is not conducive to leisurely niceties of manners. An intense, almost frantic, struggle to achieve success leaves

him little time to agonize over the feelings of other people. "I don't care!", "I should worry!", are the slang phrases of the day.

Is there any social life among this hurried people? Assuredly there is. The American possesses social instincts and no little social talent. The social life is especially pleasing because it is entirely dominated by women. A happy, free, wholesome mingling of the sexes lends delightful fascination to social gaities.

Americans are a hospitable people. No foreign celebrities can land upon the American shores without being dined and wined and lionized. Americans are at times so over-anxious to entertain the great and the near-great that they frequently lay themselves open to the charge of being tuft-hunters. Americans are always generous and open-handed in their hospitality.

The invited guest is not expected to stay over three days. "Stay long enough to pay your fare, but do not stay too long to wear out your welcome," remarked a young debutante of my acquaintance in a tone of finality that could not be disputed. When a person makes a social call, he is prudent enough not to stay over thirty minutes. "A long stay killeth a visit," is the revised version of the American social gospel.

An Indian does not like to accept an invitation unless it is persistently pressed upon him. In my early days in America I lost many dinner invitations because my friends would simply say, "Wouldn't you like to dine with me?" Of course I would; but how could I think of accepting an invitation which had not been urged upon me at least half a dozen times? There is much that is good in this sincere and straightforward hospitality. It does, however, take an Indian some time before he gets used to American ways.

Social debts in America are binding and obligatory as well as any other debts. When a person has many social debts and does not care to give a theater or a dinner party, he holds a reception. It is the easiest and cheapest way to discharge outstanding social obligations. In a large reception, which is generally a stiff and glittering function, host and hostess dressed in their best clothes stand in the parlor, and gallantly shake hands with each incoming guest at a measured angle and with a studied smile. The two formulae used on this occasion are:

"Happy-to-see-you" and "Pleased-to-be-here." After the hand-shaking business is over, the guests ask one another, "How-are-you"; but nobody waits long enough to hear the answer. There is hardly any worth-while conversation, though there is plenty of small talk. These receptions would have been more endurable if there were no music. Usually an obstreperous orchestra hidden behind a miniature grove of painted rubber palms set up an ear-splitting noise. If there is any harmony in this music, the Oriental does not recognize it. To him it is torture. Years ago when a Shah of Persia was in Germany as the guest of the Kaiser, a German musical program was given for his pleasure. At the close the Shah was asked if he wished to hear any number of the program again. Yes; he would like the first number repeated. They played it; but that did not please him. What did he want? Finally it became apparent that what the Shah was most interested in was the performance which preceded the first number: he wished to hear the musicians tune their instruments. I venture to say he would have no better luck with American music. At any rate, in fashionable receptions there is music and there is something to eat. Well toward the close of the evening, the inevitable black coffee and ice cream with wafers make their appearance. Refreshments over, guests begin to make their exits. The pass words at this time are: "I had-a-most-delightful-time" and "Glad-you-came."

It has been stated that the Americans are a nation of villagers. This description is true in this sense that they are more provincial than national, and far more national than international or cosmopolitan. An explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the fact that until recently America has lived in comparative isolation: she was almost a recluse among the nations. As yet she has not fully entered into the spirituality of the world. An average American is all but village-minded when it comes to issues of world politics. Question him as to happenings in India or any other country outside the orbit of his own land, and you will find him either an unabridged encyclopedia of cloudy misinformation or an icy mountain of sheer indifference. The only subjects which seem to move his interest and stir his imagination are American subjects. In this respect he is

dangerously near being parochial in mental make-up.

The American loves his country with a deathless love. The deepest, the most fundamental, the most universal thing in the United States is patriotism. The American is a patriot, sleeping or waking, walking or running, eating or drinking. He will forgive any crime but an act that is unpatriotic. He will gladly die a thousand times rather than see the honor of the national flag stained. As I write I have before me in the newspaper an account of a small boy, only eleven years of age, who refused to salute the flag at his school. He was taken to the court, where the judge sentenced the little child to nine years in a reformatory school. "My country, right or wrong," is the essence of American patriotism. It inspires him with the belief that his country, which is the greatest, noblest and grandest of all, is a model, a guide to others. It breeds in him the conviction that he is the advance guard of civilization, that he has an apostolic mission to humanity. What a familiar ring these phrases have! For has not the world heard already about the mission of Japan in China, the Germans in the Near East, the French in North Africa, and the English in the Far East?

It is perhaps unavoidable that Americans with such a glow of patriotism in their bosom, with such loyalty to their institutions, would possess the unhappy knack of boasting about their country. This is, however, no original discovery with me. Nearly every visiting European traveler has made this observation, and furnished numerous examples in support of the view. Matthew Arnold in one of his paroxysms of attack against the United States spoke bitterly of the "American rhapsody of self-praise." It seems to me that Europeans do not need to draw around them the cloak of self-righteousness. They have a beam in their own eyes. Their fulsome patriotic literature and their patriotic oratory reveal to an amazing degree that the United States does not hold a monopoly of the gift of gasconade. Does not France claim she is at the head of the world civilization? Does not Germany assume that she is the knight-errant of the true culture? And who has not heard England declare that other countries are weltering in the chaos of outer darkness? These innuendos are as well-known as they

are ridiculous. They prove one thing—the wide extent of the plague zone.

Confidence in one's ability, faith in the destiny of one's nation, even when carried to extreme, breeds ambition and hopeful cheerfulness. Hence Americans are a race of stubborn, inveterate optimists. Their common saying is, "Never trouble trouble until trouble troubles you." There is probably no place in the world to-day where there is a people more determined to be optimistic, regardless of logic or fact, than the American people. They are loudly optimistic—at times totally forgetful that two and two make four. In the art of daring, incurable, reckless optimism America has so successfully led the globe that no competitor is in the running. A snarling pessimist is almost a social outcast: he is looked upon much as a lunatic or a cow thief. Talk as we may, bright cheery American optimism is far better than the dark pessimism of James Thompson or the bottomless gloom of Schopenhauer. Optimism makes the American self-reliant, self-confident; optimism stiffens his fighting spirit in the face of difficulty and obstacles.

In the course of my slumming experience I became acquainted with a gray worn woman. She might have passed for sixty-five. I considered her to be that old. She was poor; she had to take in laundry to support herself, a drunken old husband, and a debauched son. Yet she never complained. "How are you getting along?" I asked her. "All right," she said, lifting a soggy partly wrung-out garment on the line; "I just get up my grit and fight. It will be better by and by." And that too from a feeble woman who had been carrying an awful burden for over forty years! What cheerful courage, what heroism!

A capital instance of phoenix-like optimism came to my notice a few days ago. I was walking with one of my neighbours who owned a very fine well-equipped barber shop up-town. We had not gone far in our morning stroll when my neighbour was informed by one of his friends that his shop was destroyed by fire last night. "Is that so?" was all he said. And he kept on walking and talking about the weather without once mentioning the fire. I thought it was all a joke. When we were within two city blocks of his place, several business men of the town happened along. They, too, told him of his fire loss and asked where he was last night. To all

their anxious inquiries he smiled broadly and said, "I did not know anything about the fire." Just as we were about to turn the corner of the street before reaching the shop, he came across another man with whom he proceeded to discuss some affairs. In the meanwhile my own curiosity had been roused to the highest pitch. I could

wait for him no longer. I ran. And there I found my neighbor's beautiful shop a mass of charred black ruins. "Oh, there is bound to be fire once in a while," said he with heroic indifference the next time we met. "What's the use of worrying about it?"

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

(2)

THIS war has brought its revelations. But among these revelations perhaps there is none more startling than the transformation of Mr. Lloyd George. The fact is that this war has discovered the real Mr. Lloyd George and the discovery has been good. His antecedents were such as to justify people in the belief that he would be the last person to stand forth as an advocate of Imperial Britain. His early associations, training, religious influences and political activities were essentially pacifist. His attitude during the Boer War convinced the majority of people that he was one of the Little Englanders and not one of those who assume the role of the champion of Imperial Britain. His primal instincts had all been against the arbitrament of the sword. He had been one of those who stand for peace and not for war. He had been one of those who would fight to the death for peace. During the whole of his political career extending over a period of nearly thirty years, it has been once and once only that in his Mansion House Speech in July, 1911, in connection with the Agadir incident, he made it clear that "England would not stand by whilst France was being crushed." On that occasion he was chosen by Mr. Asquith to deliver, on behalf of the Cabinet, "a grave pronouncement of the deliberate intention of the Government to oppose German policy by force of arms." Excepting the said occasion, he had never uttered a word "which might warrant anticipations of the development of August 1914." On the contrary, his faith in the

pacifist policy of Germany was unshaken. In fact, he was "pro-German," as the phrase goes. Read his historic Budget Speech, and you will find references after references to Germany and German methods. These repeated references to Germany and German methods, naturally used to irritate those who knew of Germany's hostile attitude towards England. But Mr. Lloyd George whose advocacy of peace had been proverbial did not "smell a rat," as they say in colloquial language. It is true that he had made many visits to Germany and as such was in a position to find out the views and intentions of Germans towards England. But his visits to Germany were expressly made with a view to studying the social conditions of that country in connection with his contemplated Old Age Pensions and Insurance Schemes, and thus perhaps precluded his paying attention to matters other than social. These visits, in fact, hoodwinked Mr. Lloyd George. Every time he visited Germany he came back with the renewed belief that England had nothing to fear from Germany, whose chief mission in this world was the expansion of German commerce: an object to the accomplishment of which the continuance of peace was absolutely essential. The views of Mr. Balfour and other great statesmen who did not believe in the pacifist policy of Germany and gravely doubted Germany's intentions, were pooh-poohed by Mr. Lloyd George and characterized as "tea-table-tittle-tattle."

When the war broke out on August 4, 1914, Mr. Lloyd George became a changed man. He at once realized that Germany meant war not only on peaceful

small states like Belgium, but also against the peace, civilization and liberty of the world, and threw in his authority and influence with those who are fighting for the cause of Liberty against those who are fighting for the introduction of Militarism in the world. He placed his persuasive eloquence, his exuberant energy, his inexhaustible resources, and his thrilling inspiration at the service of his country. In fact he gave all he has to this cause of Liberty. Great Britain went into war to defend the honour, the integrity, and the independence of Belgium, and to assert the principles of justice and right. It was not impelled by motives of territorial acquisition. And of all statesmen, there was no one more conscious of this than Mr. Lloyd George. In his great speech at the Queen's Hall, London, on September 19, 1914, he said, "We could not have avoided it without national dishonour.... No man has regarded the prospects of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance, with greater repugnance than I have done throughout the whole of my political life." He with the assistance of Colonel Owen Thomas had been the means of raising a Welsh Army with Welsh-speaking officers, and it must stand to the credit of Lord Kitchener that by issuing an Army Order he authorized the use of the Welsh language at all times in the Welsh Army.

Previous to the war Mr. Lloyd George was the best-hated man in England, not only among Tories, but among a certain section of liberals as well. He was known as "the Enemy of the Classes." His Old Age Pension and Insurance Schemes, and Land Campaign had made him most unpopular, of course, unjustly. Very few people had a good word for him, and "if anyone wished to say a good word of him, he had to whisper it." And now he is *the* man. He is the man who is doing things. He is the man who is putting things right. He is the man who can deliver goods, as they say colloquially. He is the man who is acting. He is the man who is out to organise victory in the war. He is the visible soul of the Coalition Government. He is its inspiration. Before the war he was known as the "Enemy of the Classes" and the "Castigator of the Masses." To-day he is "the Saviour of the Country." More than an year and a half ago, he was described as "the

Democrat-Dictator." To-day he is a true servant of the country. To-day others talk, but he acts. Others give us words, but he gives us facts. To-day others have gone down in the estimation of their countrymen, but he has magnetised them not only with his example, but equally with his ideal—his motto being:—"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." To-day he is a general favourite, and nobody's hand is against him. Conservatives of the type of Lord Curzon and the Earl of Derby, who once denounced him as the traitor to Britain, are among his best political friends. Mr. Austin Harrison and Mr. Blatchford who are always down like a ton of bricks on the Government, always say a good word of him to-day. The former in his letter to "The Times" dated July 9, 1915, writes, "Except for the initiative and courageous example of Mr. Lloyd George (whose energies, by the way, have been scolded by the Liberal press) the Coalition, so far as I can see, has changed little," and the latter in "The Weekly Despatch" dated July 18, 1915, thus writes:—

"There is a dark suspicion in the minds of the people that some intrigue is being carried on against Mr. Lloyd George. I do not know whether or not that is true. But I do know that the country has entrusted Mr. Lloyd George with work which the country regards as of the very greatest importance, and that the country would give short shrift to any person or persons who dared to attempt to hinder Mr. Lloyd George in his work. If Mr. Lloyd George finds himself thwarted or threatened, or annoyed, or interfered with in any way he may depend upon it that the whole Empire will stand by him and insist upon his having not only fair play, but every assistance that he may ask for or that the Government and the public can give."

And why? Because Mr. Lloyd George has subordinated his political principles to the military needs of the country at the present moment. He has become a conscriptionist, and there are people who see in it a travesty of Liberalism. I think they are mistaken. Mr. Lloyd George means to win the war, and if he is convinced that the war can be won by introducing conscription, there is no reason why he shouldn't become conscriptionist, and an ardent advocate of conscription. I don't see any sense in blaming him on that account. On the contrary, he deserves all praise for it. It does not mean that he has changed his political views and convictions. It simply means that he

has grasped the situation and knows how to handle it satisfactorily. It was at Manchester in June, 1915, that Mr. Lloyd George first came out as a conscriptionist and told the country that "France saved the liberties she had won in the Great Revolution from the fangs of tyrannical military empires purely by compulsory service." How differently it was regarded by people in Great Britain is clear from Mr. Bankes's concluding appeal, which ran as follows:—

"Heaven forbid that we should ever see the day that Conscription should be adopted or followed in this country. Were we to despair of the safety of this country under a Constitution which had enabled us to come safe through so many perils unless we should adopt the system of France, a system devised by tyranny for its safety, and which carried misery into the bosom of every family. This would be truly *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*."

But in fairness to Mr. Lloyd George it must be stated that when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and before he became a Conscriptionist, he outlined his policy in this connection on May 4, 1914, in the following words:—

"What service can Britain best render to this great combination? She can keep the command of the sea for the Allies. She has done so, and she will maintain that complete control to the end. That is the invaluable service which she is rendering to her Allies...What is the second service which Britain could render? She could, of course, maintain a great Army, putting the whole of her population into it exactly as the Continental Powers have done. What is the third service? The third service which Britain can render is the service which she rendered in the Napoleonic wars of bearing the main burden of financing the Allied countries in their necessary purchases outside their own country, more especially for carrying on the war, and also helping the Allies with the manufacture and equipment of munitions of war. Britain can do the first, and she can do the third. She can only do the second within limits if she has to do the first and the last. I think that is important. We have raised enormous numbers of men in this country, but I say, speaking now purely from the point of view of finance, that the time has come when there should be discrimination so that recruiting should not interfere with the output of munitions of war, and that it should interfere as little as possible with the output of those commodities which we export and which enable us to purchase munitions for ourselves and for our Allies."

The part which Great Britain has to play in the war, according to Mr. Lloyd George was threefold—Naval, Military and Financial. The first and third function

Great Britain alone among the Allies can perform. The second function can only be carried out to a limited extent, otherwise it would prejudice Great Britain's power of financing the Allies. That was the view of Mr. Lloyd George in May, 1914. But, unlike many of his colleagues, his mind, though trained to move amid peace conditions, does not follow its natural bent under the shocks of war. It adapts itself to the circumstances. And this is the reason that Mr. Lloyd George, a Liberal to his finger-tips, has become an ardent advocate of Conscription. And quite right too. The fact is that Mr. Lloyd George knows when to be diplomatist, and he is not too obstinate to compromise, and if need be to surrender. He knows when to compromise. He knows when to surrender. He is a man of courage, convictions and independence. But that does not prevent him from subordinating his views to the needs of the country, if there be such need. He places his country before his convictions, in fact, before everything. Being fully convinced of the necessity of conscription he became an ardent conscriptionist. In September of last year when the air was thick with rumours that Mr. Lloyd George had become a Conscriptionist, and that there was division in the Cabinet on the question of compulsion, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the talented editor of "The Daily News and Leader" in its issue of September 18, 1915, addressed an open letter to Mr. Lloyd George, in the course of which he said, "the peril to our domestic affair comes from you.....without you the cause of conscription was negligible, with you it is a danger more to be feared than Prussia." From this it is clear that the political situation in England centres round the personality of Mr. Lloyd George more than round any other statesman. He is the greatest factor to be reckoned with in the modern politics of England. There has hardly been any political question of importance in England since the war began with which Mr. Lloyd George's name has not been associated.

BABU LAL SUD.

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

II.

SANKARA'S COMMENTS ON THE TEXT
"NA DRISHTER DRASHTARAM PASYEH."

TO one who has any experience of what is known among us as *Dhyana*, or *Yoga*, i.e., "Chittavrittinirodhah"—or introspection with arrest of mental modifications, or of what is taught by the—Gita "*na-kinchit api chintayet*"—"do not think of anything whatever," Herbert Spencer's remarks quoted in my previous article, in support of Agnosticism, would seem to be beside the mark altogether. It is an attempt bound to be fruitless from the nature of the case,—that of reducing the Seer of seeing,—into the seen,—the subject into the object. I may be excused, if I am tempted to compare all his waste of powder and shot in the shape of so much abstruse reasoning, with the solemn deliberations of the community of the blind, regarding the form and colour of the elephant. Now allow me to present before you the other side of the shield, to present before you side by side with Herbert Spencer's plea for Agnosticism, a fuller version of Sankara's comments on the Sruti text *na drishter drashtaram pasyeh*, which contains a statement, though rather partial, of Sankara's case for *Kutasthavada*. Says Sankara: "*Esha tava atma Sarvantarah*"—"This your Self is in all." 'Sarva' in "*Sarvantarah*", says Sankara, "stands as representing all particular characterisation." "*Sarva-viseshanopalakshanartham*." Being pressed by *Ushasta* to show Brahma, as one would show a bull, by taking hold of his horns, and saying 'This is he,' *Yagnavalkya* replies:—"Esha te atma Sarvantarah"—"This your Self is in all. This your Self is that Self which is '*sakshat*,' i.e., '*Ayavahitam kenachit*,' not separated from any of us by anything intervening, *aparokshat*, i.e., *aguunam*; not known mediately as an inference from other previously known data. *Brahma*, i.e., *Brihattaniam*—the Supreme—is the

(*Atma Sarvasyahvantarah*)—Self in all. This is that which has the aforesaid qualities." The question is again put, "Who is he that is *Your Self*,—taking 'you' in the sense of this lump of effects and instruments, *karyakarana-sanghatah*?" Your Self is He, owing to whose presence this lump has a self, *sa yena atmavan sa esha tava atma*,—by 'you' being taken this lump of effects and instruments." Sankara explains: "In that lump, *sanghata*, there is (1) the mass of flesh and bone—*Pinda*, and (2) within it the subtle body, the bundle of organs or instruments, *lingatma karana-sanghatah*, and (3) the third which is the point in dispute—*tritiyo yascha sandihyanamah*. Which one among these three do you mean to call my Self in all,—*katamo mamatma sarvantarah tvaya vivakshitah*?" Thus questioned, says Sankara, "the other (*Yagnavalkya*) answered:—"He who performs the vital functions of respiration, &c., by the air which passes through the mouth and nostrils,—that Conscious Intelligent Self—*Vijnanamayah*—is Your Self,—by 'you' being understood effects and organs or instruments." Sankara observes: "(The Self is He) through whose agency are performed all the processes connected with this lump of effects and organs, such as respiration &c., as of an wooden machine. Acts such as respiration, &c., are not possible for wooden machines; in the same way such acts are not possible for this lump of effects and organs, *karyakarana-sanghatah*,—except under the direction and control of a conscious Self. It thus follows that the lump of effects and instruments,—*Pinda*,—like an wooden machine carries on the processes of respiration, &c., under the direction and control of the conscious intelligent Self,—*vijnanamayah*,—who is to be distinguished from the lump or *Pinda* he directs, as standing in antithesis to it *vilakshanah*. It necessarily follows that He or the Self (*य*

exists, who stands as the antithesis to the lump of effects and organs (यन्त्र), which He directs.*

Notice here, Sankara speaks of the lump of effects and instruments, *karya-karanasanghata*, i. e., the combination of effects and instruments, or of this combination of body and mind, that we usually mean by ourselves, as mere wooden machines. In doing so Sankara reminds us on the one hand of the Sankhya dictum, “सङ्घटतपरार्थज्ञात् प्रकृत्य” (Sankhya Pravachana Bhashya 1-66), which means that the existence of the *Purusha* or Self is proved from the universal law that all things produced by the combination of parts into a whole, presuppose the existence of a Self or *Purusha* different from them, whose interests they are to serve: “for they are formed by the combination of parts into a whole, like beds and seats”—*Sanghatatvat Sayyasana-divat*.” On the other hand in comparing the *karya-karana-sanghata* (the combination of effects and instruments, i. e., our bodies and minds, to a *daruyantra* or wooden machine, Sankara reminds us on the other hand of Dr. Paley’s once famous example of the clock and the clock-maker, as illustrating the relation of the Supreme Being as designer, to the objective world as designed by him,—not of course in Paley’s sense of a distant (तटस्थ) clock-maker like God, but as the very Self in all.

But to proceed with Sankara’s comments on the text:—“Then said *Ushasta*, like one who first promises one thing; then forgets his promise, and says something different,—for example having first promised to show (a cow) by direct perception, afterwards merely describes it by giving the distinguishing marks, saying ‘the cow is that which walks, or the horse is that which runs.’ This *Brahma* has been described by you like that. *Ushasta* asks again:—“Show me in the

* “यते कार्यकरवस्त्राणां विज्ञानमयः । सर्वं कार्य-
करवसङ्घातगताः प्राचनादिषेष्टा दाक्ष्यन्त्येव येन क्रियन्ते ।
न हि चेतनावदनभिहितस्य दाक्ष्यन्त्येव प्राचनादिषेष्टा
विद्यन्ते । तस्मात् विज्ञानमयेन अभिहितविलक्षण्येन दा-
क्ष्यन्तत् प्राचनादिषेष्टा प्रतिपद्यते । तस्मात् सोऽसि कार्य-
करव सङ्घातविलक्षणो य एवेत्यति ।” (P. 575—
Jivananda).

concrete that *Brahma* that is immediately known (*sakshat*, not inferred (*aparokshat*), the Self in all.” Then the other (*Yagna-valkya*) replied: “What I first promised, that your very Self has that nature, that promise I am keeping; for that is as I told you. But when you ask me to objectify that Self, like an ‘earthen-pot,’ “*yat punaruktam tamatmanam ghatadivat vishlayikuru*”—that is not done, for that is impossible to be done,—*tadasakyatvat na kriyate*. Why that is impossible to be done is next explained: From the very nature of the thing.—“*vastu-svabhavyat*.” What again is the nature of the thing? To be the Seer (दृष्टा) or subject of seeing, (and) not the object (दृश्य). The *Atma* or Self is the Seer (दृष्टा) or subject in reference to an act of seeing. Seeing is of two kinds; phenomenal (बौद्धिकी) or mediate, and real (पारमार्थिकी) or immediate. Of these, the Phenomenal (बौद्धिकी) is a mental modification connected with the eye. That is an act done, has a beginning, and an end.* But the real (पारमार्थिकी) or immediate seeing of the Self is like heat and light in reference to fire; and that being the very nature (स्वरूप) of the seeing Self, does not either begin or end. This *Paramarthiki drishti* or real seeing—(कूटस्थचैतन्य)—is as it were united to the other, or *Loukiki drishti*, which as an act done, is a mere separable accident (उपाधि), i. e., now is, and now is not; from this union of the two, the name *drashta* or Seer is given to the Self (the पारमार्थिकी or कूटस्थचैतन्य), which thus acquires differentiation (भेदवत्), and we speak of the Seer’s seeing, i. e., we distinguish Seer and seen from seeing. This phenomenal (बौद्धिकी) seeing having the eye for its gate-way, acquires form and colour, and seems as if born, as if come into connection with the changeless seeing of the Self (निश्चया भालदृष्टा संलट्टेन), becoming like a reflection or image

* किं पुन स्तत् स्वाभावः ? दृष्टादि कर्तृत्वं । दृष्टे-
र्द्रष्टात्वात्मा । दृष्टिरिति द्विविधा भवति:—बौद्धिकी पार-
मार्थिकी चेति । तत्र बौद्धिकी चक्षुःश्रोत्रादिकारणवृत्तिः—
सा क्रियते दृति, जायते विनश्यति च ।

thereof. Pervaded by that, i.e., the *nitya* आत्मदृष्टि, it, i.e., the *Loukiki* appears and disappears. Hence the figurative expression (उपचर्यते) that the seeing Self though he is always seeing (or what Sankara elsewhere calls *Kutasthanityatma-Jyotih*) now sees and now* sees not* (according to the appearance and disappearance of the *Loukiki drishtih*).

What Kant calls "the manifold of sense" may be said to correspond to what Sankara calls "लौकिकी दृष्टिः, चक्षुर्द्वारा रूपोपरक्ता", and what Kant calls "the unity of reason" may be said to correspond to what Sankara calls "पारमार्थिकी आत्मनो दृष्टिरग्राह्य-प्रकाशादिवत्." Sankara expresses their unity by the expression—"संसृष्टेव" "as if united," and their difference by "भेदवत्," or self-differentiated. Notice also what Sankara means when he says "तथा व्याप्तैव विनश्यति" pervaded by the real or पारमार्थिकी नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः, the phenomenal or लौकिकी चक्षुःसंयुक्ता दृष्टिः disappears. He means that disappearance and death merely concern the phenomenal, or लौकिकी, for disappearance or deathlike appearance also presupposes the real or नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः by which it must be pervaded (व्याप्तैव) in order to be perceived. Thus it would seem to us that Sankara solves at a stroke of his pen, the great riddle of the Immortality of the Soul, even as Alexander the Great cut the Gordian knot with a stroke of his sword.

Sankara goes on:—"The seeing of the Seer, i.e., the "पारमार्थिकी नित्या आत्मदृष्टिः" can never change into anything different—"न तु पुनर्दृष्टं दृष्टेः कदाचिदप्यन्यथात्." Here Sankara refers to another of Yagnavalkya's transcendental flights, where he describes the Kaivalya form of moksha by analogy with the state of sound sleep known among

the unenlightened,—calling Kaivalya—the *paramo lokah*—the state of highest bliss,—or "the realisation of all things as one's Self—the fruit of true enlightenment, and free from the phenomenal division of action, actor, and result"—"Yosau sarvatmabhavo moksho vidyaphalam Kriya-karaka-fala-sunyam," Yagnavalkya goes on to describe *Kaivalya* thus:—"There he is not followed by his good deeds, nor by his evil deeds, for he has travelled beyond the reach of all the sorrows of the heart. That he does not see, seeing he sees not, for the seeing of the Seer cannot cease, for it is imperishable. But no second to him exists which he is to see as separated from himself."* (IV—III—19 to 23). On this, Sankara observes: "Just as the heat of a fire lasts as long as the fire lasts, so it is with the seeing of the Seer,—the seeing Self being imperishable, (for, as we have said before, disappearance and death also presuppose a seeing Self to perceive that they take place),—his seeing too is imperishable—for the seeing Self, means nothing but the Seer, or the subject of seeing, &c.). Why is it said, he does not see? Because no second to the Self exists which the Self is to see as an object separated from the subject or seeing Self. When one says, 'I do not see' "na pasyami," it is only true relatively to the particular functions of particular organs—*Karana-Vyapara-viseshaprekshatvat*,"—for even those whose eyes have been plucked out, are known to retain during their dreams, the seeing power of Self"—"उद्धृतचक्षुर्वा च स्वप्ने आत्मदृष्टेरविवरिणीपदार्थनात् ।"

But to return to the concluding portion of Sankara's comments on the text:—"na drishter drashtaram Pasyeh." Says Sankara: "By the *Loukiki* or phenomenal seeing which is but an act of the real or *Paramarthiki* seeing of the Self, and confined to the object seen,—*karmabhuta*,—you cannot see the Seer or subject of seeing or the seeing Self, who encloses the phenomenal seeing by his own changeless seeing—(*nitya kutastha drishtih*). That which is

* आत्मनो दृष्टिरग्राह्यप्रकाशादिवत्, सा च द्रष्टुः स्वरूपत्वात् न जायते न विनश्यति च । सा क्रियमानया अपाधिभूतया संसृष्टेव, इति अपदिश्यते द्रष्टेति भेदवत् द्रष्टृ-दृष्टेरिति च । यादौ लौकिकी दृष्टिः चक्षुर्द्वारा रूपोपरक्ता जायमानैव नित्यया आत्मादृष्टा संसृष्टेव तत्प्रतिष्ठाया, तया वाक्ष्येव जायते तथा विनश्यति च, तेनोपचर्यते दृष्टा सदा पश्यन् अपि पश्यति न पश्यति चेति ।

* "अनन्तागतं पुच्छेन अनन्तागतं पापेन, तौर्वा हि तदा सर्वान् शोकान् हृदयस्य भवति । यद्दे तत्र पश्यति, पश्यन् वै तत्र पश्यति, न हि द्रष्टृदृष्टे विपरिणीयो विद्यते । अविनाशित्वात्, न तु तद्वितीयं अस्ति ततोऽन्यदिभक्तं यत् पश्येत् ।"

the *Loukiki drishti* is the object of an act done—कर्मभूता,—and as such is tinged with colour and form, or “figurate,” and reveals also colour and form; it cannot in its turn enclose the Self that encloses it, and encloses even all merely mental conceptions; who is the Self in all, *Pratyancham*,—(for that would be as absurd a supposition, as that of the two cats in the story, fighting, and swallowing each other, leaving behind only their two tails). It follows from this that you cannot see (in the *Loukiki* or phenomenal sense) the Seer of seeing,—the Self in all.* That is the very nature of the thing. It is for that reason the Self cannot be shewn like cattle, etc.” I should note here that Sankara’s meaning in saying: “*Loukiki drishti karmabhuta natmanam svatmano vyaptaram pratyancham vyapnoti*,”—“The phenomenal seeing being the object of an act done by the seeing Self, cannot in its turn enclose the Self in all (*sarvantarah*) by which it is itself enclosed,”—translated into the language of the Hegelian philosophy, would amount to saying that the seeing Self in all, or the Idea, is the universal, not of course in the sense of the dead and empty abstraction called universal in formal logic, but a universal, real and concrete, which embraces phenomenal seeing as its particular, which from its very nature therefore can not in its turn embrace its universal—the Self in all;—or as Hegel says “Every individual being is some one aspect of the Idea” (*Logic*-213, Wallace’s translation),—the *Loukiki* corresponding to the ‘individual,’ and the *Paramarthiki* to the *Idea*.

VII.

KUTASTHAVADA IN SANKARA’S UPADESA-SAHASRI.

With greater freedom than is possible in a commentary, Sankara tries to establish his *Kutasthavada* in his famous work, the *Upadesa-sahasri*, refuting the *Vainasikavada* (गुणवाद) or nihilism, and the momen-

tary sensationalism (सुषुप्तिकविज्ञानवाद) of the Buddhists of old, or if you prefer,—of Hume and his school of our days, and also refuting *Anavagativada* (“अनवगत एव प्रमाता स्यात्”)—which comes very near to the Agnosticism of to-day, either in the form of the “Unknown and Unknowable” of H. Spencer, or in the form of the *Ding-an-sich* of Kant. To make the discussion more popular in form, Sankara sets up an imaginary objector in the person of a disciple,—as *Purvapaksha*, who stoutly champions the nihilistic, and the agnostic positions thus:—

Disciple:—*Upalabdhi* (Perception) has the root-meaning of change, in the form of ‘particular acts’ (विक्रिया), so that for the Self to be perceiver or *upalabdha*, and at the same time to be changeless (कूटस्थानता) is self-contradictory (76).

Sankara:—No, not so, for the name *upalabdhi* or perception is given to the particular acts (विक्रिया), which are its root-meaning, only figuratively, or by transference of epithet—(“उपचारात्”). The mental impression (बौद्धः प्रत्ययः) which is of the nature of a particular act (विक्रियात्मकः), is made what it is by the reflection of the Perception of the Self on it,—(“आत्मन उपलब्ध्याभासप्रकाशवसानः”); hence the figurative use of the term *upalabdhi* or perception to the particular act. (The commentator illustrates Sankara’s meaning, by the familiar Vedantic example of the red-hot iron ball burning and glowing (“अग्निः पिष्टः दहति प्रकाशयति”).

D:—Even if the term ‘*upalabdhi*’ or perception be applied figuratively to it, since it is the result of a particular change in the perception of the Self (आत्मन उपलब्धिः विक्रिया-वसानश्चेत्),—it cannot establish the changelessness of the Self (न आत्मनः कूटस्थतां प्रतिपादयितुं समर्थः).—78.

S:—True, it would be so, if there were any distinction between *Upalabdhi* or perception, and *Upalabdha* or Perceiver. The Perceiver or *Upalabdha* is changeless *Upalabdhi* or Perception only, and not as the *Tarkikas* maintain that *Upalabdhi* or Perception is one thing and the *Upalabdha* or Perceiver something else.

D:—How then is the root-meaning,—the

* लौकिक्या, दृष्टेः कर्मभूताया दृष्टारं स्वकीयया निमित्ता दृष्ट्या व्याप्तारं न पश्येः । यादौ लौकिकौ दृष्टिः कर्मभूता सा ह्युपलब्धा इत्यभिप्रेक्षिका नालीनं स्वात्मनो व्याप्तारं मतेर्मनो-
हतेः केवलाया व्याप्तारं प्रत्यक्षं व्याप्नोति । तस्मात् तं प्रत्यक्षान्नं दृष्टेः दृष्टारं न पश्येः ॥ * * एष वस्तुनः स्वभावः
अतः नैव दर्शयितुं शक्यते गवादिवत् ॥ पृ. ५७८ जीवनानन्द ॥

particular act of *Upalabdhi* or Perception, the result of a change in the perception of the Self—(उपलब्धिप्रत्यक्षानः) ?

S :—Listen, what I said is that it is the result of “the reflection of the perception of the Self in it”—(आत्मन उपलब्ध्याभासप्रत्यक्षानः), and not that the Self produces the particular act by any change in itself (न तु आत्मा विक्रियोत्पादनावसानः).

The reader will here compare with Sankara's description of the Self or Perceiver as “*nityopalabdhimatra eva hi upalabdha*,”—“the Perceiver is nothing but changeless perception”—with what Hegel says :—“Thought viewed as a subject is expressed by the word ‘I’ and again, ‘We may say ‘I’ and thought are the same, or more definitely, ‘I’ is thought as a thinker.” (Hegel's *Logic*, Wall.—20, 24). The *Tarkika* position to which Sankara refers may be said to stand for that of Spencer or Kant.

D :—Master, if there is no change (अनविक्रिया वाक्छि) in me, as in a man in sound sleep, how then do I have dreams and waking states ?

S :—Do you perceive these without any break of continuity (सन्ततं).

D :—I perceive these, time after time, but certainly not without a break of continuity (विक्षिप्त विक्षिप्त, न तु सन्ततं).

S :—Then these are intruders (आगन्तुके तु एते), and not your very Self (न तव आत्मभूते). Being separable from you, dreaming and waking are not your Self, but like your clothes, etc., (अभिवारित्वात् वस्त्रादिवत्). Whatever is the very essence of a thing—(स्वत्वं), is not known to be separable from that thing. But dreaming and waking on the other hand are separable from pure consciousness (चेतन्यवस्थात् अभिवरतः).

D :—Master, in that case, the essence of consciousness too is an intruder, for, in the same way as waking and dreaming are not perceived in sound sleep, the essence of consciousness (चेतन्यस्वरूपमपि) also is not perceived in sound sleep. Am I then of the essence of unconsciousness (अचेतन्यस्वरूपो वा स्थापयं).

S :—Not so, consider. That is impos-

sible. The unconscious consists of parts put together into a whole (संघतः); and since it consists of parts so put together, it exists for another, it is manifold, and perishable. That which does not exist for its own sake (स्वार्थं न, can not be self-revealed. But consciousness as the essence of Self is self-revealed; so that no argument can disprove its independence of other things, for its conscious essence is inseparable from Self.

Let the reader here compare the teaching of Yagnavalkya as to the Self existing for its own sake (स्वार्थं न),—“न वा अरे पत्न्यः कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति, आत्मनस्तु कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति” इत्यादि—(p. 145—*Jivananda*), and Sankara's comments thereon :—“The husband is loved by the wife, not for the sake of the husband, but for the sake of the Self” &c.; Yagnavalkya being desirous to impress the importance of *vairagya* or non-attachment to things worldly—e.g., wife, husband, son, &c., as the means of attaining life everlasting,—(अमृतत्व-साधनं),—he says : “To serve the purposes of the husband, the wife does not love the husband, but to serve the purposes of her Self, the wife loves the husband. The Self is really to be loved, not anything else,—(not of course in the exclusive sense—usually called *selfish*). As the means of fulfilling the love of Self, other things are loved. The love of other things is therefore secondary and mediate, but the love of the Self primary and immediate.”

D :—But I have shewn the separation of Self from its conscious essence in sound sleep, as when I say, ‘I do not see’ (in sound sleep).

S :—Not so; for that would be self-contradictory. Wherein lies the contradiction ? For you, who see, i.e., are the Seer, to say ‘I do not see,’ is self-contradictory.

D :—But, master, in my sound sleep, consciousness or anything else was never seen by me.

S :—Then even in sound sleep you do see (or are the Seer), for you only deny any object seen; you do not deny your seeing (i.e., your nature of Seer), (पश्यन् तर्हि सुषुप्तं लयवस्थात् दृष्टमेव प्रतिषेधसि, न दृष्टिः). That your seeing is consciousness, I told you, because of the presence of which you are able to deny saying ‘I saw nothing.’ That your

seeing is *your* consciousness (सा दृष्टिः स्वदेतव्यं). Therefore from this inseparableness of seeing from the Self under all conditions, the centrality and changelessness, *kutasthantvayatvam* of the Self is self-evident, so that no proof is needed. The knower, thus self-evident, depends on proof for the definite knowledge of any other knowable. But as regards the knower's Self,—or for the knowledge that the Self is true, and that it is the knower, no proof is needed, for that is its very nature (आत्मनि प्रमाणात् प्रमातृत्वं वा न तां प्रति प्रमाणापेक्षा तत् स्वभावत्वात्).

D :—The name *Prama* or right knowledge only applies to what has a beginning and an end, and not to what has no beginning or end.—(अनिवृत्ते एव प्रमा स्यात्, न निवृत्ते).

S :—Not so, for having beginning, and having no beginning (निवृत्तानिवृत्तयोः) cannot make any difference in the nature of knowledge. The Self-revealing nature of the knowing Self is thus established by its non-dependence on proof.

D :—This non-dependence may be also due to the impossibility of any knowledge of the Self. (This is the Agnostic position).

S :—Not so, here the supposition of unknowableness has no place, because consciousness or *avagatiḥ* is present in the very Self. If the thinker is to be established by proof, whose should be the desire for the proof;—(or to apply it to Descartes's *Cogito ergo sum*, if the doubter whom the doubt presupposes, is not already there as immediately known, whose is the doubt?). The thinker (प्रमातर) must be admitted to be he who has the desire for proof,—(and must be supposed to be there before the desire can arise). The thinker's desire for proof is also in relation to the object to be proved, and not in relation to the *prover* or thinker. To say that the prover or subject of thought is the object of proof or thought, is open to the fallacy of endless regress, both in reference to the prover as well as his desire for proof, e. g., for that another prover or thinker, for that another, and so on *ad infinitum*. The same fallacy would arise, if the desire for proof had for its object the prover or thinker. The prover or thinker not being separated from himself by anything intervening, cannot be a thing to be proved. In this world a thing can be said to be an object to be proved (प्रमेय), when it is separ-

ated from the prover or thinker, by desire, recollection, effort, or the production of proof, and not otherwise. Knowing (अवगतिः) is seen to refer to the object to be known. Nor again can the thinker or knower be conceived to be separated, himself from himself (स्वस्व स्वयमेव), by anything,—not even by anything belonging to the group of desire, etc. Recollection is directed to the object to be recollected, and not to the subject who recollects, (“स्मृतिश्च स्मरतस्वविषया, न स्मरतु विषया”). Likewise desire is directed to the object desired, and not to the subject who desires (तथा इच्छायाः इष्टविषयत्वमेव, न इच्छावद्दिषयत्वम्), for in either of these cases, if the recollection were directed to the subject who recollects, or if desire were directed to the subject who desires, then as before shown, the fallacy of endless regress would be inevitable, i.e.,—(as Herbert Spencer also points out)—there would always be left behind another subject to recollect or desire the first subject as an object of recollection or desire.” (99).

But the disciple is unconvinced, and still persists in his agnostic position; and says :

D :—If no knowing, having the knower for its object, takes place, then surely the knower remains unknown, (अनु प्रमातृविषयभावो ननु तत्पक्षे अनवगत एव प्रमाता स्यात्).

S :—No, not so; for the knower's knowing has for its object what is to be known,—(and not that which knows). If the knower were the object of knowing, as before, endless regress would result. Knowledge or consciousness to the Self is like heat and light to fire or the sun, is of the nature of a central, changeless, and self-exhibiting luminosity, established independently of everything else.” Sankara here again appeals to Kapila's Sutra of सहनपरार्थत्वात् एकवत्त्वं, i.e., what consists of parts joined together into a whole, exists for another,—the Self. The reference is equally also to Yagnavalkya's teaching—“असृजना कामाय सत्यं प्रियं भवति”&c.,—whatever is loved is loved for the sake of the Self. Sankara thus proceeds; “If knowing, in the sense of the self-luminosity of consciousness, be liable to appearance and disappearance in reference to itself,—then the Self—thus

broken up into parts, संघटत्वात्, can not be said to exist for its own sake. Like other bundles of effects and instruments—(for example, mind and body), the Self being itself a bundle or whole consisting of parts, in the form of intermittent consciousness or thought, must be said to exist for another, and must have the defects common to all such combinations, (कार्यकरणसंघातवत् संघटत्वात् पारार्थ्यं दोषवत् च).

How? If the self-luminosity of the consciousness of Self appeared and disappeared in reference to the Self, then recollection &c., (स्मृत्यादिव्यवधानात्) standing between successive periods of appearance, there would be gaps in the Self; from this, it would follow that the light of consciousness being non-existent before its appearance, and after its disappearance, in the Self, it will consist of a combination of parts (संघटत्वात्) like eyes, etc., and like them it will exist for another (पारार्थ्यं). If the light of consciousness thus exists in the Self only as something that is produced, then the Self is not for itself—(न तदा आत्मनः स्वार्थत्वं).

It is in reference to the absence or presence of a beginning, that the Self is said to be for its own sake, and the not-Self for the sake of another." The reader will notice here that everything—either Self or not-Self—is regarded by Sankara as a form of consciousness,—the Self having no beginning, and the not-Self having a beginning. I may here refer to the words of Yoga-Vasishttha (सर्वत्र विद्यते स्रष्टुः काष्ठ-शीट्पेदादिके ! सत्तासामान्यरूपेण संस्थिता सूक्ष्मालवत् ॥ उपनिषद्-८१-१२ ॥):—"Consciousness is present everywhere, even in a clod of earth, or in wood or stone,—in the general form of existence,—as if dumb like a baby"—which thus anticipated *a priori* by ages what our Dr. Bose has been trying to prove to the world *a posteriori* only lately. "Thus is established the changeless self-luminosity of the consciousness of the Self, as non-dependent on everything else." 101.

D:—Indeed if that be so, if the knower cannot be the support (or object) of knowing—(प्रमा), what can be the meaning of the knower's knowingness? (कथं प्रमातुः प्रमातृत्वं).

S:—I will tell you: Knowing (प्रमा), whether it has no beginning and no end,

or it has a beginning and an end, could make no difference in its character. To know is *Prama*. Knowing preceded by recollection, desire etc., which has a beginning and end, and knowing central, and without beginning or end, show no difference in their character,—just as in regard to the result of the root-meaning of 'stands' (तिष्ठति) there is no difference of character, whether it is applied to things moveable, and therefore having beginning and end, or it is applied to things fixed and thus having no beginning, e.g., when it is said "men, etc., stand," or it is said "the hills stand,"—the form of expression being equally correct in both cases; in the same way there is nothing self-contradictory when we give the name of *knower* (प्रमातृत्वव्यपदेशः) to the knower (प्रमातरि), though it has the nature of knowing or consciousness without beginning or end (निर्वाच्यगतिस्वरूपेऽपि प्रमातरि)—for the result is the same.

D:—But to say that knowing is the result of proof, and at the same time to say that it is of the nature of a central, changeless, self-luminosity, is surely self-contradictory.

S:—No, not self-contradictory.

D:—How then is knowing a result of proof (कथं तर्हि अवगतेः फलत्वं).

S:—Tattvopacharat, i. e., it is so by Upachara, or the figure of transference of epithet from similarity; or it is really as the commentator remarks,—“अवगतेः कार्यत्वं कृपाकाशकार्यत्ववत्”—“calling *avagati* or knowing a result or *karya*, is like calling the sky in the well a result or *karya*.” “*Avagati* or knowing though in itself—central and changeless—*kutastha nityapi*—is noticed definitely (i. e., as this and not that, or what Hegel would call dialectically)—(लक्ष्यते), after the impressions of sense—(प्रत्यक्षादिप्रत्ययान्ते),—for the impressions of sense (consisting of parts,—संघटत्वात्) exist for the changeless and central knowing of the Self—(तादृश्यात्). The impressions of sense being transient, the knowing (*avagati*) also looks as if transient, and is for that reason, imagined to be the result of proof—(प्रमापानां फलत्वं).”

In explaining Sankara's meaning, the commentator here observes:—“The im-

pressions of sense being connected with objects, serve to determine or render definite the *avagati* or knowing—(विद्य-संलक्षणा अवगतिविशेषाद) of the Self." With this let the reader compare what Hegel says:—"The mind or spirit when it feels or perceives, finds its object in a sensuous image. But in contrast to these forms of its existence, and of its objects,—the mind has also to gratify the cravings of its highest and most inward life. That innermost self is thought (or as Sankara

says:—"निर्वीपलक्षिमात्र एव हि उपलब्धा"). Thus the mind renders thought its object. In the best meaning of the phrase, it comes to itself." (Logic—11). It should be added here that neither the "*avagati*" of Sankara, nor the "thought" called "notion" (Begriff) of Hegel, is to be taken as a dead and empty abstraction, but as the most concrete of realities, or as the "सत्यं सत्यं"—the most real of the real.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE AWAKENING

BY CAPTAIN FRANK SHAW, AUTHOR OF "HAVEN OF DESIRE," &c.

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LYDIA Langhorne threw back her head and laughed somewhat boisterously, her eyes ashine.

"It's naught to laugh at, lass," said Dick Ford very soberly, and with his brows drawn together in a frown. "It's taken me all my time to get pluck enough to put it to you; so what for are you laughing?"

"Because you're so silly, to be sure, Dick Ford." His eyes devoured her wind-brightened beauty; his hands twitched at his side, as though they longed—indeed, they did—to clutch her to him. And the roar of the leaping waves on the reef was deadened by the tumultuous clamour of his heart.

"Say you will, my lass, say you will," he pleaded. "I'm serious—I mean it. I've naught to offer you, but I'm a worker; happen in a bit I'll have a boat of my own, and then—"

"Mr. Turnbull's got eight boats of his own," she taunted him. Because the devil of contradiction was working in her soul she did not see the flash of his eyes, nor did she notice that his hands had clenched until the knuckles showed white.

"Him! He's a landlubber! He owns boats, yes; but he don't sail 'em; he lives on other men's labours. It don't matter to him if we 'uns drown or starve, so long as he gets his money—the price of our lives.

And you're a fisherman's lass you can't get away from that."

"Can't I? He'd take me away, choose how! No need to watch for the boats' incoming then, Dick Ford. No fear of poverty staring in at the window every time you left the blind up. Peace, content, plenty—that's what Mr. Turnbull means."

She knew she was the belle of the place; she knew the youth of Crab Cove would willingly prostrate themselves to allow her to walk over their bodies, that her capable shoes should not be defiled by the mud of the way. And the knowledge made her a tyrant, albeit a sweet one. She had not learnt the deeps of her heart yet; no man had ever stirred her pulses as they might be stirred. Not even young Turnbull's glowing descriptions of a wider life than that afforded by Crab Cove had really brought emotion to her. Perhaps those were right who named her heartless; or perhaps they were wrong, and the heart merely slept.

"I've come to you fair and above-board, and I'm asking you to be my wife," said the fisherman, squaring his broad shoulders as if about to face a knockdown blow. "We're off with the tide, we'll may be not be back for many a day; it 'ud make it easier to know you—you cared."

And she laughed again lightly.

"Well, haven't you an answer?" he

demanding, possessed of a desire to crush her to him, and by dint of hot kisses, win a confession from her ripe lips.

She shook her head saucily.

"I'm over-young to marry yet," she taunted him. "I'm but nineteen, Dick Ford."

"There's mothers in this Cove younger. Come on, Lydia, you've played fast and loose long enough; I'll not stand your fooling longer." He threw a bit of a rasp into his voice, and she looked at him with a new interest. Previously he had been always the suppliant, as the others had been; this new sternness was a thing unknown to her, and yet—she tried not to confess to herself that she liked his masterfulness. He was reaching for her hands, determined to crush down her opposition by sheer strength and power to command when by an ill chance her eyes rested on a distant figure, picking its way carefully amongst the scattered kelp of the beach.

"There's Mr. Turnbull," she said; and breaking away from him, she ran with the nimbleness of a goat in the direction whence she had come. She checked her pace as she drew near the boat-owner, who lifted his hat and smiled on her.

"You're in a hurry," he said. "Why this haste, Miss Langhorne?" No one had ever called her by the formal title save Turnbull, and it gave her pleasure.

"That's my business," she retorted, with another toss of the head.

"Oh, quite so, quite so; sorry if I was impertinent." He, like the rest, bowed down to her wilfulness and charm. For the first time she really compared the two men; thrilling a little afresh as she remembered the burr in Ford's voice.

"He couldn't speak that way to me to save his life," she mused, and strove to think of other matters.

"If you don't mind, I will walk back to the village with you, Miss Langhorne," said this aristocrat of the fishing village, who had never faced the roaring might of a black north-easter, and knew nothing of the grand fighting lust that comes to those who meet in strenuous conflict with the storm-lashed deep. His face was pallid, as though from much reading; the keen winds had never kissed the ruddy, healthful colour into being there. But he had a manner, and his talk impressed the girl; half of it she did not understand, indeed,

but his sounding periods charmed her beyond description.

"I don't mind," she said shortly, half-turning to watch the other figure. But Ford had moved away with a growl and a hard face. He was striding purposely towards the lighthouse, where his father lived. In a couple of hours more the tide would serve, and the fishing fleet would fare forth to the golden east, where rich spoil might be won at the price of men's bitter toil.

"I hope you have been thinking over the matter we discussed the other day," began Turnbull, suiting his step to hers with an effort, for her little stride was more that of a hale man than a girl's. "I hope every reason to believe that I can offer you concrete advantages." She had not an idea what concrete advantages were, save that they stood for plenty of clothes to wear and money to spend.

"Your charms are wasted here," he told her. "As my wife you would be in a position to look down on the villagers. We could move from The Cove if you so wished; seek a wider field. If you will agree to marry me, Miss Langhorne—I wish I dared call you Lydia—"

"Why shouldn't you call me Lydia? Everyone else does here," she said.

"Well, Lydia—a pretty name, a sweet name—I ask you again to be my wife, and if you will confer so great an honour upon me—"

"Oh, I don't know. I haven't had time to think about marrying, Mr. Turnbull. I'm very young yet—"

"You are very beautiful—many men must have told you so."

"Well, what if they have?" She turned to him half-defiantly, a wild thing, untamed, striving, although she did not know it, against the soft meshes in which he would imprison her. "There's that Dick Ford—him I was with just now." She looked at her companion sideways, and she knew she hoped he would flush and grow angry, as Dick had done, at mention of a rival's name. But the smooth fairness of his cheek was all untroubled by a blush, and his eyes were unlit by jealous fires.

"He shows good taste, Miss—Lydia—very good taste." The even voice was untroubled: it seemed to the girl at the moment as though he were almost fishlike in his impassivity. But—he told glowing

stories of a life which exceeded her wildest imaginings; and ambition had her by the throat.

"What happens if I do marry you?" she questioned, stopping and staring at him with frank, wide eyes.

"I shall study to grant your every desire, my dear. I shall do my utmost to anticipate your wishes, and to make you the happiest woman in the world. I will take you away from here—away to a better place. I shall be very proud of my beautiful wife, be very sure of that."

"Will you—will you love me?" She forced the word from her lips with an effort.

"But—yes, of course. Do you think I would ask a woman I did not love to marry me? You wrong me by such a supposition!" There was an air of injury about him now, his eyes were pathetic.

"You'll take me to London sometimes?" she asked. "To London, where all the fine people are; where the King is!"

"We'll live in London, if you wish; as well live there as anywhere. If you will promise to marry me you may name your own wishes, and I shall do my utmost to gratify them. Say you'll marry me, Lydia, for I love you."

"I must wait a bit, to think it over."

They walked on in silence after this, and the girl recognised that she was stronger than Turnbull, and grew tender, as the knowledge of strength must bring tenderness.

"I will wait," he assured her, as they climbed the sloping way that led from the beach to the village. "But don't keep me too long in suspense." And with a courteous bow he left her.

It was a time-honored custom in Crab Cove that the women should assemble on the pier what time the fleet left for open water; and Lydia was so inured to the custom that she had no thought of holding back. The "Wildfire," the boat aboard which Dick Ford was second hand, lay foremost of the flotilla; everything was in readiness, but it was necessary to convey a warp to the pier to warp her through the swirl at the harbour mouth, and it was Dick Ford who leaped into the tub-like dinghy and sculled ashore. He climbed the pier with the line in his hand, and found himself staring into Lydia's face.

"If I said I'd marry you, Dick," she

muttered in low voice, "would you gratify my every wish?"

"Ay, if it was reasonable," he answered her. She made a face and pouted at him.

"Would you take me away from here to London?"

"Not I! Think I'm a fool! I'm Crab Cove born and bred; it's my home, and I get my living here. What would you do in London, or me either? Fish for herring and cod in the Thames? If you marry me, lass, you marry to help, not to hinder, me. Take me for a fool, to throw away my bread and butter?"

"Yes, I take you for a fool," she snapped at him, her eyes glinting fire. "Go away, you're not a man, you're a—clod! You haven't got it in you to make a woman happy." He returned her fire for fire; he caught her wrist in a grip that bruised her firm flesh.

"I'd make you happy, or break your heart," he said sternly. "It's taming you want, my girl; and I'm the man could do it."

"Go away, go away; I hate you. I'd rather see you dead at my feet than marry you." Those were her last words to him. A voice hailed him from the "Wildfire"; he dropped lightly into the boat and sculled off. A few moments later the fleet hoisted sail, it filled, the bluff bows breasted the eddies, and the darkness gathered them into its embrace.

"He's a brute, he's a brute," said Lydia fiercely, as she strode homeward. "He thinks he's got me in his pocket; but I'll show him—yes, I'll show him!"

It was mere chance—or was it chance?—that led Turnbull to take the air at that hour. He had been steeping himself in an orgy of reading—romantic fiction was his sole dissipation. Having neither pluck nor stamina to indulge in the high adventure himself he did it vicariously.

"Ah, we meet again, Lydia," he said pleasantly. She was for brushing past him, aghast with anger against the man who had vowed that he could tame her wild spirit, but of a sudden she swung round on him.

"Will you marry me soon, if I promise?" she asked. "Soon? Take me away from here for good—I hate it, I hate everybody here. Will you take me to London?"

"Yes, yes—I should be overjoyed. Anything you wish shall be yours. We can be

married almost at once; three weeks' notice to the vicar, and then—"

"Well, you can put the banns up as soon as you've a mind, Roger." And with that she turned away, and strode homewards. The die was cast, and as she set about her neglected duties she sought for the joyous happiness that other girls told her came from a knowledge of coming marriage. But strangely enough she was cold—no, not altogether cold; fires consumed her, a wild recklessness.

"It isn't taming I want, it's love," she told herself. "And Roger'll give me that; he said so. I'll show Dick Ford that he's not the only man in the world—that I will."

II

The old men's prognostications had come true, wild weather held sway over the world. Three days had passed since the fleet put out to sea, and as yet no news had come to hand of its progress.

It was towards evening that Lydia Langhorne, consumed by a strange restlessness to which she could put no name, folded her shawl about her winsome face, and breasting the yellow fury, staggering here, running wildly there, fought her way towards the beach. There were women still gathered there, staring—always staring—with fear striving in their souls. Life was to them one unending watching and waiting—dread cripple their tongues in the hour of storm. They spoke but seldom, words seemed insufficient; but their inarticulate prayers ascended heavenward in an unceasing stream.

"Aught of the boats?" asked Lydia, of a woman who had given sons and brothers to the devourer.

"Naught yet." They watched on, the spray beating upon their cheeks and dimming their eyes. It was very cold, but they heeded it not at all; fear kept them warm.

"Axminster do say it's the worst this forty year," shrilled one woman, clutching at Lydia's shawl. "Thank your God you ain't got no menfolk out to sea this night." It had gone abroad that Lydia was to mate with Roger Turnbull, the white-faced man who held the destinies of many of the Cove dwellers in his hands. Already there was a tingle of unwilling respect in the manner of some of the women, who knew that Lydia's word would rule the fates of their men; and this respect gave her something that was almost pleasure.

"There's a light—out there," came a wavering scream; a woman's hand pointed into the blinding spindrift. They stared; someone saw it again; a dancing yellow speck. Nearer it came and nearer. By the ragged lightning flashes they presently made out a dancing shape, that came rushing headlong for the harbour.

"What boat?" bellowed an old, leather-lunged veteran, whose sea-fighting days were honourably past, save at such times as the elements were fiercest and the life-boat was in demand. His voice split its way through the raging strife of yelling wind and smashing water. Faintly an answer came back:

"Flyaway! Flyaway!"

"Thank God!" sobbed an old woman at Lydia's side, she who had bade her thank her Maker that she owed nothing to the sea. The home-coming craft drew nearer; lifted high on the crest of a ravaging billow; she dashed between the pier and the sheer rock wall that formed the harbour's mouth. They heard the dull rattle of her gear as the sail was dowsed, a punt was thrown out, and men stepped on the stones of the landing place, to be clawed at by eager hands, to be questioned by shrill voices. Lydia drew nearer, something she could not understand tormenting her.

"Wild weather—the worst; but the 'Admiral' stays out yet a bit; there's big fish. We filled first; full ship, good catch. Smashed our rails to matchwood. What's that, mother? The 'Swan's' safe; we saw her as we passed." No one questioned as to the "Wildfire's" fate, and Lydia's lips were sealed. But the weather was worsening swiftly. It was as though wind and sea conspired together to make all things hideous. No one thought of rest or refreshment now; there was only the weary waiting. It was all in God's hands. If He willed the worst, well, no use to fight against His ruling; but if He were merciful, and gave them back their men, they would know thanksgiving for a little while, until the need arose afresh for more watching through the storm-lashed hours.

One by one the boats came home, each one telling anew the tale of gallant striving against well-nigh overwhelming odds.

Once more, on the edge of dawn, excited voices clamoured that a dim light showed; another battling puniness roared over the bar and came to safe haven.

"'The West Wind,' for sure; an' all hell's fury let loose outside. Had to jettison half her catch; but we made it, an' that's enough for we." A young woman clung to a big, staunch form, and stared upwards through tear-wet eyes.

"Ye're safe, Jack—ye're safe?" Lydia knew a wild throb in her throat, her own eyes that had strained hotly through the night grew moist.

"Ah, Lydia! You should be at home out of this." It was Turnbull, close-wrapped in oilskins, which hung upon him strangely. "A terrible night indeed. I could hardly sleep a wink." She turned from him in something like repugnance. Weighed in the balance with the men who had fought the fight, he appeared puny, insignificant. The sound of a name caught her ear; she pressed forward into the little crowd that braced itself against the pelt of the rain.

"The 'Wildfires' gone! Saw her foundered—fifty mile out. She just ran under; no chance to do anything. Thought we'd go ourselves next minute, but we didn't. It's good-bye to Dick Ford; an' he were a good man—a good man."

"What is that? A boat lost?" It was Turnbull again, he had his hand on Lydia's arm. "Which boat—which boat?"

"The 'Wildfire,'" boomed the man.

"My boat; but she was insured—she was insured. And one must take these risks. Are you sure she is lost?"

"Sure? Ay, I'm sure, Mr. Turnbull. An' sure that good men's gone to God this night."

Lydia turned from the group in a listless, weary way; there was a suggestion of sightless groping in her manner as she moved along the dripping pier. As yet she could not think; her brain was a total blank, as though a stunning weight had driven from her the power to feel or even to suffer. Dimly she realised that a shadow had closed on her life.

"It is nothing—I do not mind," said Turnbull behind her. "It means a slight decrease of income until we can get her replaced; but she was insured."

She swung upon him, then, fury flashing from her eyes. He shrivelled before the anger of her; his white face showed bleakly.

"You and your money! It matters naught to you that price we pay—we pay! Men whose feet you're not fit to wash go out and slave for you, they die for you—

and—you—God! To think I ever allowed you to come into my life! You! Go away from me, Roger Turnbull, or I might be tempted to speak words I'll be sorry for."

"But, Lydia, you are my promised wife; I don't understand this wildness. The long night's exposure has unsettled you!"

"Unsettled me—a coast woman! Don't talk like a fool. Go away, I don't want to see you ever again—I think I shall hate you when I can." He did not attempt to press his company upon her; with a shrug of his shoulders he went back towards the harbour. There was, however, nothing to learn there; all that could be told had been told. The 'Wildfire' had run under, as many another smack had run under, and to hope for life was out of the question. Men burdened with heavy sea-clothing such as the fishermen of that coast wore could not hope to swim to safety; the sea dragged them down relentlessly.

"She will come to her senses in a little while," said Turnbull, conscious of an affront to his dignity. He had never been spoken to in that way before; it hurt him.

And meanwhile Lydia Langhorne, walking like one in a stupor reached her home. There was work to be done, let come what might; if the whole world went out in storm and stress household duties must be performed. Doggedly, automatically she toiled, deliberately setting thought at bay. Something had fastened in her brain something that numbed her faculties and checked the flow of her blood.

The thunder of the wind against the windows suited her mood; she grew possessed of a desire to go forth into the swirling madness without and bend her strength to the gale's greater strength.

As she hovered uncertainly some one tramped past the door; a fisherman making for his home, and going, he roared forth a lusty stave of a rousing sea-song. She caught the measured beat of the tune; it spoke of gallant fighting; of desperate endeavour—it was a favourite song of Dick Ford's and she had heard him sing it unmusically a score of times.

Suddenly she flung herself into a chair, she threw her bare arms over the white-scrubbed table, and sank her head upon them. The numbness about her heart dissolved; she knew at last how it was with her. Let her blind herself to facts as she would, Dick Ford was the

man she loved—the man she had always loved.

The walls of her reserve were beaten down by a gushing tide of sorrow; hot tears sprang to her eyes, she lay there sobbing pitifully, rocked in a paroxysm of astounding grief.

She loved Dick Ford; she confessed it now, without shame, fiercely. She had laughed at him, she had taunted him, she had held him up to disdain comparing him with this other man who was not fit to touch his garment, despite his wealth, despite the smoothness of his tongue.

There was anguished pain at her heart, as she came to full realisation. Life held nothing now for her; nothing. If only Dick had known she loved him before he died!

So rocked with tempestuous grief was she that she heard nothing of the opening of the kitchen door beyond, or, hearing it, gave no heed. She did not see a stout, strong figure, still clad in dripping oilskins, enter the room.

"Why, Lydia, lass—crying?" She lifted her tear-distorted face, and stared through unbelieving eyes. It was Dick Ford—the man who was dead! He had come from his seagirt grave to taunt her with her folly. But a hand, a real hand, was laid on her arm; this was no dark spirit from the hither deeps; it was a real man. She knew no stunning shock; she did not faint, for she was not of the fainting breed. Nay, something that was almost defiance came into her expression now; she dashed away

the tears and stood on her feet. Strangely enough, a mad desire for laughter came to her—she was hysterical, almost beyond her own control.

"You were crying; I heard you," he said.

"I wasn't; you're a liar, Dick Ford. Where've you come from? They said you were dead—that the 'Wildfire'd' gone under."

"So she has; but I caught hold of a spar; and the 'Admiral' picked me up." That was all the story he would ever tell her in all likelihood; words did not come readily to his tongue; he was a lighter, not a narrator.

"Then we've had all our trouble for nothing," she said, tossing her head. He eyed her for a moment, and in that moment inspiration came to him. He strode forward, his arms went about her protesting figure, roughly, almost cruelly, he snatched her to him, bruising her face on his stiff clothing.

"You were crying for me—you thought I was dead," he said. "They told me down harbour-way the news had come in. You thought I was dead, and you cried for me. But I'm alive, and by the living God, I've come to claim what's mine by right."

"I've loved you all the time," she confessed as his stormy kisses bruised her lips. "But it's only now I've known it, Dick my lad." And the fisherman laughed loud and long, crushing her still closer to his heart.

A PEEP INTO THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

"A SKETCH of the rise and progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College, now forming the Sanskrit department of the Benares College," published by the Government of the United Provinces, in 1907, is an interesting publication. Benares is not only the most sacred of Hindu cities, but it has ever been one of the foremost seats of Sanskrit learning in India. There the

celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) found that few revered the law of Buddha, and learned heretics abounded. Hindus from all parts of India flocked there, in ancient times, not only to spend the evening of their lives in holy meditation and unite their ashes with the sacred stream of the Ganges, but also to learn wisdom at the feet of the great masters who used to fix their abode in the

holy city of Bishwesvar and impart gratuitous education to disciples from the four corners of Bharatavarsha. This custom continued to prevail at the time of the British occupation, and it was therefore considered the fittest place for the foundation of a Sanskrit College intended as a model for Hindu India. The College was founded in October, 1791, by Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, with the approval of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Duncan wrote:

"Two important advantages seem derivable from such an establishment: the first to the British name and nation, in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindus, by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems the care ever shown by their own native princes; for although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares in numerous private seminaries, yet no private institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed, to which may in a considerable degree be attributed the great difficulty of our now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindu religion, laws, arts, and sciences—a defect and loss which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct and recover; by a gradual collection and corrections of the books still to be met with (although in a dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the professors and students to accumulate at only a small comparative expense to government a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing in any part of the globe.

"The second principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will be felt in its effects, more immediately by the natives, though not without being participated in by the British subjects who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu Law, and proving a nursery of the future doctors and expounders thereof to assist European judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people."

Among the rules framed for the College one was that all the teachers should be Brahmans, except the Professor of Medicine who should be a Vaidya, and the Professor of Grammar, who may be of the same caste.

In 1795 the first student of the College who from his name appears to have been a Bengali, was appointed to the office of Pundit in the Civil Court at Sahabad.

Abuses having come to the notice of the Government regarding the malpractices of the first Rector of the College, a Bengali Pundit of the name of Kashinath Tarkalankar, and of other Pundits, a committee was appointed in 1798 for enquiring into their conduct, and they were dismissed as it was found that the names of

fictitious scholars and pandits had been entered in the pay bills. The President of the Committee Mr. John Neave, declared the Rector to be the greatest villain he ever saw. Mr. Brooke, judge of Benares, was the President of the Managing Committee of the College, and in January 1804 he recorded a minute in which he alluded to "the disrepute into which the College of Benares has been suffered to fall," and said that.

"The college, instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule; instead of an assemblage of learned Hindus, it resembles a band of pensioners supported by the charity of government."

Henry Colebrooke, Professor of Law in the Hindu College in Calcutta, was accordingly approached for the selection of a successor to the Principalship, but Maniram, the Pandit who attended on Colebrook, on whom the choice at first fell, having become a victim of cerebral derangement, Ramananda Pandit of Jaipur was ultimately selected. In 1809 Durgacharan Bidyabagis, a student of the college was recommended as fit to fill the office of Pandit in the judge's court at Bihar. In 1811 the Governor General in Council, proposed to establish Sanskrit Colleges at Nadia and Tirhut, but nothing came of the proposal.

We read that shortly after this the Pandits of the College were prohibited from granting *vyavasthas* or decisions on questions of law as a corporate body. The Rig-Veda professorship was abolished, but was re-established in 1805, as "it was a matter of dispute if any Pandits, now living, are acquainted with the sacred books, so as to explain them." In 1813, Ramprasad Tarkalankar, evidently a Bengali Professor of Nyaya or Logic, who bore a high character for learning and attention to his duties, was pensioned, as he was 103 years old, and entirely blind. He was awarded a pension of Rs. 50 per mensem with a *purwana* (certificate) testifying to the committee's approbation of his services. Another Pandit, Jayram Bhat, however, came into disrepute as it was found that some of his pupils were concerned in criminal offences, and the pundit was not himself without suspicion of malpractices.

It appears that from 1809 to 1813, 7865 leaves of *poothies* had been examined, compared and revised by the Pundits,

and a learned Pundit was appointed to the charge of the library to assort, compare and revise the books.

In 1820, the Managing Committee deputed H. H. Wilson and Captain Fell, two eminent Sanskrit scholars of their day, to report on the progress of the college, but their report was far from encouraging. They said that, very little proficiency had been attained by the pupils, that not a single pupil was capable of discharging the important function of being an expounder of Hindu law to the English courts, that the course of study in the Vedas did not introduce the students to any sort of acquaintance with the subject of their studies, and that all that the Professors themselves were able to communicate was the mechanical repetition of unintelligible sounds. Regarding the medical class, they held it to be advisable to admit students of the medical caste as well as Brahmans into the college. Government, in a resolution, accepted their suggestion for the appointment of a European superintendent and selected Captain Fell for the purpose, and the professorial chairs were reorganised, annual prizes and scholarships were instituted, and disputations of the scholars in the presence of the committee and the Indian gentry, were initiated. The results of such reorganisation soon became manifest. Students came from Nepal, the Deccan, and the Punjab. Chandra Narain Bhattacharya, the most celebrated logician in India, was now the Professor of Logic, and we find it recorded that

"The Nyaya class is much improved, and its reputation is considerably increased. I am sure I do not err in saying that it is esteemed the first class in this very difficult branch of Sanskrit literature at Benares. But this is no more than might be expected, considering that it is instructed by a Pundit of such eminent acquirements as Narain Bhattacharya."

The attainments of the higher students of the Vyakarana class were

"calculated to raise them to an equality with any of the private classes of the most celebrated teachers of this useful branch of study at this place, where proficiency in it is so highly prized."

Captain Thoresby, who succeeded Captain Fell, and from whose report we have been quoting, however reports that the Dharma Sastra [Law] class had never attained to much excellence; we also find that an attempt to engraft a knowledge of Persian on the Sanskrit scholars proved a failure. Regarding the Veda classes, Captain Thores-

by made a most discouraging statement. One of the professors was superannuated and the other was 'when in his proper character, a professed trafficker and money lender.' 'What proficiency,' asks Captain Thoresby, 'can be expected from the pupils of teachers of this description.' The Veda pupils were lads of low origin and unambitious minds, and their object was to commit to memory certain portions of the Vedas which would enable them to play the part of underling priests. The 'protracted existence of Veda classes would according to the learned superintendent, 'be a stain upon the institution, and could reflect no credit on us.'

The remarks of the General Committee of Public Instruction on the proposal to abolish the Veda classes deserve to be quoted in full.

"The Local Committee has concurred in the recommendation of Captain Thoresby to abolish the Veda classes and constituted as they hitherto have been, I see no objection, the sole object of tuition having been the recitation of such parts of the ritual as are still in use, agreeably to fixed cadences and intonations, without any attempt to explain the sense of the original passage. As observed by Captain Thoresby the only end of this institution was to enable indigent and ignorant Brahmans to gain a livelihood as underling priests. Although, however, we concur in the arrangements adopted by the Local Committee we should regret to see the study of the Vedas altogether excluded from the Government colleges as it would be by its abolition at Benares, there being no Veda class in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The act itself might be misconstrued into a design to obliterate that which is the basis of the original Hindu system, and it would certainly contribute to the total loss of works which are valuable for the light they throw upon the history of the Hindu religion and Sanskrit language. The Vedas exercise but little influence upon the present practices of the Hindus, and much of their language is obsolete; if wholly neglected, therefore, they will soon become unintelligible. Without therefore attaching undue importance to the study, we should wish it to be cultivated to a sufficient extent to provide a few Pandits able to explain the ancient text. We should accordingly propose to keep one class for the perusal of the Vedas, with the commentaries attached to them, not with the same object as heretofore, but for the purpose of understanding their purport and interpreting their language."

In May 1828 the Hon'ble the Court of Directors wrote from England:

"We have hopes that the energy and intelligence of the General Committee will render the Hindu College at Benares a more useful institution than it has hitherto proved." "In conclusion, it is proper for us to remark to you ... that ... the first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties. It may, we trust, be expected that the intended course of education will not only produce a high degree of in-

tellectual fitness, but that it will contribute to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and supply you with servants, to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust. To this the last and highest object of education we will expect that a large share of your attention be applied; we desire that the discipline of these institutions may be mainly directed towards raising among the students that national self-esteem which is the security against degrading vices, and we particularly direct that the greatest pains may be taken to create habits of veracity and fidelity, by inspiring the youths with a due sense of their importance...

Thus the idea of introducing a leaven of English education among the scholars of the Benares College with a view to fit them for the subordinate ranks of the public service was mooted. In a letter of the Government dated 1823, we find it stated that in the construction of the proposed Hindu College in Calcutta, the resolution of Government to introduce European science as far as practicable, should be kept in mind. In 1829 the Secretary of the Managing Committee wrote :

"The next suggestion I have to offer is of a still more important nature than the foregoing, for the object is to stock the mind of a certain portion of the rising generations with true and useful knowledge and to communicate instruction in that kind of literature, an acquaintance with which will tend to assimilate tastes and feelings and modes of thinking, reasoning etc., between those so educated and their foreign governors; if successful in the execution, the scheme may inculcably be beneficial in its result both morally and politically."

And then he proceeds to lay stress on "the propriety and expediency of imparting a knowledge of the English language and of European literature." The result was the establishment of a Government English school at Benares, and the proposal to appoint a European Headmaster was objected to by the General Committee on the ground that

"the plan is more likely to be cordially received by the native community if commenced with the assistance of able native teachers only; many amongst those students of the Calcutta College whose correct representations of dramatic characters and well-written theses have been noticed in the public prints must be fully qualified in every point to give instructions to the pupils of Benares....."

In 1830, two pupils from the Hindu College of Calcutta, were accordingly appointed teachers to the English seminary at Benares, their names being Gurucharan Mitra and Iswarchandra Dey. At the same time Government intimated to the pupils of the Benares Sanskrit College that in the nomination of Government vakils in the native Courts and agents with the

Commissioners, familiarity with English will on all occasions be considered to constitute a recommendation to preference. In 1833 the Medical class of the Hindu College was proposed to be reconstructed on the lines of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, in which instruction both on the Indian and European systems was imparted, theoretic instruction being confirmed by clinical observations in a small hospital, the patients in which were attended by the pupils of the class, the English language being made the medium of instruction in the European system, and it was inferred that the prejudice which had so long kept Bengali Brahmans from joining the Medical class did not prevail among the classes of Brahman pupils of Benares. The proposed medical class was however never established.

In 1837, the professors of law of the Calcutta and Benares Colleges were dismissed as there was preponderating evidence that they were actuated by corrupt motives in the exposition of the law on the point submitted for their opinion. The practice of referring questions of law to these pandits was also discontinued about the same time.

There was a great disinclination among the pupils of the Sanskrit College to study the natural sciences, and there was a strong bias in favour of astrological studies, as it was a paying profession. The abolition of stipends was the greatest blow struck at the College. As Pandit Kashinath Shastri put it :

"Formerly the poorer classes of students of the Sanskrit College of Benares used to come to the city from different parts of India and enter the college but some of them have left it at present on account of their stipends being cut; they who live at Benares do not attend the college for they spend their time in worshipping gods and trying to obtain alms."

Some members of the General Committee were in favour of causing the number of pupils to fall off, as it would make it appear that the institution was unpopular and thus have the way for its abolition. These gentlemen were convinced of the inutility of Sanskrit education, but others, like Raja Kalisankar Ghosal, were strongly in favour of retaining Sanskrit. Sir E. Ryan, the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, wrote :

"It is singular, but I believe perfectly true, that this college since its first institution in 1792 has not produced one eminent Sanskrit scholar."

In 1841, Captain Marshall visited the

College and examined the pandits and scholars and reported that the institution would not attain to respectability and utility until it had a good superintendent and an admixture of something practically useful with its classical course, and above all of the countenance of the sympathy of Government. In 1844, J. Muir, C. S., was appointed the first Principal of the College, and the English and the oriental seminaries were united under him, though the acquisition of English was not considered obligatory.

In 1845 the Court of Directors appointed Dr. J. R. Ballantyne to the Principalship of the Benares College. The report drawn up by Dr. Ballantyne at the close of 1846 contains some very interesting particulars. We quote below a portion of it:

"Finding in the College records reiterated complaints of the bad style of Hindi written by the students of the Sanskrit College, and also various indications of a desire on the part of Government that some improvement should be made if possible in this department, I early set myself to consider what might be best to be done.....I appealed to one of the most intelligent of the party [of students] to state his real opinion on the subject. His answer was to the following effect: We do not clearly understand what you Europeans mean by the term Hindi, for there are hundreds of dialects all in our opinion equally entitled to the name and there is here no standard as there is in Sanskrit. If the purity of Hindi is to consist in its exclusion of Mussalman words, we shall require to study Persian and Arabic in order to ascertain which of the words we are in the habit of using everyday is Arabic or Persian and which is Hindi. With our present knowledge we can tell that a word is Sanskrit or not Sanskrit, but if not Sanskrit it may be English or Portuguese instead of Hindi for anything that we can tell. English words are becoming as completely naturalised in the villages as Arabic and Persian words, and what you call the Hindi will eventually merge in some future modification of the Urdu: nor do we see any great cause of regret in this prospect.

"In reply to this I urged that it was not the duty of himself and of his brother pundits to leave the task of forming the national language in the hands of the villages, but to endeavour to get rid of the unprofitable diversity of provincial dialects by creating a standard literature in which one uniform system of grammar and orthography should be followed; the Pandits of Benares, if they valued the fame of their city, ought to strive to make the dialect of the holy city the standard for all India by writing books which should attract the attention and form the style of all their countrymen.....They were by no means easily if at all contented with my assurance, that to translate from the common language of their countrymen into a language known to comparatively few is not to produce what we Europeans call a work of public utility. I pressed upon their attention the fact that they know no language besides Sanskrit and their mother-tongue; that they could write correctly no language but Sanskrit and that therefore

unless they chose to learn English so as to become able to propose in Sanskrit such a work as Bapu Deo's Algebra, they could hope to make themselves useful public writers only by qualifying themselves to translate out of Sanskrit and not into it; at present each man could write only the patois of his native village, spelling it after his own fancy. I recommended to their notice the Hindi version of the Prem Sagar as the best standard of Hindi Grammar and orthography....."

Referring to the object of founding the College as stated in Mr. Duncan's letter quoted above, Dr. Ballantyne writes:

"These terms appear to contain the germ of nothing beyond the conciliating of the natives of India by paying a graceful compliment to this language and literature, and of perhaps providing better educated Pandits to act as legal counsellors than could otherwise have been always met with. For many years all the efforts of the various gentlemen who took an interest in the college appeared to have been directed to the increasing of its efficiency in these respects.....The object of such an institution, I conceive (and I understand Mr. Muir to have considered) ought to be this, to produce Pandits, not merely with Sanskrit learning equal to that which can be acquired in the native schools, but with minds so far tinctured with European habits of thought as shall render each of them in some degree a moral light among his countrymen. Many people look on such a proposed object as chimerical; it will assuredly be hard to effect, but we shall gain nothing by aiming at anything lower. I do not propose to substitute new studies for any portion of the course of Sanskrit study pursued in the college. All improvement must be in the way of addition, not of substitution. The most perfect English education bestowed upon a young Brahman, however great a blessing it might be to himself, would exert no beneficial influence beyond his own breast, if unaccompanied by the amount of Sanskrit education which is indispensable for securing any degree of respectful attention to his words.....The great influence which the Europeanised ideas of the learned Brahman Ram Mohan Roy, exerted upon the native mind of Bengal, when contrasted with the comparatively slender influence exerted by well educated and intelligent men of a different class [i.e., who have received a purely English training], has always struck me as pointing to the combination of conditions which we must strive to bring about if we would aim successfully at raising the native character....."

At the end Dr. Ballantyne proposed the constitution of the college as follows:— (1) that it should be the primary object of the college to teach all the most valuable branches of Sanskrit learning free of cost, (2) a secondary, but not subordinate, object of the institution should be to teach the best works in the English language to the most promising and advanced pupils, (3) the study of the capabilities of the Hindi language with a view to its improvement and its fixation will be required of the highest class of scholarship holders. The first and second of these principles were accepted by the Government. In

November 1847 the first stone of the new college was laid by His Highness the Raja of Benares and R. Neave, Esq. C. S. The college building was completed in 1852, at a cost of £13,000. The amount was subscribed by Government and by many English and Hindu gentlemen and ladies. In 1847-48 the study of English was introduced into the Sanskrit College. At first, in Dr. Ballantyne's words, it was an "interesting experiment," but subsequently the experiment became crystallised into the Anglo-Sanskrit Department. Its existence has coloured the whole history of the Pathshala after 1848. In 1868, Government gave an assurance that it intended to promote the development of the vernacular languages with which Sanskrit is so intimately connected. In 1877, during a period of financial pressure, the Anglo-Sanskrit Department was abolished, in spite of the protests of Mr. Gough (the Anglo-Sanskrit Professor) and Mr. Griffith, the Principal. Mr. Gough pointed out that the Anglo-Sanskrit Department was the modern and progressive side of the Sanskrit College; that it had reasonable success, and a liberalising tendency on the rest of Indian scholars at Benares; that western philosophy, notably that of Mill, Bain and Hamilton was being used as a supplement, and a silent corrective of Indian philosophy; that the department had not been altogether inactive in the development of Hindi, and of knowledge generally, for works of both Berkeley and Locke had been translated into Sanskrit, and there was a monthly publication issued called *The Pandit*. In 1883, Dr. Thibaut regretted that the Pandits were hardly doing anything towards research in any branch of Indian literature and antiquities. Since the abolition of Anglo-Sanskrit department of the College, there was, according to him, no longer any opportunity for the Pandits to make themselves acquainted in some degree with Western thought or culture. Sir Alfred Lyall thereupon endeavoured to ascertain through Mr. Griffith, then Director of Public Instruction, the opinions of two experts, e. g., Dr. Thibaut, Principal, and Babu Pramada Das Mitra, formerly Assistant Professor of the Sanskrit College, on the question of the development of Sanskrit study in the East along the lines of western thought. The memoranda drawn up by both these learned gentlemen

are of permanent interest to those interested in Sanskrit education, embodying, as they do, the views of two opposed schools of thought on the subject, and it will be necessary to quote at length from them.

Dr. Thibaut wrote :

"The task of the old Anglo-Sanskrit department was to give to young men who had been brought up in the Benares Sanskrit College and had there become competent Sanskrit scholars, as much of a liberal English or European education as they, considering their time of life and previous training, were able to assimilate. The branches of European literature and science to whose study the members of the department devoted themselves varied considerably at different times according to the bias of their professors. Under Dr. Ballantyne a good deal of attention was given to natural science; while Mr. Gough was professor, European metaphysics and psychology were the chief subjects of study. But the leading idea remained at all times essentially the same, viz., to superimpose on a liberal Sanskrit education a liberal European education. The results obtained under this system were certainly very satisfactory, and the department could point to more than one of its former pupils of whom it had just reason to be proud."

If the department was to be revived, it might, according to Dr. Thibaut, propose a somewhat different aim. Instead of giving to Pandits a general English education, the task should be to aim at 'converting the Pandits of the old school into accomplished Sanskrit scholars in the European sense of the word.' Dr. Thibaut continues :—

"I do not by any means wish to underrate the Sanskrit learning possessed by the professors and many of the students of our Sanskrit college. Their deep and extensive reading, their most accurate knowledge of the technicalities of the Sanskrit Shastras, and their command of the Sanskrit language may well raise the envy of European scholars. On the other hand, not even the best of our Pandits can be said to possess a critical knowledge of the Sanskrit literature and language. They know nothing of the history of their language and the place it occupies among cognate languages. They have no idea of the gradual growth of their literature and the fact that it mirrors different phases of national and religious life. They are quite unable to discuss intelligently historical and chronological questions. They proceed most uncritically in editing texts, &c. &c. And yet it appears only natural that in institutions maintained by a European government some efforts should be made to render the study of Sanskrit more critical and—viewing the matter from a European point of view—more fertile than hitherto.

"....."The Calcutta University insists on too high a standard of English, and so far precludes a sufficiently deep and accurate study of Sanskrit—a conclusion justified, I think, by the condition of Sanskrit learning in our English colleges affiliated to the above named institution. The Punjab University, on the other side, does not exact any knowledge of English, and thus leaves the Pandit exactly as he is."

"The selected students.....would, while studying English in the Anglo-Sanskrit department continue to read Sanskrit in the Sanskrit College.....the higher they advance the more care would be taken to render them acquainted with such English books as would have a more direct bearing on their Sanskrit studies and enable them to form wider and more enlightened views of Indian literature, history and antiquities—books for instance, like Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Max Muller's and Weber's Histories of Sanskrit Literature, the Essays of Colebrooke and Wilson, &c., (to mention only a few of the many suitable works). The students might finally be made acquainted with the elements of Comparative Grammar and the researches of European scholars in the history of Indian languages. Last of all—and this is a point to which I would attach great importance—the ablest and most advanced students of the Department would under the guidance of their professor attempt to turn their acquired scholarship to use by attempting independent research in the wide and unexplored fields of Sanskrit literature. There is certainly no lack of ability for work of this kind among the Pandits; what they want is careful direction and guidance. If the latter are given, we may before long see scholars of this province coming forward to take, as they ought to do, a part in the investigation of their country's past.".....

"Benares is still the foremost seat of Sanskrit learning and the Government college by far the most eminent among the different Sanskrit schools in Benares. It might therefore be pointed out with full truth to wealthy natives that any contributions for the purpose of furthering the study of Sanskrit in our college would well become men anxious for the progress of learning and education and especially interested in the advancement of studies in classical language and literature of India.".....

We now turn to Babu Pramadadasa Mitra's letter. He put in a vigorous plea in somewhat emphatic language for the preservation of Sanskrit learning in the form in which it obtained among the Pandits of the old school, and betrayed a somewhat contemptuous attitude towards historical scholarship. The attempt to convert the Indian Pandit into a Sanskrit scholar of the European type would, in his opinion, prove 'a sad mistake and a positive failure.' He would lose in depth and intensity without gaining in critical scholarship. The historical theories and conclusions of European Orientalists 'are not altogether free from errors, errors sometimes serious and radical.' So long as there is ample range for the imagination and consequently for the unconscious introduction of misrepresentations due to religious prejudice or race feeling, it will be quite possible for two scholars equally learned to draw conclusions diametrically opposed from the same data, according to their respective mental bias. As for the expositions of religious and philosophical systems by western Sanskritists, "learning in

Sanskrit has not yet so completely died out of its native land as to require the Pandits themselves to resort to the works of European scholars (however valuable they may be for their countrymen or persons unacquainted with the Sanskrit language for the purpose of gleanng the most correct notions about their own religious and philosophical systems." "The most confident and learned European Sanskritist will not deny that he has yet to learn a good deal about the numerous philosophical systems of India, and this he can hardly hope to do without the aid of Pandits of the true Indian type." The great authors of India have not indeed laboured to furnish materials for a conjectured history of the rise and growth of a national and religious life—Sanskrit literature does not contain a single work on history proper—but there are higher objects aimed at by the Sanskrit scholar. Sanskrit literature is studied by him for intellectual delight and moral elevation, for the culture and wisdom that they afford, and "it is desirable that that class of men who study them deeply should be encouraged to study them still more deeply and to flourish and grow in numbers as well as in intellectual vigour." The Pandits will not be able to acquire sufficient mastery of the English language from the course of instruction proposed to produce English works embodying the results of their research; nor will they ever "be able to acquire that power of historical research and criticism which in European scholars is the result of historical and classical training in a wide range of subjects." As for the course of study, it should, in Mr. Mitra's opinion, comprise English works on constitutional history and political economy, the principles of jurisprudence, science, and philosophy: in short, such subjects as address themselves much more especially to the reasoning powers than to memory. The "Reprints for Pandits" (with annotations) from English philosophical works, and the synopsis of science both in English and Sanskrit, published by that great scholar, Dr. Ballantyne, were also recommended by Mr. Mitra as they produced men like Pandit Vethal Sastri, "who combined a profound knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy with such considerable attainments in European thought as enabled him to translate and publish in Sanskrit the first

book of Bacon's *Novum Organum*." Selections from Griffith's *Ramayana* and Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* and *Hindu Theatre* were also recommended as a pleasant mode of learning English. "The course of studies hinted at above will no doubt enlighten the minds of the Pandits with truths altogether new to them, enlarge their views, and enable them with advantage to compare the philosophies of the East and the West. This end will be far from being compassed by books dealing with subjects already for the most part better known to them." Nevertheless, Mr. Mitra does not ignore the value of historical criticism, but he thinks it occupies, or should occupy, a distinctly lower place in the scheme of Sanskrit study. He says:—

"To train up a class of men combining Eastern wisdom with Western enlightenment will no doubt be admitted to be an object well worth aiming at by the organisation of a special department. Nay, I believe the want or paucity of such men is seriously felt.....The Department should (for the most part) be joined by such students of the Sanskrit Department and their number is not small whose intellectual bent, capacity or taste is not suited for the study of those higher branches of Sanskrit Grammar, and the subtle and recondite works on *Nyaya* and other philosophy, which affords so rigorous a discipline to the minds of others and prepare for that depth and accuracy of knowledge which is recognised in the memorandum [of Dr. Thibaut]"

After pointing out that one of the objects of the scheme proposed by Dr. Ballantyne was to create a vernacular literature consisting of translations from works on science, history, and philosophy, Mr. Mitra concludes with the following vigorous appeal:

"In conclusion, I would humbly but strongly protest in behalf of that learning which has from remote antiquity had its most celebrated seat in this city, which has been cultivated with such eminent success for almost a century in the Sanskrit College, that it would be better not to establish any Department at all than to establish one that may eventually lead the Pandits "to turn their backs upon the old ways and lines of study"—(not for acquiring scientific truths, but for furnishing their minds with historical conjectures).—ways and lines of study which I may say have produced the very literature that has engaged and still engages the earnest and admiring attention of many a liberal-minded European scholar....."

Mr. Griffith, in forwarding the views of both Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Mitra to the Government, referred to the latter as an old and esteemed pupil of his, and agreed generally with the opinion expressed by him. Mr. Griffith thought that Dr. Thibaut wrote exclusively from the point

of view and in the interest of the Sanskritists of the West. The Pandit had many excellences of his own, and should not be radically reformed. "Babu Pramadasa Mitra writes from the point of view of a liberally educated but patriotic native gentleman, who loves the ancient language, philosophy, literature, and religion of his country, and can at the same time appreciate the advantages of adding, as he has done, to the learning of the Indians some acquaintance with Western thought, literature and science."

Dr. Thibaut's rejoinder is worth notice. He says:—

"I certainly do not hesitate to admit in the first place that the Hindus have a right to expect that their national learning should be maintained and fostered to a certain extent, and in the second place that the intrinsic value of that learning is a very high one..... I will only add that even from the European point of view the maintenance of the old learning appears highly desirable, as it will be a long time before European scholars have learnt from the Pandits everything that the latter can teach them about Sanskrit learning and philosophy.

"The second point on which I see myself obliged to make some remarks in connection with Babu Pramadasa's letter concerns the ultimate aim of any Anglo Sanskrit Department, whatever its special course of studies may be. Here I must confess I do not understand Babu Pramadasa's position. If, as he appears to wish, the mental attitude of the Pandits with regard to the literature and culture of their own country is to remain entirely unchanged, I do not see on what grounds the establishment of any new Department can be recommended. For in what manner will an acquaintance with the sciences and the literature of the West affect the minds of the Pandits? Babu Pramadasa Mitra says in one place that it will be the task of the Department 'to train a class of men combining Eastern wisdom with Western enlightenment.' But how can things be combined which in very many points are of an essentially conflicting nature? When the Pandits, after having read in the *Vishnu Purana* (a work whose study Babu Pramadasa recommends) that the sun revolves once in 24 hours round Mount Meru, find it stated in English books on astronomy that the earth revolves round its own axis, they necessarily will have to choose between the two doctrines. If they accept the European teaching, after a special department has been established for their enlightenment, their views regarding the 'intrinsic value' of the *Vishnu Purana* will certainly undergo some modification. Or again what will they think of the physiological doctrines forming part of the *Vedanta* system after having learnt from European books the true constitution of the human body? Instances, as the preceding one, taken from natural science, are particularly striking; but analogous instances from other departments of knowledge might easily be quoted. Everywhere the Hindu will have in the end to confess to himself that the absolute value of his country's literature is smaller than he used to think before he had begun to study English books. If we were really afraid of such a consequence, it would certainly

be better to leave the Pandits entirely to their old ways and guard them from western enlightenment of any kind.....The special course of reading suggested in my memorandum in addition to the general study of English would certainly have the effect of redirecting to India and Indian things the attention of minds which otherwise might allow themselves to be attracted too much—too much at least for the wishes of patriotic Hindu—by the culture and sciences of the West. The Department would thus, with regard to the study of Sanskrit literature, be in the attitude of a person who while taking with the one hand gives with the other.

"I do not wish to criticise here in detail the remarks made by Babu Pramadadasa on the results of European research in Indian matters. A controversy on this point would recommend itself only if Babu Pramadadasa Mitra were fully acquainted with all that has been accomplished during the last 30 or 40 years by the scholars of England, France, Germany and America; and that he is really so I do not feel convinced, in spite of the very decided tone of his judgments. I will only state as a fact known to me from my own experience that Pandits of a more advanced type gladly avail themselves of English books on Indian history, literature &c., in order to make up for deficiencies in their own learning, and that I have more than once consulted European dictionaries and grammars of Sanskrit for Pandits desirous of knowing if a certain word or grammatical form was to be found in their literature. That not all the results of European scholarship are equally well established must be admitted; all men are liable to error, and if I had to quote a striking instance of 'scholars equally learned drawing conclusions diametrically opposed from the same data,' I should refer not to the European interpreters of the Veda [as Mr. Mitra does], but to the metaphysicians, Hindu or European, whose writings Babu Pramadadasa Mitra recommends for study. Still many of the results alluded to are sufficiently well settled to form legitimate subjects of instruction, and are as a matter of fact already to be met with in the simplest Indian school books. A plea in favour of the historical way of looking at things would lead me too far; I only make the remark that if the Pandits had possessed and did possess a little of that historical spirit which Babu Pramadadasa appears to rate so low, we—including the Pandits—would not have to regret at the present time the irretrievable loss of so many of the most important works of Sanskrit literature and the endeavours made by Government to rescue from final loss as much as can yet be rescued would be rewarded by considerably greater success."

Lastly, Dr. Thibaut says that instead of being employed in creating a vernacular literature consisting of translations of works on science, philosophy and literature, as Babu Pramadadasa recommends, the proper task to be taken in hand by the students of the Anglo-Sanskrit Department should be work more or less intimately connected with Sanskrit literature, such as the preparation of Koshas of the different Hindu Shastras, Anglo-Sanskrit and Anglo-vernacular dictionaries, and learned and accurate editions of Sanskrit texts &c. "Translations of English books are

best undertaken by those who have studied English and the different branches of English science most thoroughly, i.e., by men who have been brought up in English Colleges."

In July 1884, the final views of the Government were thus expressed:

"The first point to be secured is such an acquaintance with English as may enable Hindu students of Sanskrit to read and understand the works of English writers. This gained, their course of reading can be directed towards those branches of learning which bear upon Sanskrit literature."

At present (1907)* the four Pandits of the Sanskrit College "are household names among scholars in India and Europe," so says the concluding portion of the Government publication from which this article has been compiled. It alludes to the endowment of Rs. 15,000 created by the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal for Sanskrit scholarships, and to the 'Sanskrit Improvement Committee,' and observes that:—

"The practical suggestions lie in the direction of scholarships, studentships, a hostel, a library, the appointment of a well qualified European professor or professors and finally, the cataloguing, by a competent scholar, of that mass of valuable Sanskrit manuscripts which already exist in the library of the Queen's College—a task heavy but of the utmost importance, a task that cannot but result, as experience in the West has shown many a time, not only in the proper arrangement of knowledge, but in the increase of it."

We have now completed our survey of the history of the Benares Sanskrit College and we may recapitulate some of the main points. The original object with which the institution was founded in 1791 was, as we have seen, partly to conciliate the Hindus by evincing an interest in their sacred language and classical literature, and partly to produce Pandits capable of assisting English judges in expounding Hindu Law. When Persian was replaced by English in the courts and offices, attention was directed towards imparting instruction in English to the pupils of the College along with Sanskrit which continued to be the main subject of study. The absence of original work by the scholars led by and by to the introduction of an Anglo-Sanskrit Department with a view to encourage the students to translate English works into Sanskrit and the vernacular and take part in research into the history of Sanskrit literature and Hindu life and thought. This led to a keen controversy, ably conducted on both sides,

as to whether Pandit of the old type should be made to reinforce his knowledge, deep, extensive, accurate, and technical, with the critical, historical and philological knowledge of the west. This controversy has not yet come to a close, but we in Bengal may refer to our experience in regard to the Calcutta Sanskrit College as a safe guide in these matters. Pandits deeply learned in the Shastras and imbued with the spirit of Hindu philosophy and literature, like Mahamahopadhyaya Chandrakanta Tarkalankar, have certainly their uses; they keep the ideal of learning high, and are living representatives of the traditional culture and spirit of the ancient sages. They form a very necessary corrective to shallow and superficial learning, which is sometimes associated with the names of European Sanskritists. At the same time, men like Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar have shown that depth of classical learning is no bar to the advancement of vernacular literature by means of translations from European and Sanskritic sources. Nevertheless, it is in the main true, as Dr. Thibaut says, that the development of vernacular literature must be the work of men educated principally in European literature and science, as the example of most Bengali writers from Bankim Chandra Chatterji downwards amply demonstrates. Lastly, Babu Pramadaladas Mitra was certainly wrong in thinking that the Pandits would never be able to acquire the power of historical

research and criticism. Scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in Bengal and Dr. Bhandarkar in the Deccan exhibit the truly beneficial results flowing from the union of Sanskrit learning with the critical, historical and comparative methods of the west. It is scholars of this type,* more than the Pandits of the old school, that are more and more needed in the interest of the development and regeneration of our national life and faith. It is they who will give a rational exposition of our culture, traditions and ideals, and help to fix our legitimate place among the highly civilised nations of the world, and point out with the unerring finger of scientific investigation the reasons of the decay of that civilisation and the means of resuscitating it. The newly-created Hindu University, in its theological side, is expected to foster the growth of scholarship of this kind; and by so doing give that fulness and vitality to our national life which is, or ought to be, one of the main objects of that University. When the learning of the orthodox Pandit, much of which is dry and barren, is rendered fruitful and instinct with potent ideas, a new day will have dawned for the rejuvenated Hindu nation which will then be in a position to shake off the deadweight of the age-long accumulation of rusty formulas, and march forward under conditions more favourable to success in the strenuous competition of the modern world.

POLITICUS.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF TAGORE IN EUROPE

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

IN the month of August, 1912, I indulged in my first "Continental" holiday. A long and stiff session in school teaching terminating in annual examinations, had been followed by an unexpected appointment to a summer course. The appointment carried with it remuneration which, being equally unexpected, could only fitly find an unexpected outlet. Nothing short of Paris could meet the requirements of the occasion.

But Paris has—or rather, had then—a trick of "extras." The closest calculation of conducted tours, all-found, could not provide an arithmetical mesh sufficiently fine to hold all possibilities of little fish escaping into deep waters of explorations which, even in the virtuous light of day, transformed themselves into francs and centimes. It therefore became necessary to find a less leaky habitat for the tail-end of the month, and Fate, and the worst

railway system I had till then known, landed me in the historical and quaint city of William the Conqueror, Bayeux in Normandy. In its neighbourhood I found the little town of Balleroy, with its exquisite church designed by the architect of the Louvre, and a comfortable hotel managed by a stout widow with the largest smile and the smallest quantity of English possible, that is, none.

That year made a record in rainfall in Western Europe. Fortunate individuals who wandered as far eastward as Copenhagen smiled pitifully on those of us who dwelt under the Atlantic cloud—but there were compensations. A line announced itself in a note from a friend who happened to be staying at her seaside house on the coast of Normandy, to the effect that as we were all evidently destined to be drowned, we might as well perish together. The note added: "Mr. Yeats is here." I thanked God for the deluge that floated us (speaking maritally not editorially) into the more immediate precinct of one of world's master singers than lecture platforms or the crush-room of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

Our luck turned out to be greater than our dreams of it. Instead of one poet, we had two: one in the flesh, the tall, dark, ever-distinguished leader of the Irish literary and dramatic movement; one in the spirit; almost, as it were, in a pre-natal state awaiting birth in the English language, but living royally, vitally, in the splendid imagination and enkindled joy of another: one was Yeats, the other Tagore. I have often wondered if the immortal singer of the songs of the spirit in the East has come near a realisation of the place that his songs occupied in the mind of the immortal singer of the songs of the spirit in the West before fame had ratified them. When I had the great joy, four years later, of coming face to face with Rabindranath in his Calcutta home, I had a mind to clear up my wonder, but it was as difficult to break through his interest in the work of Yeats and his fellow-singers and to get him to talk of his own work as it had been in Normandy to get Yeats to talk anything but Tagore. After all, I suppose, it does not matter much to the individuals whether or not they realise in what relationship they stand to one another. They cannot add an inch to their stature, for each is supreme in his

place: nevertheless, to others, not at their height, there must be something stirring in the spectacle of a poet of transcendent genius standing on the housetop of enthusiasm, proclaiming, on the slightest provocation, the splendours of the genius of a brother poet.

At that time, Rabindranath was a name unknown in English letters, but a few at the heart of things literary were in the secret of a coming revelation. Yeats carried with him a manuscript book containing the poems of Tagore which he was then prefacing for the India House edition of "Gitanjali." He read—or rather, chanted as only he can—every one of the poems, adding to their inherent quality a glory of music and interpretation. Time has blurred the ear's memory of those after-dinner recitals, but it has not falsified the first conviction that those little mouthfuls of lyrical prose were among the abiding things of the Soul, and that they would work a beneficent revolution in English literature, since they entered it at its highest—in the purest of musical speech, full of the authenticity of creation, rather than the adumbrations of translation, and glowing with a spirit that was new to the West, yet essentially in affinity with the spirit of the seers of all time, who are also the utterers.

My first impression of Tagore's poetry, made through ear-gate, was that of direct statement of subjective experience akin to that of Maeterlinck and Emerson, but differing from Maeterlinck in its wonderful clarity, and from Emerson in its equally wonderful simplicity. It seemed to move at an altitude far above all derivation, and with a sense of finding in the history of religion, philosophy and literature—a gratifying, but hardly essential, corroboration, not a source of justification. This was not, of course, felt as a pose or a conscious quality, but rather as the concomitant of spiritual authenticity that is at home in all lands and new in all ages.

I did not see "Gitanjali" in print until Macmillan's edition came out. Then it came upon me in a crowded tramcar in one of the dirtiest and most odoriferous districts of Liverpool. I put the book in my pocket to while away a forty-five minutes' journey by mean streets among a crowd of tired women and squirming babies, interspersed with the silk hat of

suburban respectability going to evening church, and the sharp odour of alcohol from labour off duty and having "a good time." I had to hang on to a strap by one hand—my seat having gone to a lady—but I had taken the precaution to cut my "Gitanjali," and so it was not difficult to hold it, and turn the pages when required.

I learned then the meaning of a "joy-ride," and I fancy my fellow-passengers felt something of its radiation, for I had to pass the book to my companion to share the glow of re-discovery which showed itself in brightened eyes and heightened colour as, Trance and a chanting poet's voice built themselves in the midst of the drabness and stench of our physical environment, and the eye gave confirmation to the ear in hailing the wonderful new thing in poetry,—a voice that had no need to speak of truth, or of beauty since it was itself beauty.

One might, I suppose, rest satisfied with the exalted pleasure of such experiences, but after all, they are somewhat of the nature of refined sensuality unless they touch some deeper level of the being than the exclusively aesthetic in thought or feeling. Their influence must be ephemeral unless one's own consciousness supply the medium of fixation, and this can only be done by thinking around the aesthetic impacts, finding their inter-relationships, and their relationships with the great facts and intuitions of life. Very possibly Tagore would resist any attempt to systematise him, and quite rightly, for he is not a system but a life. At the same time, since he is a life, an organism of spirit, he must preserve a symmetry and coherence in his parts. Every line, every thought in his writings, hangs upon every other, and it is in the discovery of the "hang of them" that those outside himself can put their image of him in their shrine, the *Bhoga murti* to which they can present the offerings of thought that would wither under the eye of the very-God. The mind is, as the "Gita" says, the slayer of the real, but it is also the path to the real for those on the hither side of inspiration. In creation, the artist may, nay must, overleap it; in understanding, we cannot.

That is my excuse, if not my justification, for having found in the "Gitanjali" a series of poems which, organically, though

not chronologically, presented a coherent view of the life of humanity, and its relationship with the universe, and which may, I think, be regarded as Tagore's message to the world. In reading any new poet, I instinctively search for his greatest "word", that is, a declaration that has springing out of it the greatest range of branches and twigs of vision and thought. That attained, the rest of the poet's utterances put on an illuminating perspective.

Tagore's greatest thought is, I believe, his enunciation (72)* of the unbroken perfection that he conceives to be the basis of all manifested being. One life works through all degrees of lives (64), so that the visible Creation is not merely symbolised as, but actually is, the Body of God (61). The poet, therefore, always sees the Divine working through the human (57), and he sets up a personal relationship between himself and the Divine (66), and conducts his life through reliance on the Great Life (6) of which his own is a part. That Great Life is within conscious reach of every one (71); the fulfilment of its law is Love (14), a Love that is no renunciation (68), but purifies its members (3) for sheer joy of making them fitter instruments to express the Great Life.

What distinguishes Tagore's expression of his vision from western poets is that his religion and philosophy are not departments of his work, but its "fundamental ether," its vital substance. His religion is without theology, though not without personality; his philosophy is without argument, though not without rationale. The outstanding quality that shows in every line of his poetry is *life*, but not the little span of sensation and lower thought that is the western connotation of the word amongst minor poets and minor critics. His affinities in English literature are Herbert, and Vaughan, and Crashaw, and among living poets the seer-singer of the Irish renaissance, A. E., and the highland and mystic-singer, James L. MacBeth Bain; but while these are Tagore's spiritual kindred, he has as comrades the whole hierarchy of song and one of the most fascinating speculations as to the future is the influence that Tagore will

* These figures refer to the page in Macmillan's "Gitanjali."

exert on English literature. He comes to it, not as a translation, but as a powerful original; post-Whitman in technique, that is, uniting the freedom of *vers libre* to lyrical architectonics. He has bettered the mechanics of the younger English

poets, but he has done more: he has let loose a spirit of eclecticism in thought and phrase that will put an end to the fallacy of equating vulgarity with democracy in letters, and help to accomplish the much-needed poetical Restoration.

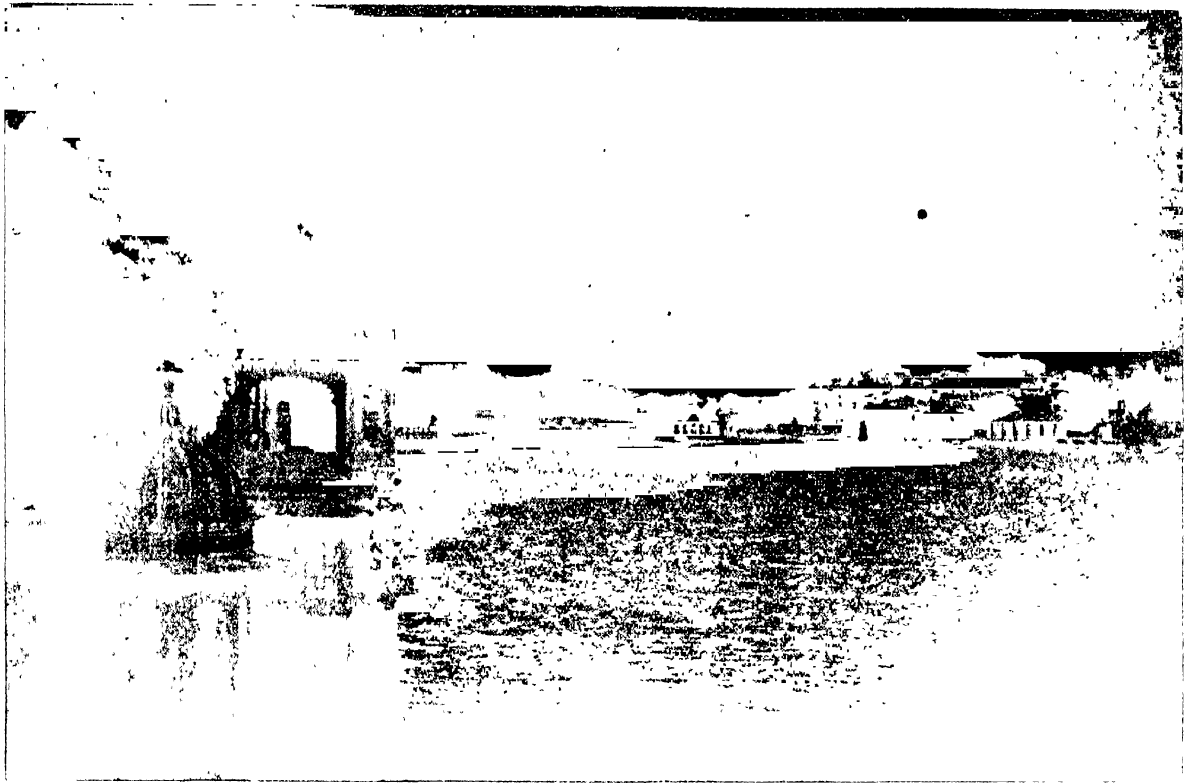
UDAIPUR—THE FAIRY CITY OF INDIA

BY LYNFIELD.

INDIA is a land of infinite variety, and on every hand are to be seen examples of magnificent construction, strong and apparently impregnable fortresses, buildings of pure marble, with the most elaborate workmanship, mosques of surpassing beauty, and temples cut out of the solid rock to provide a home for their many gods. But the city of Udaipur stands alone. Here there is "in its perfection the fairy palace of one's childhood, just such a long cataract of marble terraces and halls falling into waters of a mountain-circled lake." Udaipur certainly reminds one, as no other place in India, of the wonderful imaginations of fairy land, and it is not to be regretted that all the schemes evolved in the minds of the rulers of India, for the utilisation of Udaipur's natural resources, have come to nought, and that the city is still the same as it was a hundred years or more ago. There are changes of a minor kind, but Udaipur remains conservative, and the very men who were keenest on improvements before they visited the place, are quite content that this remote and unhackneyed city shall remain untouched. Udaipur is off the beaten track, and on this account it does not receive the attention it deserves from the sight-seer. But the construction of a branch railway line from Chitor has done something toward making the journey comfortable. Udaipur not only appeals to the imagination on account of the fairy-like scenery but because the ruler of this State is over-lord, not only of the State of Mewar, but in a sense of all India. "Were free election," writes one, "to be made tomorrow among the native competitors for the kingship of India, no one would dare to stand

against the Maharana of Udaipur. For the Maharana of Udaipur is the two hundred and fortieth descendant in right line from the Sun, and primate and pontifex secular among all who hold the Hindu faith."

It is difficult to conceive anything more beautiful than the situation of this city. It is true the approach by rail is through a barren, even plain, with scarce anything but cactus hedges in the way of vegetation, and the traveller is scarcely prepared for the sight of the great lake, with its white palaces on its banks, and studded with little islands on which also are small white palaces which stand out in the glorious sunlight that bathes the place. The lake, known as Pola Lake, is the chief attraction, and everything else pales into insignificance besides it. Yet without the palaces, in spite of the natural position and surroundings it would lose much of its attractiveness. The two islands of most importance are the Jag Mandar and the Jag Newas, and these islands are covered with white marble palaces, in the grounds of which are tall palms and banana trees which afford a welcome shade in the midday heat. In order to visit these islands, in fact, to go on the lake at all, a special permit is necessary, but as a rule these are not difficult to obtain, and the Maharana places his boats at the disposal of the visitors. In one of the palaces the Emperor Shah Jahan took shelter when a young prince, from the anger of his father, Jehangir; in another some of the refugees in the time of the Mutiny were received and protected by the Rana: from another Sir John Outram, when taunted by the Rana,



General View of Lake and City from an Island.



The Jag Mandar.

sprang into the lake, swarming with crocodiles which were being fed, and swam to the shore. Many tragedies have taken place in the water summer palaces, but it

is scarcely possible for the visitor to imagine such scenes in these glorious surroundings. Speaking of these palaces Percival Landon says, "Tier upon tier the



The Museum, Udaipur.

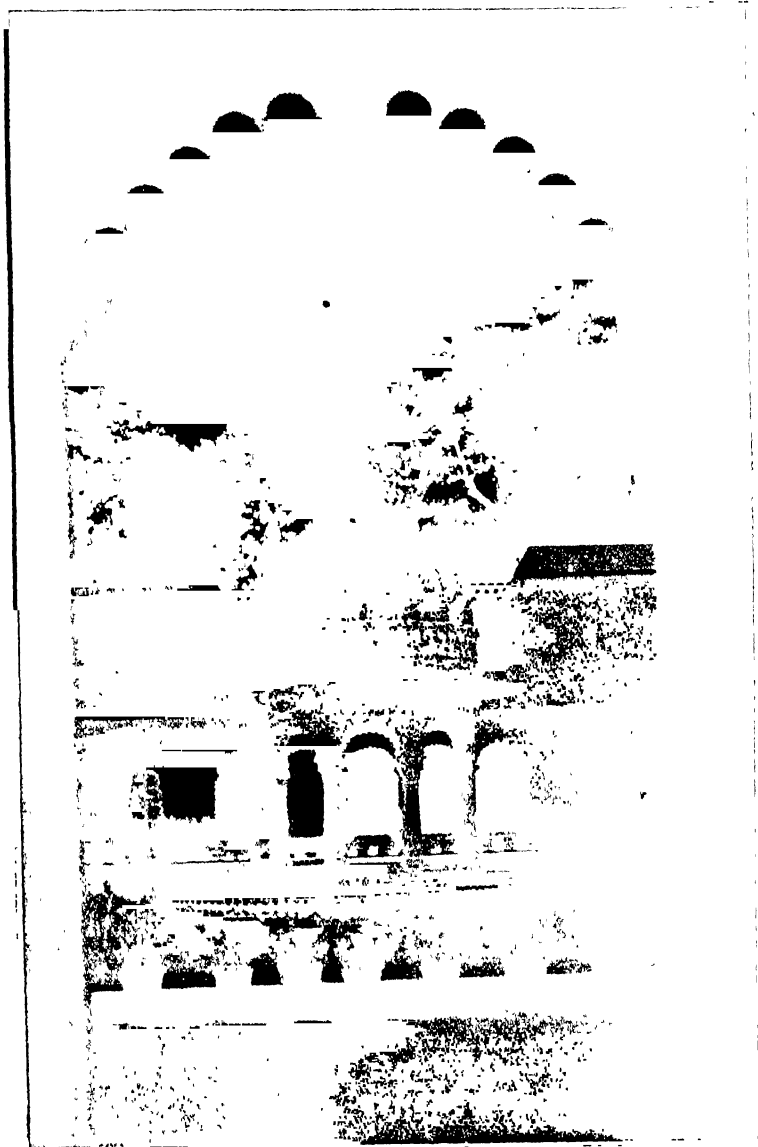


The Tank from which Udaipur is supplied with water.

showy walls and terraces rise from the very ripples of the lake, where under the kiss of the wind their reflection makes a matted tangle of white. Here and there the whiteness of the half-translucent architecture is relieved by a touch of green where a banyan or a group of acacias rises from the walled-in garden plot, but the same quick white, of half a hundred shades and values, argent in the sun and veiled-blue in the shadows, spreads along the palace wall or points itself into the dome and pinnacle of the roof till the upper line cuts the blue of the air, white from end to end of the thousand feet of the palace sky-line,—white, white, and, from end to end, white." It would almost seem a sacrilege to introduce anything artificial to improve the grandeur and picturesqueness of the lake, but, from the account of visitors, it would appear that the illuminations always arranged on the occasion of the visit of the Viceroy or a member of the Royal family, even add to the fairy-like effect. Along four miles of architecture the small lights are hung in festoons, and reflect their lights on the still waters of the lake. Then follow the displays of fire-works and coloured lights which make a gorgeous sight, an almost unequalled specimen of Oriental splendour. Hours may be spent rowing over the lake, and resting in the cool of the palace gardens, from which one can obtain splendid views of the surrounding hills, and the nearer land palaces.

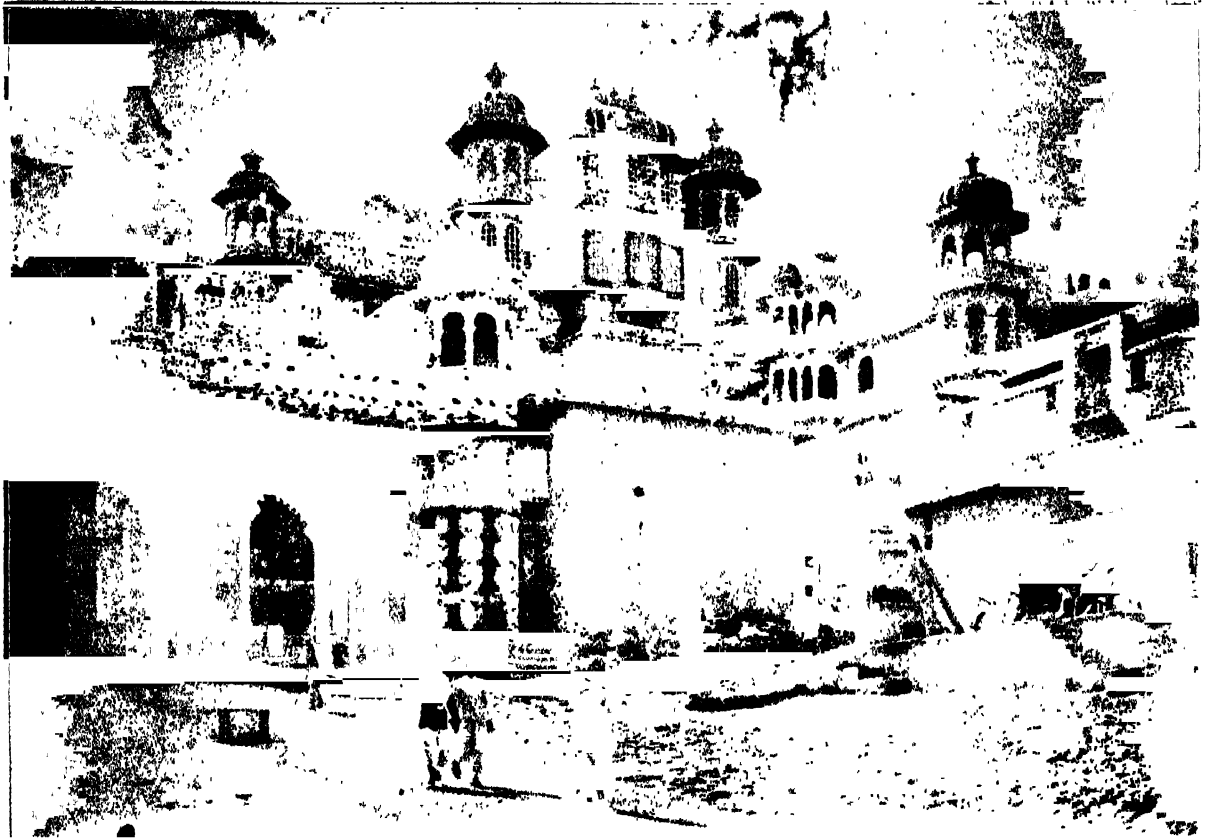
From one point of view it would be well to pass by the land palaces, for unfortunately, the interiors are too modernised. Seldom does one find an Indian modernised palace in good taste, and Udaipur is no exception. There is a gaudiness altogether foreign to palaces in

western countries. If the scheme were Oriental instead of Occidental the brilliant colours etc., would seem in place. Nevertheless, it is interesting to visit one of these palaces. The Royal Palace, right on the bank of the lake, is a most imposing pile of granite and marble, of quadrangular



A Zenana Garden at Udaipur.

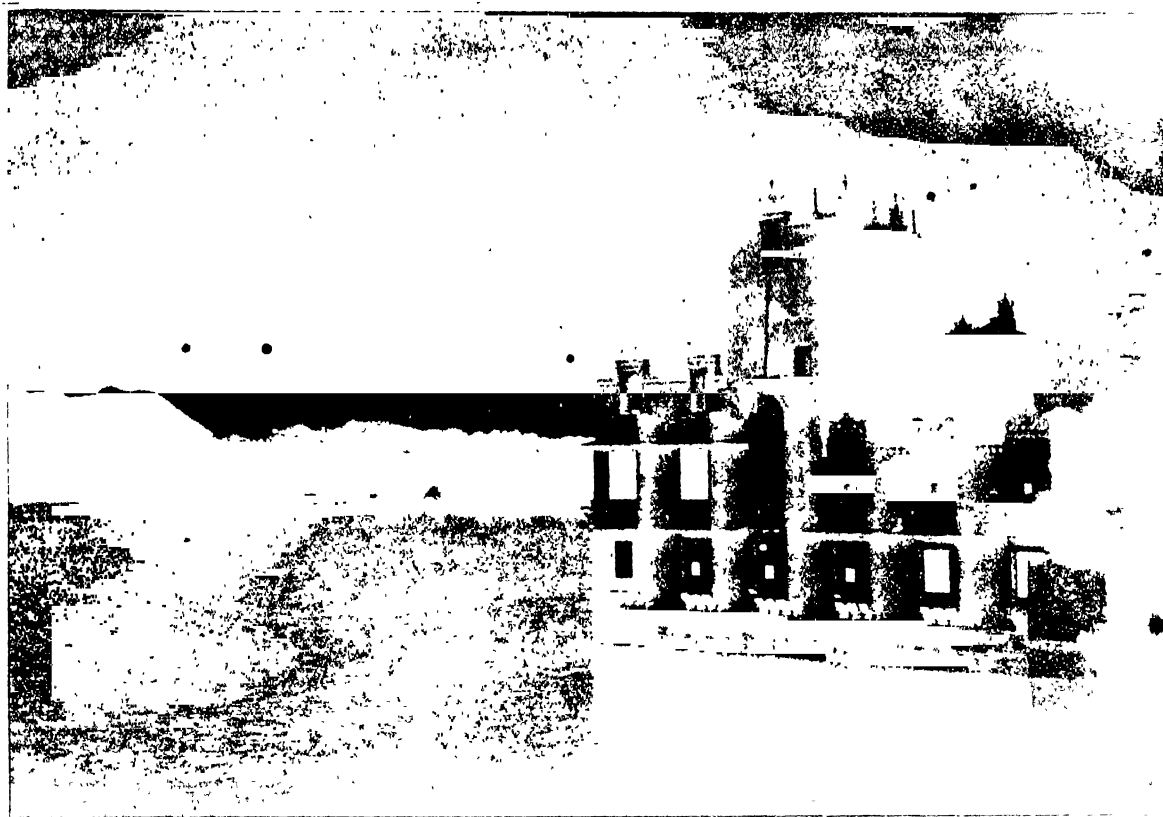
shape, rising about one hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. There is a wide, open terrace, from which one can obtain a view of the city and valley, bounded by the distant hills. Some of the royal apartments open on to this terrace.



The Udaipur Palace.

Very interesting too, are the bathing ghats which lie to the north of the lake. Here hundreds of men bathe and meditate every morning, each absorbed in his own ritual. The women and children are also there, the former engaged in washing the cloths and household idols, the latter in gambolling about in the shallow water. The visitor is generally taken by the boatmen to see what is certainly unique sight. Every evening large numbers of wild pigs are fed by order of the Rana. At a fixed hour the servants set apart for this task, make a call, and soon from all parts of the wild jungle one sees hundreds of these wild ferocious beasts dashing toward the open place where the food is thrown to them from above. There is a tremendous uproar, and not a few battles between the wild pigs themselves in their scramble for the food. A man's life would be of little value, if by misfortune, he happened to find himself below at this time of the day.

There is very little of interest in the city itself, though its inhabitants are well worthy of study. There is a very delightful zenana garden belonging to one of the members of the Royal family, some distance from the lake, and visitors are generally taken there. Of course the private zenana garden is completely closed to strangers, but there is an outer garden most beautifully kept. It is a typical Indian garden. There are tanks of water, with luxuriant plants on every side, there are cool shady corners in which to rest in the heat of the day. But wherever the visitors may be, his thoughts are on the lake, and he is not satisfied till he can return to quietly row about the silent lake and watch the ever-changing sun effects on the water and the palaces. Udaipur is a dream, and it is difficult to realise that what is before one is something real and not a product of the imagination.



One of the Island Palaces at Udaipur.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE YOUNG WOMEN OF INDIA

BY FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH.

DEAR SISTERS:—

YOU do not know me; I have known and wished you well for a long time, and this because of the admiration and high esteem I feel for the brave struggle for education and the integrity of the Hindusthanee students I have met in America, and because of my love for and study of all things Indian.

Your beautiful country with its patient, suffering people can calmly point to a high, proud civilization at a time when my barbaric forefathers dwelt in caves or roamed about, clothed in the skins of wild beasts, unable to claim a nation or a country as their own. But to-day no child of my birth-nation, whether boy or girl, faces the world with less than nine years of nine months schooling, while the

great mass of your people now lack that inestimable asset with which to face life.

It is not my purpose to delve into the causes of this reversion. It is because I know that the need of your own, your people's and your country's new development will increase the great urge to tread, in spite of obstacles, the pathway which leads to higher education, that I now write this letter.

In this new striving some of you will reach for what lies near at hand, some will strike out farther and wish to visit and study in foreign lands. Some of you, hampered financially, may need to seek the place best fitted to let you win your education by your own efforts.

To those of you, whom such effort may bring to the shores of America, I offer whatever value the communication of my



One of the Tombs of the Mewar Kings

own experience may enclose. I am one of those who have travelled the path you may want to chose, and have won to the end of the journey, know the struggles to be faced, the broadening effect a college education is able to give, and the feeling of security and assurance and helpfulness with which one faces life so equipped.

It is worth all the struggle, and that is what I aim to tell you about,—the struggle!

I was born in a little Swiss mountain village of scarce a few hundred inhabitants. In this village and especially in my family, to be born a girl meant that from childhood higher education and a bigger field of action and interests was denied. To know how to read, write, cook, sew, serve, marry and raise children in just the same way as our great-grandmothers had done in that purely agricultural valley was considered all-sufficient, no matter how the world meanwhile had changed.

From the age of six onward I was receiving the usual, compulsory Public School education. Those who obtain the systematic, intermediary training which alone entitles to matriculation in all higher



A Red Indian Woman at Work.

schools and universities, branch off from the "People's School" at the age of eleven or twelve and enter the "Secondary School." I was denied this privilege, though my brothers attended the Secondary School and later were encouraged and enabled to leave home and attend schools and universities in our large cities.

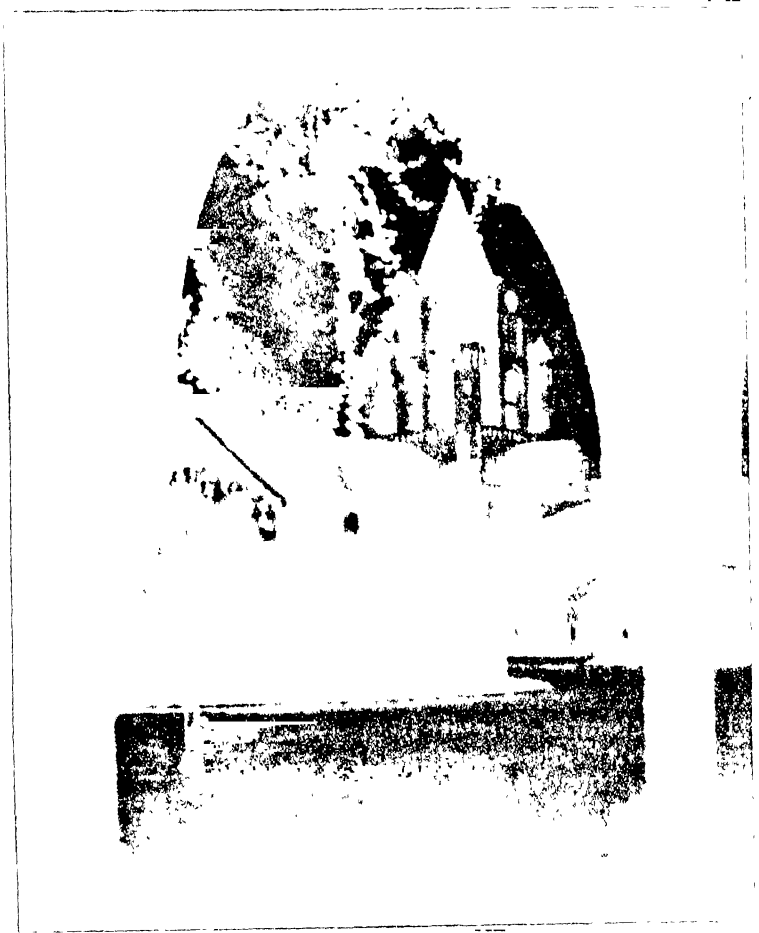
The scattered crumbs of a wider knowledge carelessly thrown about by them whenever they returned to spend their vacations, gave me a vague, but intense desire to learn more about that great, wide, outside world in which they were moving. Yet it was only natural that I should find myself absolutely without sympathy and champions, opposed and thwarted on every side, when it became clear that I longed restlessly for unusual experience and for the broad educational field monopolized by men. Among my family and among the simple villagers some adjudged me "queer", some lazy and attempting to elude the simple homely duties intended for all girls.

In spite of the serious disability of having missed the intermediary schooling, I began after my fourteenth year, and the death of my father, to make misdirected, vain attempts to get what I wanted on my own account. I left home to learn the French language and later attended a course in a domestic science school. These uncentered efforts here and there to grasp at higher education proved largely futile, void of a larger purpose and outlook, and left me dissatisfied. I became filled with a sense of the discouragement and uselessness of my individual struggle against a ruthlessly exclusive, rigid system of education in the land of my birth. But this very failure only served to stamp me in my own mind as an "outsider", to impress me deeply with the need of gaining admission some-

how, somewhere, into an ordered, accredited, educational career.

Meanwhile the resources at my disposal, without interference, were getting dispiritingly low; too low to carry me far in Switzerland even, had I been admitted to the higher institutions on full standing. In this extremity, at the age of twenty-one, I turned to America.

I had read and heard of the wider opportunities of entrance and of self-support



Cloistered Quadrangles of Leland Stanford Junior University.

at the American universities, especially those of Western United States of America, and I decided to do or die. In what very little information I had about these universities, some chance remark and chance picture (that of a double row of stately palms leading to large, yellow, arcaded buildings topped with red roofs) had fastened the name of "Leland Stanford Junior University," California, on my mind. I

wrote to the "Rectorat" of that university a letter asking for information concerning entrance requirements, my own chances for admission, opportunities for "working one's way through college." * Owing to the difference in faculty and office terminology between European and American universities, my letter most happily, in view of what followed, failed to reach its intended destination. On the European continent, the "Rector" of a university is its President, the "Rectorat" the President's office. The Stanford post-office interpreted "Rectorat" as intended for "rectory," or parsonage, and judged that the only person at Stanford, who could possibly qualify as recipient for my letter, was the Dean (the religious head) of the University. In consequence my letter was given into the hands of Reverend Gardner, Dean of Stanford University.

Rev. Gardner took the letter to the Registrar. Some two weeks later I received in the form of Registers, Announcements of Courses, Admission Requirements, etc., all the printed information obtainable at a university, and the following letter :

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Office of the Registrar. July 28, 1906.

Miss Frieda Hauswirth,
Meiringen, Switzerland.

Dear Madam :

It is impossible to give any definite information as to credits.† There would be no objection to your trying examinations in any subjects which you would feel qualified to attempt, but it is necessary to secure full entrance standing before being admitted to the University.

It is doubtful whether you would be successful in securing any position until you have become thoroughly established at the university.

Very truly yours :

O. E. Elliott,
Registrar.

This letter certainly sounded rather discouraging, especially in view of the fact that for the success of the whole enterprise I needed the unquestionable assurance of

work to be able to meet its expenses. At home no one knew of my plans and of this correspondence and I knew I could not count on any help beyond my own resources. I figured out that I had just enough money left to enable me to take the trip from Switzerland to California, but not enough to support me until I would "have become thoroughly established at the university."

While still debating whether I should take the leap into an absolutely unassured future or not, a personal cordial, encouraging letter arrived from the Dean. A correspondence developed between the Dean and myself in which he gave me a great deal of detailed information, both warning and assuring, especially insisting on the point of good health for such a venture.

Through him I found out that there existed the Board of American College Entrance Examinations in New York. Anyone passing the examinations given by this Board could thereby secure entrance into almost all the great American universities and colleges. I wrote to the Board and received the printed examination questions of the two preceding years and was also informed that examinations were given not only at a great number of points in the United States, but that arrangements could be made to hold them at almost any point of the world under some accredited official supervision, such as postmasters, etc. Upon application I might take them at Geneva, Switzerland, during June of the following summer. After further correspondence with the Dean, he informed me that, should I fail to pass in some of the New York Board examinations, I would then be permitted to try to make up any deficiency in the regular Stanford Entrance Examinations held every August before the autumn term opens. I determined against waiting to pass the examinations in Geneva, because it might crowd my plans too much to expect to take the examinations there in June, then travel to California to take the August examinations should these become necessary. I was afraid such a rush might destroy my chances of entering Stanford that same year. I decided to start for California early next spring and to take both the New York Board and the Stanford examinations there. I felt that being near the university I expected

* Earning expenses while studying.

† Credits are the units, or marks, by which preparatory work is rated, 15 credits (the number requisite for entrance into College) being the equivalent of 4 years of High School (Secondary School) training.

to enter would give me great advantages in preparing for examinations.

Meanwhile I spent the winter studying by myself as best I could in preparation, taking those printed examination questions sent to me as a guide.

My correspondence with the Dean culminated in a generous invitation to stay in his family upon arrival at Stanford, until I should find employment. This example of American hospitality was not induced by recommendation, powerful patronage or special standing; I had none such. It was due solely to the broad human sympathy and understanding of the Dean and his wife, and to the interest aroused by my earnest desire to obtain an education at whatever cost.

In view of the fact of how very much the successful outcome of my correspondence meant to me, I have never been able to convince cold reason that the incident placing my initial letter into just those hands was pure chance, not destiny,—part of the underlying current of great power which sweeps all life onward and upward.

I left my Swiss Alps in April 1907. My favorite brother, then a student of the University of Bern, accompanied me to Basel on the northern frontier of Switzerland. I think I suffered my greatest pang of definite homesickness right then, as a turn of the night-train for Paris swallowed the sight of him, standing on the station platform.

Having studied none but Swiss geography in school, I had during the past winter felt the need of poring over maps of the world. I had a good general idea of the geography of the United States, but could not have told that I had started on a trip covering about 8600 miles, or 130° of latitude. All I knew was that it would take me about two weeks to reach my destination and I felt absolutely confident of my safety and success.

I had eagerly planned to be able to spend one day in what had appeared to me a fabled dream-city, Paris. My concrete knowledge of Paris was very limited, but two things stood out as magnets in my mind: the Eiffel tower and the Louvre. The size of the first I had never been quite able to imagine; the second was to me a symbol of all the beautiful things I had hungered for. My train reached Paris in the gray chill dawn and the confusion

and noise, of even these early morning hours, in the metropolis somewhat dampened my assurance and enterprise. I took refuge in a restaurant and dallied over breakfast as long as possible, then, rallying courage and hope, I faced Paris. Suffice it to say that I reached my train at eleven o'clock that night drenched from a sudden rain, tired and in great confusion of mind, emotions, and nerves. I had not seen the Eiffel after all, but I had seen the Louvre. I remembered distinctly only four things: Somewhere in the streets a vividly painted lady, a blind deformed beggar, and in the Louvre the Venus of Milo, and a huge Alabaster bathtub of Nero's time.

Dishevelled and with clothes still wet, into which the color of my travelling rug had run in an ugly blur, I reached Havre the following morning. From the top of a bus, which joggled me roughly over cobble-stoned streets to the wharf, I caught a delighted, breath-bating glimpse of numberless steamermasts and rigging against a blue sky, of the ripples in the muddy, but sun-lit waters of the harbor. I know that the color of hope and joy is just the wonderful, opalescent gray-blue of the ocean into which my ship, *La Touraine*, sailed that morning.

After a day of slight distress caused by the ship's fateful motion, my ocean-trip proved most delightful. I made friends with a party of young French people who constantly played games on deck. It was only when watching the sun sink into the limitless, homeless waste of the ocean, that my mood turned gray a bit. At such times I went off to play chess with a Catholic priest, who illy hid his blushing vexation over defeats.

On the seventh day I joyously greeted the huge Statue of Liberty rising out of the waters of New York Harbor, and watched the outlines of the "sky-scrappers" grow distinct against the morning sky.

With the knowledge that I was now actually in America, an intangible something, the need of self-assertion perhaps, rushed through me. I felt as if I were already a student of Stanford University and therefore "belonged", and must act like it and not show ignorance, or weakness, or stupidity. More than I actually felt, I assumed to be experienced, efficient, and privileged, and did not keep my Stanford intentions hidden when I came in contact

with people. I believe this attitude, in addition to travelling second class, helped me to get through the immigration department and the customs house without difficulty.

However, I did not venture into the heart, much less into the by-paths of New York, for this city of four million people was too vast and I knew too little of where to go and felt too much alone. I merely went to the railroad office to choose the route to California and buy my ticket for the 3000 mile trip across the continent. In my mountain home I had so often longed to see the ocean and the desert, both symbolic to me of the Vast Unknown. The ocean I had seen: there now remained the desert. I decided first to go from New York to Niagara Falls, then down to Kansas City, and let the Santa Fe Railroad take me through the vast arid land of New Mexico and Arizona.

New York overwhelmed me with its rushing, torrent-voiced, complex, man-built vastness; Niagara Falls soothed me with the simple, changelessly-changing vastness of nature force. My soul expanded and grew big with wonder: it all seemed such a fitting and natural preparation for what was in store for me—the exploration of the sacred fields of knowledge.

Leaving Buffalo near Niagara Falls, the train carried me along the shores of Lake Erie on to Chicago, then into the great plains, still water-soaked from the spring-thawing, across the yellow waters of the Mississippi, and still farther on into endless miles of plains. Closing my eyes, I could vividly picture the waving prairie grass with its man-high sunflowers, among which wild buffalo herds grazed quietly till the Red Man on his horse flashed upon them like a streak of lightning. Opening my eyes, I saw through the car windows the rich, cultured lands and settled homes and prospering towns of the white man, from which all trace of the Red Man had vanished; and I felt at once sorry and ashamed and glad.

I made no friends on the train, desiring to watch alone the endlessly changing picture outside and to dream undisturbed. About the fourth day we reached the deserts of New Mexico. As eagerly as I had observed the Negro porter on the train, I watched for the signs of the Red Indian's

life in these regions, and was delighted when Indian women and children began to crowd the train to sell their wares of baskets, beads, and sunbaked pottery. To contact these other races was so interesting to me that I would gladly have spoken to them had opportunity offered.

The desert! How well could I understand the famed love of the Arab for his home! The weird mystery and color-spell of the distant tablelands across flat desert spaces at sunrise and sundown, the still brilliance of noonday, the uncanny bloom of big dream-flowers in the midst of waterless wastes, left the greatest impress of my journey. From the windows I had noticed some especially delicately colored, large, cup-shaped flowers on gray-green stems. Somehow they seemed to me to embody all the weirdness and wonder of the desert. I was determined to pluck one and keep it always. Towards evening of the fourth day the train stopped at a watertank in the midst of a houseless, treeless, sandy waste. In the gathering dusk those flowers called and beckoned to me. After hurriedly inquiring of the porter, I judged I had time enough to pick just one bloom. The stem of the first flower was tough and thorny and I struggled unsuccessfully to break it, and ran over the land to the second and third blossom that lured me on, for, glancing backwards, I saw the train still motionless. Wrapping my handkerchief around my fingers, I finally succeeded in breaking off the creamy, rose-tipped flower. As I straightened up, the train gave its signal and started moving. I rushed towards it through the retarding sand, sickening at the thought of being left alone on the darkening desert, miles and miles away from human habitations. Someone noticed me and wildly waved from the car windows, and the porter, standing on the steps of the last car, shouted to me. I don't know if the train slowed down again a little, I only know that the porter clutched my arm and literally flung me onto the train, and we glided on into the desert night. But I had my flower!

Then we reached California. Passing through a broad, spring-green valley of southern California, I looked out over the plain towards the soft-rolling hills and my eyes fastened on a broad hillside of radiantly golden yellow. Never had I seen nature's brush dash on such a huge splash of sunny color anywhere. It was the glory

of the "California Poppy," the State flower,—and California's welcome to me!

The Dean of Stanford had kindly offered to meet me at the train and for this purpose I was to telegraph the time of my arrival. When leaving New York, I had not been able to definitely ascertain how long my journey would take, and so delayed the message. My desert experience intimidated me so that I did not leave my train again anywhere, and as I did not know that I could have ordered the porter to send my telegram, the strain and rush of the trip brought me all the way to California without having sent my message to the Dean. I had literally accepted the New York information that my train would take me to San Francisco, and so was quite unprepared to find myself, at the terminus of the railroad line, in a town called Oakland. I had no exact geographical idea of just where I, or Oakland, or San Francisco was, and where and how I would find Stanford University. I was ushered onto a ferry-boat that carried me out into the bay of the "Golden Gate." Never shall I forget the joy and fear of that glorious morning, as I stood on the deck of this boat in the brisk morning wind sweeping in from the Pacific Ocean, and saw the tower of the high Ferry Building and the house-crowned hills of San Francisco rise out of the silvery ripples of the bay.

At the Ferry Building I obtained the information that Stanford University had no railroad station, that in order to reach it I had to go to the town of Palo Alto, an hour's trainride distant from San Francisco, but that I must first cross this city to another railroad station before being able to take train for Palo Alto. All this seemed so involved. In addition I discovered that, on account of labor strikes, the streetcars of San Francisco were not running and that it was not easy to obtain cabs. Tired and strained from the lonely trip of two weeks, these new issues loomed up disproportionately confusing to the breakfastless girl in the strange town. Had I known that each large station in the United States has a "matron," whose business it is to look after travelling girls, I would have been spared all this anxiety and my transfers would have been made easy.

I finally managed to secure a cab, release my baggage, and upon arriving

at the other station, sent my telegram to the Dean. When I stepped out of the train at Palo Alto, his friendly face met me and made me realize more deeply than before the value of the human smile.

I arrived during the Stanford University graduation festivities in May, and the witnessing of these fired me with a further, and almost painful zest, a deeply reverend ambition to be "one of those who wore the cap and gown", one of those who "knew." At that time I could not for the world have formulated a definite idea of just what I wanted to know. Had I been asked, I would naively have answered "all things", so little had my scattered efforts and the intensely local, mountain-valley-reading-writing-arithmetic-schooling I had received in Switzerland opened my outlook and discernment for the things beyond its walls of crags and glaciers, or my perception of my own special needs and aptitudes. But in that "all things" which I longed to know, to understand, lay a hidden country of wonderful magnetic mysteries and powers. I have since often smiled at the childlike respect I then paid to the symbol of knowledge, "the cap and gown", but it helped me to understand the power of symbolism in all things from a child's doll to the stone-hewn god of a race.

Arrived at Stanford, my whole remaining fortune consisted of two dollars and fifty cents, therefore my first efforts were to find work. Through the help of the Dean I obtained on the tenth day a position as governess in a family at fifty dollars a month and all living expenses. It seemed a fortune. I had to instruct one pupil in all the common school-subjects, six hours of teaching daily. In addition to the actual teaching she was under my steady surveillance from seven thirty in the morning until eight thirty at night. Not until after that was I free to prepare for the following day's work with my pupil and also for the coming college examinations.

While in that position, I took at Stanford the examinations of the New York Board,—sealed questions sent from New York, opened, answered, and sealed again in the presence of Stanford professors, and returned to the jury in New York City.

As before-mentioned, I had studied without tutor or schooling some of the subjects in which I was examined. All examinations were held in English, a tongue

with which I was not thoroughly familiar. The knowledge of this disadvantage prepared me so that I was not overwhelmingly surprised or disappointed when the answer came that I had failed,—fallen short of the fifteen credits required for entrance into the University. The returns accredited me with only eleven one half. I could not help but feel that, counting all odds, even the eleven one half credits signalled a definite achievement.

Once more after the thirteen-hour-days of work with my backward pupil came the periods of further eager preparation. I included some new subjects I had studied in German only, subjects in which I had never read one line, much less thought of, in English. It was no easy task, but it was the only opportunity left for gaining admission to a systematic course in higher education.

The strain proved too much; I failed to succeed in my position as governess and lost it after two months. The house in which I had spent these weeks stood on a hill overlooking the University buildings and grounds. On an afternoon of brilliant California sunshine which made the fair Santa Clara Valley below me vibrate with heat, I started to walk down that hill. Half way down, in full view of the University, I seated myself under a tree,—behind me a house which signified failure,—before me the red, tiled roofs of my coveted goal which at that moment seemed more difficult of attainment than ever before. Under that tree, with pride wounded, the sense of failure heavy upon me, utterly sick at heart, ashamed, lonely, rebellious at fate, I went through the bitterest hours of my sojourn in America.

On reaching the University, I found that the family of the Dean was away to the mountains on the three-month summer vacations. The Campus * was deserted, students and professors all being away. It was as if I had suddenly stepped out of the spring-meadow of my dreams into a snow-blown cemetery.

It was imperative for me to find work and a place to live; but little work was to be had and I felt timid. Eventually I found employment as helper to a landlady

who rented rooms to girl students. I cooked her meals, helped her sew, and prepare the empty house for the expected occupants. It held but one guest then: a woman-instructor of the University, doing special summer work at the library. To her I opened my heart, glad of her warm sympathy, and found in her my first American woman friend.

Here I had sufficient leisure to prepare for the examinations and remained till the girls began to arrive. The very first arrival was the daughter of a Senator, a dear little freshman,† who, because of her homesickness, wept bitterly on my shoulder. I wondered how a girl with the rare good fortune of living near her family, and of being helped by her father to the splendid privilege of higher education, could cry?—cry!—Had education so little value to those who obtained it without effort? Then the miraculous: I, the foreigner, comforted her! To me it was a strangely significant position; my heart grew big with the joy of it: more alone and poorer than I had ever been in my life, still I was able to comfort, give. I was helping an American girl!—It gave me the sense of belonging, of being at home. Why, I realized all at once that irrespective of national or other divisions, I was one of and at one with the glorious band of free womanhood crowding to the fountains of knowledge. Insignificant as seems this little incident, which brought to me the feeling of solidarity with American girls, yet it is etched on my memory with letters of fire. That feeling of sisterhood, of mutual need and helpfulness, never left me, but increased as I came to know more of the girls and admired their openheartedness and independence, their freedom and

Sisters of India,—I feel sure that the American girls will give you what they gave me and they will profit by the contact of mutual interests and ideals. Your brothers, the Hindusthance students, have paved the way for your reception, and many American women will extend you a glad welcome. Race prejudice is not strong in academic circles and I am convinced that you will meet with even less than your brothers. At this time, the

* Campus designates the ground owned by American Universities, on which the University and sometimes dwelling-buildings are situated. The Stanford University campus contains about 1000 acres.

† "Freshmen" are first-year students. The four years of college are divided into Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior classes.

only Hindu girl studying in the high-schools of San Francisco, is a welcome and respected fellow-student and greatly liked by the faculty.

To return to my narrative: In August I passed my Stanford examinations and received all the entrance credits required and one to spare. Think of it, one to spare! After my former failure, can you imagine what that meant?

Unfortunately when stepping down from my chair after the history examination, I fell and sprained my ankle and therefore began my Stanford career, attended my first lectures, on crutches. But though I limped on crutches—I was really soaring on pinions in a sunlit limitless sky. I was nearing my goal.

(To be concluded).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A HINDU'S IMPRESSIONS AND A STUDY: by Lala Lajpat Rai. Calcutta, R. Chatterjee, 210-3 1 Cornwallis Street. Price Rs. 2-8-0 pp 421.

In several ways the problems of the United States are similar to those that face us, and this led Mr. Lajpat Rai to think that an account of them and of the manner in which they have been dealt with in the United States might be of some help to Indians. Mr. Lajpat Rai travelled widely in the United States and came into personal contact with the leaders of the various movements described in the book, and his exposition may therefore be taken to be thoroughly authoritative. Indeed, a large portion of the book consists of extracts from various publications not easily available to outsiders. These extracts are often very interesting and instructive, but sometimes they go too minutely into details and are rather tiresome. The author does not touch all the phases of American life and activity and in this he has acted wisely, for it would be impossible to deal even cursorily with all of them within the compass of a single book. The volume before us is highly instructive and stimulating reading, and Mr. Chatterjee has rendered a patriotic service by undertaking its publication. To the fact that he has read the proofs himself we owe the almost total absence of printing mistakes—no mean achievement for an Indian publisher of an English book. The get-up and binding are excellent, and so are the few illustrations with which the book has been embellished. Considering the quantity of valuable matter compressed within its covers, the price seems to us to be exceedingly cheap. Had the book been brought out by an English firm, the price would certainly have been higher.

The problem of school education in the United States is by no means easy to solve. In some schools in Boston, New York and Chicago the children of the immigrants speak as many as 25 different languages. In certain factories and workshops of these cities the languages spoken are even larger in number. But in spite of these complications, almost every child is put through a course of primary education extending over eight years. The expenditure on education is simply stupendous.

There are twenty Universities which spend from 30 lakhs of rupees annually to one crore and 30 lakhs of rupees. The total income of the University of Columbia is over two crores of rupees, that of Chicago over a crore, those of Harvard and Wisconsin, nearly a crore. And yet each of these universities is a private institution. Evidently the Americans consider gifts in the cause of education to be the best of all kinds of gifts, for in this respect they stand unsurpassed in the world. In the Panama-Pacific International exposition, the following statement was exhibited in big capital letters by the United States Government:—

(1) "The State that fails to educate dooms its children to industrial subjugation to those states that do educate. More than once have nations lost their land for lack of education

' Shall we prepare our children to hold this land?

"(2) The School, the University, the Laboratory, and the workshop are the battlefields of this new warfare. The weapons which science places in the hands of those who engage in great rivalries of commerce leave those who are without them, however brave, as badly off as were the Dervishes of Omdarman against the maxims of Lord Kitchner. Shall our children be Industrial Dervishes?"

The special features of the American system of Education have been summarised by Mr. Lajpat Rai. They are:—(1) The absence of any special schemes for the sons of the richer section of the people of the United States. "Its Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Morgans can purchase empires. Yet their sons are educated in the same schools in which the sons of the ordinary day labourers learn their A B.C." (2) A very large part of the school education is in the hands of women. Most of the Grammar schools, and the majority of the High Schools, are staffed by women. (3) Boys and girls study in the same schools and colleges from the Kindergarten upwards. (4) The American Educational institutions are centres of social life. School buildings are freely used for social functions and public recreations. (5) American games are even more risky and dangerous than those prevailing in English schools. (6) Schools and Colleges give every possible encouragement to self-supporting boys and girls. Such students are not looked down upon either by the staff or by their fellow-students. The students who sweep or clean rooms or attend at

table at dinner time do not lose their social prestige in any way among their mates on that account. (7) All matters relating to discipline are under the control of a council elected by the students themselves, so that the Government of these little republics is in the hands of the students. (8) The Presidents of the American Universities wield the greatest possible influence on the public life of the country. Education is intimately connected with politics, and it is the duty of those connected with education to help to solve the vital problems that affect society.

A good deal of valuable information has been gathered in this book on the American Negroes, the pariahs of the United States. On the 1st January 1863 they were emancipated by President Lincoln, but "today the Negro is politically as much a zero in the South as he was before the emancipation." Mr. Booker Washington and his (white) American friends who endowed the Tuskegee Institute were in favour of the industrial training of the Negro as opposed to higher education, but the new school of Negroes, led by such brilliant writers as Dean Miller and others, "insinuate that those who champion the industrial training of the Negro at the cost of facilities for higher liberal education, do so with the motive of keeping him down. Their ideal of an educated Negro is an efficient servant, an industrious and intelligent mechanic, or carpenter, or mason. They do not want Negro thinkers, or writers, or publicists; nor do they want the Negro in the higher professions, which produce politicians and leaders. They are prepared to educate him according to his present position in life, to improve his earning capacity up to a certain limit; to increase his efficiency and value as an economic factor of the lower order; to enable him to live a clean contented life on the lower rungs of the ladder. They do not want him to be so highly educated as to claim perfect equality with the white in all the departments of life, political, intellectual, religious, moral and economic. Intellectual equipment of a high order leads to aspirations which are inconvenient to the ruling class and they, therefore, are anxious to dry up the very fountains from which these "aspirations spring." As Dean Miller says: "Develop the man; the rest will follow. The final expression of education is.....in terms of Manhood which is the substance and summation of all.....That education of the youth, especially of the suppressed class, that does not make insistent and incessant appeals to the smothered manhood (I had almost said Godhood) within, will prove to be but vanity and vexation of spirit.....A race, like an individual, that compromises its own self-respect, paralyses and enfeebles its own energies.....The educated Negro must express his manhood in terms of courage, in the active as well as the passive voice; courage to do as well as to endure; courage to contend for the right while suffering wrong; the courage of self-belief that is always commensurate with the imposed task. The world believes in a race that believes in itself, but justly despises the self-bemeaned.....If you would perpetuate the industrial incapacity of the Negro, then confine him to the low grounds of drudgery and toil and prevent him from casting his eyes into the hills whence come inspiration and promise.....The most effective prayer that can be uttered for the Negro is, 'Lord, open Thou his eyes'." Yet in spite of these complaints, Mr. Lajpat Rai is of opinion that generally speaking, the Negro has better and larger facilities for education than the Indians have in their own country. For one thing, the illiteracy of the race has been cut down to 45 per cent. There

is a second feature of the education of the Negro which puts an Indian to indescribable shame, viz., the education of the Negro women. In the (Negro) University at Atlanta, more than one half of the students are girls.

There is no State established church in America, but the Christian denominations having churches and organisations number several hundreds. Mr. Lajpat Rai thinks that there is neither an utter lack of spirituality in America, nor are they intensely religious. "If religion means devotion to a principle, material or spiritual, America has plenty of it. There is enough of singlemindedness in American life." The desire for pleasure and power is the dominating passion of the western man and woman. Serious thought and serious work is only a means to an end, the acquisition and the accumulation of power, power to possess, power to enjoy, even power to do good, power to serve. The decline of faith is thus described by a widely-read writer: "Men long for a basis of life which shall be as credible to the intellect as it is inspiring to the soul.....And this is what at present they have failed to find. The church, they say, feeds the heart at the expense of the brain.....The church offers peace at the expense of truth." The New Thought movement is considered by many to be the most spiritual and promising movement in America. It is steadily gaining in strength and adherence. Some of the ideas associated with it are:—that disease is of mental origin instead of material; that right thinking brings health to the body and prosperity to one's affairs; that right thoughts about oneself heal perverted appetites and desires; that knowledge can conquer death; that self-mastery gives one power to control the elements; that God-love in the heart will destroy all enmity on the part of people, animals and other creatures; that there is no limit to thought and its power except what thought puts upon itself. A great feature of this movement is the healing of bodily and mental disease.

The chapter on charity and social service is profoundly interesting and highly instructive. Mr. Lajpat Rai truly says that the very fact that there is such a great need for charity shows how defective society is in every country—while it perhaps raises the giver, if he acts in a spirit of duty, it certainly lowers the one who receives it. But he recognises that "so long as the world is what it is, it is next best that charity should be administered, not by individuals, but by organisations [as in America]; that it should be administered as a social obligation and a part of national duty rather than simply as an outcome of pity and sympathy [as in India]." "Whatever else may be said of the people of America, it cannot be said of them that they are not charitable. It rarely happens in the world that those who have most, give most. America is, however, an exception.....But what is most instructive about the charities of America is their thorough organisation and the scientific spirit which underlies them." "This is a land of extremes. While you find here perhaps the biggest crowd of sharpers, cheats and scoundrels in the world, men who have no scruples to rob or cheat even the orphan, the widow and the helpless, you come across perhaps the largest number of men and women who have dedicated their lives to the service of the Lord and Humanity. While the credal chains are loosening, the broader interests of true charity and true humanity are being strengthened. All this is very creditable, stimulating and refreshing. But what is even of greater value is the evolving of a scientific spirit in the administering of charity and

the application of scientific methods in preventing misery and removing poverty and distress.' Business methods and humanitarian instincts are combined in making charity effective, not only in the immediate relief of the sufferer, but also in providing a normal and a healthy future for him. The object is immediate relief as well as future prevention,—individual help as well as national efficiency. The thoroughness with which charity and social service work is conducted in this country is amazing. It is one of the biggest departments of human activity in which the national Government, the State, the city, the church, the private benefactor, the scientific investigator, the scholar, and the business expert, all cooperate.....The work of these organisations, the investigations made by their agency, the facts brought to light by them, the experiments made by them in relieving and preventing distress, the knowledge gained by a study of the needs of the different strata of society covered by their activities, throw such a flood of light on human problems and social science as to form a material help in the advance of civilisation and in the intelligent progress of humanity."

The author passes on to the Philippine Islands, where the political and educational progress since the American conquest has been wonderful. The declared policy of the American administration has "for its sole object the preparation of the Philippine peoples for popular self-government in their own interests and not in the interests of the United States." The opposition to the adoption of an Imperialistic policy is based on broad humanitarian principles as well as self-interest. It is opposed to both the letter and the spirit of the Republic. In the adoption of a policy of Imperialism the Americans see a menace to their own liberties and the eventual and sure involving of the Republic in international wars. This is a very strong proof of the political wisdom of the people, as well as of the fact that they possess a political conscience much in advance of the rest of the world.

We have already referred to the prominent part taken by women in education. A chapter is devoted to her activities in all spheres of life. There are, for instance, over 1300 women lawyers and nearly ten thousand women physicians. Women in America are almost on a par with men, and in Mr. Lajpat Rai's opinion they are not losing their 'femininity.' About one-fourth of the women in the United States are wage-earners. In the crusade against slavery, women took an intensely active part. There is no large movement on foot in the States with which she is not intimately connected.

Regarding caste in America, the author says that "the worst features of the code of Manu find their parallel in American life.....To me it seems that the Hindu Aryans of India never applied the colour bar so rigidly as the Christian whites of the United States of America are doing today, in the 20th century of the Christian era.....It is ridiculous, therefore, to talk of the existence of the caste system as a bar to political advancement on the lines of the West; nor does it lie in the mouth of the American missionary in India to talk disparagingly of Hinduism for that reason." But of course this applies in full force only in respect of the relations between the whites and the Negroes. As between the whites themselves, there is of course class distinction, which, however unjust, is much less injurious than rigorous division into an almost endless ramification of castes. Mr. Lajpat Rai says: "The rigid caste system we have in India is, without doubt, a social curse and

cannot but be denounced in the most unmeasured terms," and he points out "the paramount duty we Hindus owe to our society and to our country of removing the obnoxious caste barriers that stand in the way of social consolidation, intellectual progress, and political advancement."

The status which India enjoys in the great comity of nations is well illustrated by Mr. Lajpat Rai's observation: "Those Mahomedans who can pass as Persians or Turks, or even as Egyptians, are better treated. The Indians (called Hindus regardless of their creed) are however universally despised in other than learned or cultured circles....." Mr. Lajpat Rai is enthusiastic in his praise of the Indian student in America. He "is a prodigy of enterprise and industry and resourcefulness. The story of his struggle against adverse circumstances reads like romance. It makes one proud of the coming generation of one's countrymen.....My complaint against them is that on their return home they do not display that spirit or that respect for labour which pulled them through in this country."

The most profoundly practical question for us has just been touched upon in the short chapter headed "some observations on civilisation." ".....no one can deny that the Western people have had wonderful success in tapping all the resources of humanity, physical and intellectual,.....and that at the present moment they are the masters of the world." Yet Mr. Lajpat Rai has not been able to free himself from the feeling that all is not well with them. ".....If civilisation means a reign of truth, honesty, brotherhood, justice, and equality; then what passes under the name of modern civilisation is not a genuine article.....The world is still dominated by merit; by power and by force—not even benevolent force but aggressive force." "If on the other hand civilisation means the negation of the world, a negation of its reality, a refusal to face it by renouncing it,—a contentment which might bring servility, and an idealism which might end in political bondage, humiliation and disgrace, even then I am unable to reconcile myself to it. In fact if a choice were given to me between the two I would rather choose the former than the latter.....The choice lies between extinction and Europeanisation, unless they [the Oriental nations] can find out a mean by which they may be able to retain the best parts of both and evolve a new and a more humane civilisation of their own. That is the problem before the East, and on the solution of that problem depends the future happiness of the world. When and how it will be solved is in the womb of the future."

We have given only the barest outline of some of the instructive matter with which the book abounds, and leave the readers to profit by the perusal of the entire book. The addition of an index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book for purposes of reference.

II MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA: by J. N. Farquhar, M. A. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1915. 10s-6d net. pp. 457.

The writer of this review was no stranger to the polemical discussions in which Mr. Farquhar used to take so active a part when he was connected with the Calcutta missions, and is therefore free to confess that he did not take up the book with any prepossessions in its favour. But he is sincerely glad to be able to say that he has risen from a perusal of the book with his esteem for the author distinctly enhanced. It is certainly with no desire to be presumptuously patronising that he records his sense of the

great advance both in breadth and depth which the author has made since those days in his study of the Hindu religion. With increasing knowledge has come greater sympathy and humility, and we can assure the author that "the possibility of totally misconceiving the forces that have created it [the Indian spirit], of fastening one's eye on externals and failing to feel the beatings of the heart," which he apprehends, has, in the book before us, been reduced to a minimum. In saying this we do not by any means intend to convey that Hinduism should be perpetually eulogised and that all that is objectionable and degrading in Hindu life and society should be glossed over. But what we mean to say is that only a sympathetic study of the religious life of the Hindus can give the author that insight and penetration and authority which is essential to endow his contribution with permanent value in the field of thought.

The success of the Theosophical Society, and the hatred against European races which was manifested in the Indian unrest, have considerably jeopardised Christian missionary propagandism, and these dangers to the missionary cause, which Mr. Farquhar holds most sacred, have led him to make the following sapient observations: "If in spite of exposures which would destroy almost any society, members still remain true to Theosophy, it is clear that it must meet certain needs of our day which otherwise do not find satisfaction.....the Theosophical Society is first of all sympathetic to all religions. It has assumed a generous attitude, the attitude of appreciation and friendliness.....The depths to which Mrs. Besant habitually descends in defending Hinduism will hardly be believed. There is scarcely an exploded doctrine, scarcely a superstitious observance, which she has not defended with the silliest and most shameful arguments.....But there is another side to all this. It is a simple matter of fact that for several decades Hindu and Buddhist thought and civilisation were most unjustly depreciated and unmercifully condemned by missionaries, by Europeans in general, and even by some Hindus. Only a few Orientalists escape this censure. There was thus really good reason for a crusade in defence of these systems." Again, "We must also frankly acknowledge that every piece of self complacent, ill-informed, unsympathetic criticism of Indian religion, society, and life, whether written by tourist, missionary, or official, helped to inflame the sense of wrong and to embitter the resentment....." These two extracts will give a fair idea of the point of view which the author has conscientiously attempted to maintain throughout his exposition of Hindu religious movements which are so antagonistic in some respects to his own Christian faith.

The book before us is of course not an exposition of Hindu religious movements alone. The Islamic movements in India are also shortly discussed, e. g., the rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmed, and the heterodox movement started by Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian. The reforming schisms like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, and the Arya Samaj necessarily occupy a prominent place; and theosophy and the exposure of its frauds and miracles and its quarrels with the Christian missionaries take up a disproportionately large space. Here and there we meet with minor errors in detail; and the religious and political bias of the author peeps out in odd corners, as for instance, in his detection of Christian influence in every Indian movement of reform, or his approval of the overthrow of Gokhale's universal primary education Bill. But on the whole, what strikes us is not that

the bias should be there at all, but that there is so little of it. And we must speak in high terms of the author's industry which enabled him to gather such a mass of useful information regarding the main currents of religious life in India, commencing from the beginning of the nineteenth century down to the present day.

The very classification of the subject and the main heads under which it has been divided shows the author's true grasp of historical perspective. He begins with an account of (1) movements favouring vigorous reform, e. g., the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj. "All these movements oppose idolatry and caste and none of the leaders have been ascetics. Of all the religious movements of the nineteenth century the Brahmo Samaj has, without doubt, proved the most influential." This is followed by an account of (2) reforms tempered by defence of the old faiths, as in the Arya Samaj, the Radha Swami sect, the Deva Samaj etc., culminating in (3) the full defence of the old religions, and under this head we have an account of Theosophy, the Ramkrishna Mission, Caste conferences, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandala, and sectarian movements all over India. "There is a wonderful outburst of freshness, energy and initiative. Many forms of new efforts and organisation appear. The most pronounced line of thought is a growing desire to defend Hinduism, and an increasing confidence in its defensibility." There are also other chapters on social reform and service, religious nationalism, and on the significance of the various movements.

All the prominent religious leaders, e. g., Ram-mohan Ray, Devendranath Tagore, Keshubchandra Sen, Madam Blavatsky, Dayananda, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, etc., have been sympathetically described. It is not of course to be expected that all will agree with the author's estimate of these men and women and their relative influence and importance, but few will, I believe, dispute that in its general outlines it is fairly accurate. Among the powers shaping the thought-current of contemporary India, the *Modern Review* unfortunately has come in for a vigorous attack at Mr. Farquhar's hands. He says: "Under the impulse of national feeling, the tables were completely turned: not only the religious but everything Oriental was glorified as spiritual and ennobling, while everything Western received condemnation as hideously materialistic and degrading..... The *Modern Review*, perhaps the best and the most representative of the monthlies at present, frequently contains a good deal of bombast; and the youthful graduates who speak and write of Hinduism have far too much of Vivekananda's swagger about them." Elsewhere, in this book, Vivekananda is said to have "exercised a fine influence on young India in one direction. He summoned his fellow countrymen to stand on their own feet, to trust themselves, and to play the man; and his words were not without fruit." So the swagger of the "young graduates" [why necessarily 'young' ?] is perhaps only their desire to play the man. It is not our purpose to defend the *Modern Review*—this can safely be left to the far abler hands of the editor* but it seems to us that the standpoint from which we have reviewed Mr. P. N. Bose's "Illusions of New India" as recently as in the last number of this* magazine, before we had read a page of Mr. Farquhar's book, is a complete refutation of the charge.

We proceed to give some extracts from the book which may prove interesting. According to Dr.

* He does not care to do it—Editor, *M. R.*

Griswold of Lahore, "Paudit Dayanand Sarasvati was a man of large views. He was a dreamer of splendid dreams. He had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations, and restored to her ancient glory. All this was to be accomplished by throwing overboard the accumulated superstitions of the centuries and returning to the pure and inspired teachings of the Vedas." Mr. Farquhar proceeds to show that it was highly probable that Dayananda's statements about the Veda were not matters of conviction but of diplomacy, that he thought that a religion must have some superstition as its basis, and that he had chosen the infallibility of the Vedas, because nothing else would be accepted by Hindus. And on this ground Mr. Farquhar prophesies that the Arya Samaj will not have a great history, for the false interpretation of the Vedas will crumble down as enlightenment proceeds. Ramkrishna "impressed all who came in contact with him as a most sincere soul, a God-intoxicated man; but what distinguished his message from the teaching of others was his defence of everything Hindu and his theory that all religions are true." The author recognises that the progressive tendency in the various caste conferences is stronger than the conservative, and that they are movements of religious and social reform. But he quotes the following from the *Indian Social Reformer*: "The idea of caste conferences has always been repugnant to us, even when they have for their object the prosecution of social reforms. The caste sentiment is so ingrained in the Hindu mind, it so deeply permeates every fibre of our being, and it so thoroughly colours our outlook, that it seems to us that the only effective course for those who wish to see this state of mind altered, is resolutely to cut themselves off from anything savouring of the idea.....An occasional European like Mrs. Annie Besant may allow her intellect to play with the idea of caste without much practical effect. Her nervous system is strung to different social ideals, and mere intellection does not produce conduct. But with one who is born a Hindu and who believes caste to be the great monster we have to kill, only one attitude is safe and possible. He must not associate himself with any movement which, under whatever name or pretext, aims at setting up caste to its goal and standard. To the subtle poison of caste, its self-complacency, and its pharisaism, the Hindu nervous system has for centuries been accustomed to respond. Unconsciously, the best and most resolute of reformers are apt to have the old monster taking liberties with them; they slide into the attitude of acquiescence in such movements." Regarding the Bharat Dharma Mahamandala the author says: "Through its extreme orthodoxy the Mahamandala has won the adherence of numerous ruling princes and sectarian pontiffs; and tens of thousands of young Hindus are ready to applaud both its theological position and its propaganda; but of the many thousands who shout approval there are very few indeed who are willing to lay hand to the work. The contrast between orthodoxy and such bodies as the Brahma Samaj or the Arya Samaj in this regard is very striking, and very significant: there is no spontaneous living energy in the orthodox community. Then thinking Hindus all over the country disapprove very seriously of the reactionary character of its teaching." The author then quotes a passage from the *Leader of Allahabad* which says: "It is so

very reactionary in its religious and social tendencies and activities that far from promoting the well being and advancement of the community, it does a lot of harm—whenever it does anything at all, that is to say." The Mahamandala, however, is a bold attempt to gather together the whole of the Hindu people in a single organisation, and "the foundation of such an organisation is in itself a portent. Hinduism has never in the course of its whole history been a single organisation...Nor until now has the Hindu ever felt the need of union for defence." The Arya Samaj, the most successful of modern reform organisations, has thrown off all the trammels of superstition except the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas. Will not that bright day ever dawn on Hindustan, when the Hindus, gathering under one united organisation like the Mahamandala, will be able to throw off the yoke of this last stronghold of orthodoxy and superstition, and open themselves out to the light of truth and knowledge from every quarter of the globe, taking their firm stand on the glorious culture and traditions of their great Indo-Aryan progenitors?

One-sixth of the whole population of India, a vast mass of humanity out-numbering all the people of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, are known as the outcastes, untouchables, panchamas, or the depressed classes. These untouchables, as soon as they are baptised, receive a new standing and are no longer untouchable. Hinduism thus puts a most tempting premium before these communities for their wholesale conversion to Christianity. As the Tyas on the west coast of Southern India said in their address to Mrs. Besant in 1904: "When you visited Calcutta you were admitted as a guest in one of the palaces belonging to a member of the Zamorin's family. This was rendered possible by the fact of your having become a convert to Hinduism. But as we are Hindus by very birth we are prevented from approaching the place.....Even the sight of us within close proximity is a source of pollution.....If under the circumstances we are to gain admission to places accessible to you, we find a way to it through you. And it is this:—It is impossible for us to be born Christians. We shall therefore become Christian converts first and then turn Hindu as you have done. This will relieve us of our disability as you have cured yourself of your disability." Truly does Mr. Farquhar say: "Yet, in spite of many cries of danger the conscience of India has been waked. Men realise that it is wrong to hold down the outcaste. Then the new Nationalist consciousness feels so distinctly the need of unifying the nation and of strengthening every element in the population that the problem of transforming these fifty millions of crushed Indians into vigorous citizens is felt to be one of the most pressing national problems."

The characteristics of the era of religious nationalism have been thus described by the author. "In this new era we have the assertion of the full independence of the Indian mind. The educated Indian now regards himself as a full-grown man, the equal in every respect of the cultured European, not to be set aside as an Asiatic, or as a member of a dark race. He claims the right of thinking his own thoughts; and he is quite prepared to burn what he has hitherto adored and to create a new heaven and a new earth. This adult self-confidence was immeasurably strengthened by the victory of Japan over Russia. Every Asiatic felt himself recreated by that great event. To all Asiatic lands it was a crisis in race-history, the moment when the age-old flood of European

aggression was turned back. The exultation which every Indian felt over the victory lifted the national spirit to its height and gave a new note of strength to the period. The patriotism of to-day makes the feeling which inspired the Congress seem a very bloodless thing indeed. Men now live at fever-heat, carried beyond themselves by a new overmastering devotion to the good of India. But there is clear sight as well as passion. The new nationalism is much more serious and open eyed than the thin old politicalism. It is burdened, tortured, driven forward by the conviction that the whole national life needs to be re-inspired and reborn.....Finally, whether in anarchists or in men of peace, the new nationalism is willing to serve and suffer." Regarding anarchism we have this fine passage: "Anarchism flung itself against the British Government and fell back broken. The whole movement was a pitiful piece of waste,—waste of energy, patriotic feeling, literary skill, and human life. One cannot look back upon it without a very heavy heart, as one thinks of all the dignity and worth of the character and feeling which were perverted and flung away. But the same high love for India and will to be spent for her sake have found healthy channels for themselves along various lines. In all these movements the main notes of the period ring out very distinctly: the end in view in each case is the national advancement; the religious sanction is always in the background, even if it is not distinctly expressed; the work is of the nature of unselfish service; and high passion inspires the whole."

Regarding Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the author speaks thus: ".....he is the very flower of the new nationalist movement representing at their very highest the noblest motives that have stirred the people of India since the new century began. His position is central. Though he is the son of Devendranath Tagore, he no longer holds his father's religious position. He expects, as he said to me a few months ago, that the regeneration of India will come through gradual change within the body of Hinduism itself rather than from the action of any detached society like the Brahma Samaj...."

The value of the work done by Theosophy is thus estimated: "It has certainly popularised, in Europe and America, a number of the best Oriental books, such as the Upanishads and the Gita, and has taught Theosophists to sympathise with Orientals and think of them as brothers; while in India it has helped to restore to the Hindu and the Buddhist that self-respect which tended to evaporate amid the almost universal depreciation of Oriental thought, life and art."

It would be unfair to Mr. Farquhar if, before closing our review, we failed to give another extract from a passage occurring in the last chapter of his book in which he expresses his innermost conviction, as a zealous Christian, that Hinduism is doomed. "The triumphant revival of the old religions with their growing body-guard of defence organisations, has been accompanied by *continuous and steadily increasing inner decay*. This most significant of all facts in the history of these movements seems to be scarcely perceived by the leaders. They believe that the danger is past. This blindness arises largely from the fact that they draw their apologetic and their inspiration almost entirely from Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita, Dayananda, and Mrs. Besant; and it is clear that neither capable thinking nor clear-eyed perception can be bred on such teaching as theirs.... While the apologists have been busy

building their defences these last forty years, Western influence has been steadily moulding the educated Hindu mind and rendering it altogether incapable of holding the ideas which form the foundation of the religion. Hence we have many defences of idolatry but no faith in it." But as Sir John Seely said long ago, there is such a thing as 'the superstitious dread of superstition,' and we are convinced that idolatry is not the rock on which the ship of Hinduism will founder, because the real significance of it is well known even to illiterate Hindus, and the underlying belief in the oneness of God is deeply imprinted on the Hindu mind. Mr. Farquhar, however, says that the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration are no longer seriously believed in, and so caste has no religious basis left. The Vedic schools are dying. Asceticism is clearly dying. The monasteries of Sankaracharya are on the way to extinction. From all these indications Mr. Farquhar draws his inference that the days of Hinduism are numbered. But it may be permitted to a Hindu to hope that Hinduism, which has survived the shock of ages and outlasted all the ancient civilisations of the world, in spite of 'the very serious trampling under foot,' to quote Mr. Farquhar, involved in foreign subjugation, is not destined to die. No strait-laced creed impedes its latent capacity for expansion; its philosophy is admittedly in harmony with the most advanced scientific thought of the day—which is more than can be said of any other religion in the world. If the present condition of Christianity is to be judged from such popular hand-books as Draper's 'Conflict of Religion and Science,' and Bury's 'History of Freedom of Thought,' it would seem that Christianity is in its last gasp. The bombardment of the Rheims Cathedral by the Germans was denounced by the entire civilised world not because a 'house of God' had suffered disaster, but because a splendid work of art had been destroyed. As a writer in the *Century Magazine*, referring to this incident, says, Apollo has triumphed over Christ. And yet Mr. Farquhar no doubt thinks that Christianity stands in no danger and the church which persecuted Galileo looks approvingly on while the Society for the Promotion of *Christian* knowledge, with exquisite if unconscious humour, stamps its name on text-books on astronomy issued under its auspices. Hinduism is co-extensive with the culture, traditions, and the civilisation of the Indo-Aryan race, and has been well defined by a thoughtful Hindu to be what the majority of Hindus at any given time think and do. To us it seems that whether Hinduism will live or die will depend on her adaptability to her environments. Mr. Farquhar draws attention to the close parallel between the Roman religion and Hinduism, and implies that the fate of the former is also reserved for the latter. Apart from the fact that primitive Christianity was far different from its modern representative, Hinduism, as Sir Herbert Risley points out in his 'People of India,' is as adaptive as Paganism, while it is stronger than the latter in ethics and metaphysics and weaker only in national sentiment. But the patriotic sentiment has made its appearance in the country and vivified the entire national consciousness in a manner never dreamt of before, and the beneficent results of its reforming activities have been well described by Mr. Farquhar himself in the book under review. Therefore the leaders of progressive Hinduism are not mistaken when they think that the decay of ritualism and the progress of rationalism in Hindu religious movements are not symptoms of

inner decay, but rather the contrary. The various liberalising movements in the bosom of Hinduism are a sure sign that the life of Hinduism is not extinct, and already there are those in every part of India who, like the Aryan Brotherhood in Bombay and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, led by their patriotic feeling, are looking earnestly forward to the day when, purged of its greatest blight, the caste system, Hinduism will once more truly deserve the name of Sanatan Dharma or Everlasting Religion which it is its proud privilege to bear.

POL.

Ahana. BY AUROBINDO GHOSE : *The Modern Press, Pondicherry.*

The poetry of Aurobindo Ghose is a meeting-place of European classicism and Asiatic universalism. It is inspired by the philosophy of the Vedas: it is shaped and atmospherised like Greece, or the Greece that is dimly incarnate in English poetry. That is probably why—in view of the co-ordination that philosophy sets between outer and inner—Mr. Ghose, an Indian, writes in unimpeachable English, and is compelled by extraneous circumstances to write and publish his poems in European India. The French connection is not quite clear. It may be the nearest territorial approximation to Greece: from the literary point of view, Ghose and French modern lyrical fervour are not synonymous, though something of the large quietness of Hugo might be credited to him.

What strikes one most in the poems in "Ahana" is the difference between Mr. Ghose's focal point of poetical vision and that of all but a very small minority of writers of verse in English. Nothing is celebrated by him in song for its own sake. The poet's eyes perpetually go behind the thing visible to the thing essential, so that symbol and significance are always in a state of interfusion, and only on the rarest occasion, as in "Evening", does the significance precipitate itself as an obvious and somewhat marvellous tag. For a companion to Mr. Ghose's double-sightedness, the glimpsing simultaneously of form and form, we have to pass beyond the confines of Europe, and listen to the spiritual songs of AE. The Irish poet has not the patience and expansiveness of his Aryan brother, but in heart and vision they are affined. Mr. Ghose sings thus:

All music is only the sound of His laughter,
All beauty the smile of His passionate bliss;
Our lives are His heart-beats, our rapture the
bridal

Of Radha and Krishna, our love is their kiss.

AE sings:

We liken love to this and that, our thought
The echo of some deeper being seems.
We kiss because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams.

Normally there is a high manasic (thinking) quality in Mr. Ghose's poetry, but it is saved from being mere philosophical argumentation in verse by his eclectic taste in image and phrase. When he escapes into pure sight and speech, he gives us a wholly delightful thing like "Revelation", which stands self-existent in its own authenticity and beauty.

Someone leaping from the rocks
Past me ran with wind-blown locks
Like a startled bright surmise
Visible to mortal eyes,—
Just a cheek of frightened rose
That with sudden beauty glows,

Just a footstep like the wind
And a hurried glance behind,
And there nothing,—as a thought
Escapes the wind ere it is caught.
Someone of the heavenly rout
From behind the veil ran out.

I would venture to suggest to Mr. Ghose that in letting slip such beings from the unsullied Eden of his genius he is giving us something that will spoil our taste for more concrete and less living work. He cannot escape dignity and wisdom (though once he stumbles on tautology when he writes the line

Expunged, annihilated, blotted out;) but we could sometimes spare the dignity and wisdom when they come as an anti-climax, poor minted coin of the brain, like the long whipping of the European dead horse of materialism that somehow or other manages to come after the veritable alchemy of the imagination of the first four stanzas of "In the Moonlight."

It now must pause the bullock's jingling tune,
Here let it be beneath the dreaming trees
Supine and huge that hang upon the breeze,
Here in the wide eye of the silent moon.

How living a stillness reigns! The night's hushed
rule
All things obey but three, the slow wind's sigh
Among the leaves, the cricket's ceaseless cry,
The frog's harsh discord in the ringing pool.

Yet they but seem the silence to increase
And dreadful wideness of the inhuman night.
The whole hushed world immeasurable might
Be watching round this single point of peace.

So boundless is the darkness, and so rife
With thoughts of infinite reach, that it creates
A dangerous sense of space, and abrogates
The wholesome littleness of human life.

That, despite a couple of well-worn rhymes, is superlative. We look toward its author for more and more of its kin.

J. C.

INDIAN FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION: by N. M. Muzumdar, B.A., B.Sc. (London), Barrister-at-Law, Bombay. Price 2 annas.

This is a lecture delivered before Indian Economic Society, started under the auspices of the Servants of India Society of Bombay, by Mr. N. M. Muzumdar, till lately Professor in the Sydenham College of Commerce of that city, and constitutes the first of a series of pamphlets which the society proposes to publish from time to time. The subject selected by Mr. Muzumdar for his discourse is a very important one, though so vast and intricate that it is hardly possible to do full justice to it in the course of a single lecture. Necessarily, therefore, he had to confine himself more or less to general outlines. But the manner in which he has handled the different topics is sufficient to mark him as a master of his subject. Many would perhaps wish that his criticism of some of the well-known abuses in the existing financial administration of India were not so tame, on the ground that it is only by a vigorous exposure of such abuses that Indian publicists can ever hope to make any impression on the bureaucratic official mind. That, however, is a matter of opinion. On the whole, we regard the lecture as a highly successful one; and if the society can keep up this standard of excellence in its later publications it will be doing a service in the cause of popular education in India.

which University Extension lectures do in other countries.

It is very fortunate that societies for the study and discussion of economic problems of vital interest to the country are growing up on all sides. We would like to suggest that these societies and associations instead of working alone, each on its own lines, should try to establish some sort of co-ordination in their work. By doing so they would be much multiplying their own efficiency, and their utility for public good would also be considerably enhanced.

PROSAD CH. BANERJEE.

THE COLLEGE ST. MARK : by C. B. Young, M.A. *The Christian Literature Society for India, price As. 12.*

According to the Preface "This commentary is prepared with special reference to the needs of educated Indians, especially non-Christian college students." We do not think it is adapted to their needs. The students who are interested in the gospel of Mark will wish to know the truth about it, not merely so much of the truth as the missionary thinks it judicious to tell. But we see here omissions which ought not to occur even in the shortest and most elementary commentary. Take the very beginning :

The text is

2. Even as it is written in Isaiah the Prophet
Behold, I send my messenger before thy face
Who shall prepare thy way ;
3. The voice of one crying in the wilderness
Make ye ready the way of the Lord
Make his paths straight ;

The notes are

2-4. The meaning is 'Just as Isaiah prophesied that one should come before the Messiah to prepare His way, so John actually came to prepare the way for Jesus.

2. *Before thy face.* The prophet here makes God address the Messiah, saying he will send in advance a messenger to prepare the way, like an oriental king, who sends couriers ahead to announce his approach.

Neither note tells a reader of average intelligence anything that he could not have seen for himself. It ought to have been pointed out that v2 occurs not in Isaiah but in Malachi. As it stands in the original, the passage is "Behold, I send my messenger and he shall prepare the way before me" (not "before thy face" as quoted in Mark). God is speaking and there is not the slightest reference either to John the Baptist or to Jesus. The second passage does occur in Isaiah but this too is misquoted. The original is "The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." The "one that crieth" is the prophet himself, and the reference is to the return of the Jews from captivity, not to Jesus or John. But it does not suit the missionary to point out that the author of the second gospel or more probably some other early Christian writer, misquotes and misapplies, the Old Testament. For that matter, in all the so-called prophecies, quoted in the New Testament, the true meaning of the words is perverted.

We have gone through the book and noticed that everywhere important points are omitted while on the other hand space is wasted on pious remarks more suited for a sermon than for a commentary. From a scholar of his college at Oxford and Senior Greek Testament Prizeman a better book might have been expected.

GOD AS TRIUNE, CREATOR, INCARNATE, ATONER.
by W. H. T. Gairdner. Price 3 as.

A priori arguments in favour of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

The Muslim Fast, as 1½.

The book is worth six pice for the sake of the quotations it contains. It is not very controversial.

H. C.

I. SHAKESPEARE TERCENTENARY, 1916. *Published by the Saraswati Stage Society, Lahore.*

This is a Souvenir and Programme of the Tercentenary Celebration organised by the Saraswati Stage Society under the patronage of the University of the Panjab.

The Saraswati Stage Society was originally founded by Mrs. Richards a few years back for the benefit of the students of the Lahore Dayal Singh College where her husband Mr. P. E. Richards was a Professor of English. Last year, however, Mrs. Richards widened her sphere of activities and the Saraswati Society is now an Inter-Collegiate concern.

The aim of the Society is to develop Indian dramatic art by encouraging the writing of Indian plays and by arranging for their production. An illustrated account of "the Bride" and "Dina's marriage procession"—the first two original plays produced by the Society was published in the Modern Review some months back.

We wish the Society every success. Indian Dramatic Art at the present day is the monopoly of a professional class which is not exactly respectable and is consequently shunned and neglected by the greater part of the community. All attempts, such as those of the Saraswati Society, to redeem the dramatic art from its present evil association deserve to be heartily encouraged.

THE PATH. By Edmund White. Pp. 375, Price Six shillings, London. Messrs. Methuen & Co.

This book may be styled the Gospel of Western Wisdom. The central idea in the book, we are told by the author, is a development under changed aspects of the substance of his article "Brahmoism and Christianity as the Religion of the Future" which was published in No. 139, Vol. 70 of the Calcutta Review 1880.

Mr. White's hero, Sayyid Ali Husain was an ardent reformer who left home early in search of knowledge. He went to Europe and there became imbued with the spirit of Modern Progress. He came to believe that the real, present and tangible world is all that we are concerned with, and that all talk of a Future life or of the world to come is nothing but sheer nonsense. He went about preaching this Gospel of Practical Life as a zealous Christian might preach the doctrines of the Holy Bible. The Sayyid began his life-mission with an Address in his own native-town which shocked his family into denouncing him and caused his townsmen to expel him from the city.

The keynote of the Sayyid's message may be found in the following sentences taken at random from his lengthy address :—

"I repeat that, in the age in which we live, science and the arts founded on science are dominant factors of the wealth and welfare of man, and that no nation can endure except this great truth is next to the heart of her leaders.

And I teach that in this life here beneath the sun, is the supreme end of man : that through increase of

knowledge he shall become master of his own destiny and controller of the world.

But I teach that before he can securely advance on the new path he must be delivered from the phantoms sprung from his own brain.....from all vain hopes and fears of spirit world, of life after death and other humbug of a similar kind !"

III. FREEDOM'S BATTLE. By J. F. Worsley Boden, M. A. Pp. 77. Bombay. G. Charidge & Co.

This is a collection of some scholarly essays occasioned by the Great War which were originally published in the Madras Mail. The book is fittingly dedicated to the memory of the author's half-brother, Captain Hugh C. W. Boden who died fighting in Flanders in the cause of Freedom. The character of the book may be judged by the headings of some of the essays :—Nationality and Freedom, Militarism and Internationalism, the Nearer East and the War, the Fate of Austria and so on.

IV. BATTLE SKETCHES 1914-1915—Oxford Press. Pp. 206. 2s. 6d.

This book is composed of seven brilliant sketches full of interest and information from the pen of Mr. A. Neville Hilditch containing a graphic and vivid account of some of the most famous engagements during the first year of the War. The accounts of the Stand of Liege, the Campaigns in Cameroun, the Battles of Neuve Chappelle and Ypres are all illustrated with useful maps.

V. SHORT STORIES, by "Kusika." Pp. 175. Price As. 3. Mr. A. Madhaviah, Chapur, Chingleput Dt.

This is a reprint of about sixteen short stories which Mr. Madhaviah originally contributed to "the Hindu and the Social Reform Advocate" of Madras under the nom de plume of "Kusika." Like all the previous publications of this author, the stories in this book are not only amusing and well-written but also serve to point out some of the glaring defects in the social system of Southern India.

V. MISERIES OF THE BEARDED BOY. Part I. Pp. 251. Price Re. 1. For students As. 6. Printed by Babu Bishambher Nath Bhargava at the Standard Press, Allahabad.

The book which bears this enigmatic title is not a novel, a romance, a book of adventure or an imaginary tale. It is difficult to say exactly what it is. It may be the autobiography of the author who is spoken of by himself in the book as the "boy" or referred to by the still more indefinite personal pronoun "He."

The boy was compelled to leave home when quite young and to wander about from one place of pilgrimage to another friendless and foodless. He happened one day to drop his *lotu* in a well and tried to make it come out by devoutly repeating some Sanskrit mantras which he knew by heart. The *lotu* turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties and remained where it was—at the bottom of the well. That incident shook the boy's faith in the tenets and doctrines of Hinduism. He then embraced Christianity and we understand that he is a Christian still though he does not seem to entertain any very high opinion of the morality of some of his new friends. He has now fallen violently and madly in love with a reverend gentleman's daughter who is not at all favourably disposed. The boy, dejected and disheartened, has tried to poison

himself twice but has evidently a tough constitution and has survived to write this book.

We wish certain portions of the book had been expressed more decently in phrases less coarse and vulgar.

VII. SNEHALATA. By Ramaswami Sastriar, B. A., B. L. Madras : Ganesh & Co. Pp. 12.

A touching poem illustrating the evils of giving or taking dowries.

VIII. VARASULKA (A SOCIAL PLAY). By R. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B. A., B. L. Pp. 31. Price As. 1. Published by R. Sankara Aiyar, Danappa Mudaly Street, Madras.

This is a play on the same subject.

IX. ADVANCE INDIANS ! By Rajni Chandra (F. T. S.) As. 4. Pp. 64. Published by Kalyanrai Varajan Desai—Khadia—Ahmedabad.

This is an enthusiastic appeal to our countrymen to try and regain for our nation the high position which it once occupied among the nations of the world.

X. THE BARBARIANS OF ANCIENT INDIA. Thakur Rajendra Singh. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 1-8. Published by the author from Tukra, Biswan P. O. (District Sirapur.)

In this book the Thakur Sahib re-tells the familiar story of the Ramayana. He makes a striking comparison between the Rakhshas of Lanka and the Germans of to day whom he calls the "Rakhshas of Modern Europe." The book is dedicated to "the gallant British, Indian and Allied Armies, fighting like the banded legions of Rama and Sugriva, against the ruthless Rakhshas of the modern world, in a war as righteous, as holy, as glorious as that celebrated in the imperishable epic of the Ramayana."

The aim of the author in writing this book has been to produce a text-book suitable for our secondary schools. The book is written in an easy, attractive style and is also well printed.

XI. Methods of Teaching Village Christians to read, Pp. 56. As. 2. Madras : C. L. Society for India.

This is a small pamphlet in which Rev. H. D. Griswold makes some useful and practical suggestions for the benefit of the Missionaries engaged in the work of educating the depressed classes.

XII. His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Pp. 59, Madras. Ganesh & Co.

A short and, we must say, rather inadequate life-sketch of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. We hope Messrs. Ganesh & Co. will try to publish a more substantial biography. In the meantime of course this little booklet may be read with advantage.

XIII-XIV. Militarism. Pp. 30. One anna. The Peril of Conscription. Pp. 24. One anna. Published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London.

Both these pamphlets are by Mr. T. Bruce Glasier, Editor of the Socialist Review. In the first pamphlet Mr. Glasier gives a brief but interesting historical sketch of the British Army System. In the second he discusses conscription from the Labour and Socialist point of view. Since these pamphlets were published England has actually adopted conscription and not a few of Mr. Glasier's theories have proved groundless. It is also interesting to note that a number of

Socialists who were anti-conscriptions before the War wisely realizing the practical needs of the hour have given their full consent and support to the conscriptionist measures adopted by the British Government recently.

XV. POOTLI: By Ardesir F. F. Chinoy and Mrs. Dinbai A. F. Chinoy. Pp. 214. London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (Illustrations).

An interesting story of life and love in Bombay. Pootli, the heroine, is lovable both as she has been described by the authors and as she has been portrayed by the artist on the front page. Scenes of Indian life have been sketched by the authors as only writers belonging to the country and knowing the daily life by their personal experience could have done. The book presents a faithful portrait of some phases of the social life of New India which the influence of Western Civilization has brought into existence.

G. S. M.

I. LIGHT OF TRUTH or an English Translation of the SATYARTHAPRAKASH, the well-known work of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Founder of the Arya Samaj; Author of a Commentary on the Vedas and various works; by Dr. Chiranjiva Bharadwaj, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (Edin); Diplomat in Public Health (Edin); Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons (Edin); Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons (Glas.); certificated (with first class honours) in Tropical Diseases (Edin, Univ.). Published by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (India). Second Edition. Pp. iv+328+vi. Price Rs. 3 or 4s net.

The book needs no introduction and one willing to know the heart of the Arya Samaj should go through the pages of it. The Sanskrit portion of the book has been printed very inaccurately.

II. A LITTLE LIGHT TO MODERN HINDUS by Pashupati Nath Mukherjee, published by P. C. Mukherjee, Hattola, Bankura. Pp. 46. Price 12 Annas.

The pamphlet chiefly contains the author's reply to a book, "The Teachings of Swami Vivekananda" by the Rev. E. W. Thomson, M.A., in which the latter has "not only attacked the principles of the Swami Vivekananda but also has proceeded to prove the principles of the Vedanta and Upanishads to be vague and visionary which the greatest philosophers have not ventured to do."

III. THE PARAMATMA-PRAKASH by Shri Yojindra Acharya, translated into English with Critical Notes by Rickab Dass Jaina B. A., Vakil High Court, Meerut, with an Introduction by Champat Rai Jaina, Barrister at Law, Hardoi. Publisher: Kumar Dendra Prasad, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India). Pp. 15+60+vi. Price not mentioned.

As the title of this book implies it exhaustively describes all the aspects of Parama-Atman 'Supreme Spirit.' It is written following the views of Jainism, but the contents except some well-known particularities of that faith appear to be nothing but Brahmanic or more specially, pure Vedantic. For instance, let us quote only one stanza (72) from the original which is in Prakrita and now issued in the Ray-Chandra-Jaina-Shastra-Mala Series:—

"Don't fear, O Jiva (man or soul) seeing that old age (जरत) and death (मरण) are of body; and know

that your soul (आत्मा) is He, who has neither old age nor death (अजर अमर) and is called पर ब्रह्म."

The English translation for which the author has taken great pains and succeeded to a considerable extent would have been more useful had he made it literal adding notes as he has actually done in the present edition. Sometimes the text in translation and his own explanation are so mingled and confused that one can hardly make them out without the help of the original. No care whatever has also been taken for transliteration of Sanskrit words with which the translation so much abounds.

In spite of it, we think, the book will greatly help in propagating the Jaina Philosophy among the English reading people.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BENGALI.

SOUNDARYA TATVA: (THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BEAUTIFUL) by Abhay Kumar Gaha, M.A., B.L. 1916. Price Rupees Two.

In this book the author has discussed this fascinating though rarely handled and somewhat obscure subject in all its manifold aspects. He begins with a summary of the views of western scholars, both classical and modern. Then follows an account of the philosophy of the Rasa doctrine, as expounded by Sanskrit philosophers and rhetoricians, both from the spiritualistic standpoint, as in the Upanishads, as well as from the emotional standpoint, as in the Bhakti literature. The whole is then wound up with the author's own exposition of the subject in its scientific as well as metaphysical aspects. The author is of opinion that the highest expression of beauty is to be found in the Upanishads composed two thousand years before Christ, and that modern philosophy or literature has not been able to transcend it. The quotations from poets, philosophers, saints, mystics, and writers of all ages and countries with which the book teems would go to show that the author has left no possible source of enlightenment unexplored in his endeavour to elucidate the subject. But the book is no mere collection of materials, and it is herein that the author's special claim to distinction lies. He has thoroughly assimilated his subject, and made original contributions to it. He has not been weighed down by his erudition, and his illuminating analysis shows his easy mastery of treatment. The author is a specialist, but his specialism is based on wide general culture, and thus his exposition, though peculiarly suited to readers with a philosophical bent of mind, also appeals to the general readers. The bibliography appended at the end of the book shows how deep and extensive is his reading, and over what a wide field he has roamed in the quest after light. As a result of his devoted studies he has succeeded in producing a book of rare value, and has undoubtedly enriched the Bengali literature. His book belongs to a class of writings which are eminently calculated to add worth and prestige to our vernaculars, and it deserves to be introduced as a text book in our colleges for advanced students in philosophy. The get up and printing leave nothing to be desired, and considering the substance of its contents the price of the book is decidedly cheap.

POL.

HINDI.

SAPHALATA AUR USKI SADHNA KAI UPAYA—by *Babu Ramchandra Verma*. Published by the *Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Office, Bombay* and printed at the *Bombay Baibhav Press, Crown 8vo. pp. 148. Price as. 12 and 10 according to binding.*

This has been based on certain English books which have discoursed on the art of success. The book has been subdivided under several chapters, the headings of the chapters being such as "Good use of Time," "Certain necessary qualifications," "Fate and difficulties." Very many useful hints have been given on these subjects and the book is not altogether devoid of originality. The printing and get up are very nice; and no doubt the book will prove eminently useful.

STRIVON KI PARADHINATA by *Pandit Rishishwar Nath Bhatta, B. A.* Printed and published by the *Rambhushan Press, Agra, Crown 8vo. pp. 160. Price—As. 10.*

This is a Hindi translation of John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women." Indians will not agree with all the views of Mill, but the publication of such books in the Hindi language is—

ARTHASHASTRA by *Shree Girdhar Sharma* Printed at the *Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay* and published by *S. P. Bros. & Co., Jhalrapatan, Crown 8vo. pp. 252. Price—Rs. 1-4-0, bound copy Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is an addition to the few books on political economy which have been published within recent years. The plan of the book is systematic and has been based on Mrs. Fawcett's Political Economy. The special feature of the book is that the author has tried to be explicit as far as possible and has not only been learned. But he could have avoided the use of many words of foreign origin which though used in common Hindi talks serve to make the language less chaste. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent and the suggestive questions at the end of each chapter will be found useful by beginners. This book may well form a text-book in any Hindi school when the teaching of Political Economy may be considered necessary.

ANUPRAS ANWAISHAN by *Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi*. Published by *Chaturvedi Bholanath Sharma, 103, Mukhtarani Babu Street, Calcutta, F. cap. 8vo. pp. 32. Price—As. 2-0.*

This is a reprint of a part of a very thoughtful and well-reasoned thesis read at the 6th "Hindi Sahitya Sammilan." The writer has tried to combat the idea of some Bengali gentlemen who would seem to think that the Bengali literature contains more "Anupras" than any other language. It has been shown that the Hindi language carries the palm in this respect. Quotations have been made from Hindi and Sanskrit writings and examples have been quoted from common phraseology and all phases of society. The author has clearly succeeded in his attempt.

COUNT TOLSTOY KA AIK BHARATIASI KO LIKHA

HUA PATRA by *Bhai Kotwal, Prain Mahavidyalaya, Vrindaban*. Printed at the *Vidyalya Press, Vrindaban, Royal 16 mo. pp. 66. Price—1 anna.*

This is the Hindi translation of a letter written by Count Tolstoy to Mr. Gandhi. The simplicity of the Russian sage is reflected in this short letter as well and he has in his own thoughtful way tried to combat many of the views of the more advanced party in India. The translation is good. The get-up is fair.

URDU.

AVRAQ PARISHAN by *Lala Atma Ram Sahib M. A., Asst. Professor of Mathematics, Govt. College Lahore, Royal 8vo. pp. 168. To be had of Messrs. Ramkrishna & Sons, Booksellers, Lahore. Price Rs. 1-8-0.*

This is another of the publications of the Professor meant for juvenile reader and is no doubt much more helpful than the translations which are so often put in the hands of boys. The author has made his discourses on science very interesting indeed. We must have our own plans for such books and cannot copy English publications with any satisfactory measure of success. Viewed in this light and on account of its intrinsic merits, the book is eminently useful. Commonplace subjects have also been taken up, e.g. a top, earthquake; and there is sufficient variety in the subjects dealt with to make the publication far from monotonous. The many blocks in the book have been decently got up. The language is just what would be suitable for a book of this nature and the get-up is excellent. We cannot but commend the book for wide circulation in schools.

DAR-USH-SHAFA, VOL. I., No. I. Edited by *Babu Bansi Prasad Singh*, Printed at the *Talagdar Press, Fyzabad* and to be had of the *Managing Proprietor of the Magazine at Fyzabad. Annual Subscription—Rs. 2.*

This is a monthly magazine which deals mainly with hygienic subjects, on which very useful hints are given. Some selected medicines have also been embodied in it. By-the-bye, the magazine also takes up some technical and scientific subjects. We see such magazines occasionally, but they are often of an advertising nature. Some departure has been made in this respect in this magazine. The language and get-up are good and the magazine will prove useful, though there are one or two better ones of this nature in the field.

KYA KAPIL NASTIK THA by *Shree Swami Dershananand Saraswati*. Printed at the *Arya Steam Press Lahore* and published by *Pandit Wazir Chand Sharma, Proprietor Vaidic Pustakalaya, Lahore Road, Lahore.*

This book has been mainly written for the purpose of combating the views of a book by Master Ramchandra Sahab on the subject. The author has critically examined these and by a reference to certain individual Sutras of Kapil, he has succeeded in proving that Kapilmuni was not an atheist.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

LAGNA GIT, by *Keshavlal H. Sheth*, printed at the *Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 15. Unpriced (1916).*

These few wedding songs are written with the view of inducing those ladies who live in the interior

of Gujarat and are still addicted to break out into unseemly song to give up their habit and come into line with their reformed sisters.

PASHUMANTHI DEV. by *Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi*, published by *Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta*, of Ahmedabad, Printed at the *Union Printing Press*, Cloth cover, Pp. 88. Price Rs. 0-8-0. (1916).

This translation of James Allen's "From Passion to Peace" seems to be meant for a very select few, as the language is such that those whose culture is above the average only can understand it, and for them probably it would be useless, as they can read the English original with greater ease and benefit. The price is also beyond its deserts.

CHOKHER BALI, by *Dhanshanker Hirashanker Tripathi*, Published as above, printed at the *Diamond Jubilee Printing Press*, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound Pp. 179. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (1916).

This book is an attempt to introduce to the Gujarati reader the Bengali masterpiece of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. The translation bears all the undesirable marks of a translation, as while reading it we do not feel reading an original Gujarati book but a book in which much looks borrowed. The dialogues at least could have been couched in natural language, and not in those crisp, terse, and short phrases which appear so well in Dr. Tagore's book, but which are quite out of place here, as they have not been made as telling in their effect as in Bengali. The Gujarati title is also unfortunate as it is incorrect: *આંખની કર્ણી* is not correct Gujarati. We use the locative instead of the genitive when we want to describe a mote or grain of sand going into the eye, and say *આંખમાં કર્ણી*. The title also does not bring out the point of view from which the novel is written: That is tried to be explained in the preface. Here too the price is excessive.

APANO DHARMA, by *Professor Anandshanker Bapubhai Dhruva*, M.A., L.L.B., of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, published as above, printed at the *Union Printing Press*, Ahmedabad, cloth cover, pp. 426. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1916).

Prof. Anandshanker is one of our soberest writers and thinkers. An unassuming scholar of Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy, he always loves to call himself a student. Unaggressive to the last degree, he says what he has to say fearlessly. Generally considered to be on the side of the old and the orthodox, his writings shew that he is neither the one nor the other, but always reasons himself into a particular position. This book is a collection of his many contributions to his beloved Monthly, the *Vasanta*, and to the *Sadarshana* and they set out his views on "our Dharma." They are very interesting, and portray the struggle that an individual born and bred in an orthodox family, with leanings and predilections on that side, undergoes, when he impartially, by means of his wide reading and cultured thinking, examines, checks, notes, and then finally casts his opinions steadfastly into a new groove. The book, therefore, it need not be said, is a valuable contribution to modern Gujarati thought, and as such to be welcomed. We think the price should when circumstances permit, be made popular.

DIWAN-E-SAGAR, by *Jagannath Damodardas Tripathi*, published as above, printed at the *Union Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 526. Price Rs. 3-8-0. (1916).

For the last several years Mr. J. D. Tripathi who has assumed the *nom de plume* of Sagar, has worked himself into the belief that without a knowledge of Persian or Arabic, he has thoroughly grasped the spirit and secrets of Sufism, and has been able to combine them with the doctrine of Vedantism. Under that belief he has written a number of poems, a hotchpotch of *An-ul-Hakk* (the Sufistic formula for Oneness with God) and *Om* (a mystical Vedantic phrase). The book under review is a collection of many such poems. They are more or less in the nature of rhapsodies, at times wanting in a central, intelligible thought or idea, at times leading nowhere, at times incorrect in representing situations on lines found in Persian Literature (see p. 415 where the author speaks of a "bed wound", when in Persian you would never find the bed of a Beloved referred to in that gross fashion), at times an odd mixture of English, Persian and Gujarati words (e.g., p. 416, the *Gazal* beginning with, "Dear ' O Yes! Come on! yes! yes!" &c.). Where he uses words like *Laylan* (in place of the correct form *Layla*) or *Laylat-ul-Kadar* (instead of *Laylat-ul-Kadr*), one feels how the ignorance of the original language, in spite of the author's best endeavours to be as correct as possible, has given a color of artificiality to his work. These are but the first three parts of his large collection, and hence immature and imperfect. The latter compositions, we are sure, would shew maturer thought, and less verbosity. As an introduction into Gujarati Literature of this sort of Persian Composition, viz., the *Divan*—the book is the first of its kind, and hence likely to prove attractive at least for its novelty if nothing else. Where this imitation of Persian poetry is discarded and the author has written on other subjects, he has been able to make a fairly good show, and many of his poems are conceived in a spirit of patriotism, or self-sacrifice or a cognate feeling.

PRAVASINA PATRO, by *Keshavlal H. Sheth*, printed at the *Gujarat Printing Press*, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 205. Price Rs. 2-0-0 1916.

The price of this book is out of all proportion to its worth. In the form of "Traveller's Letters" the writer has tried to combine entertainment with instruction on the social and domestic phases of a Hindu's life. The subject is treated in such a way that the reader does not feel fagged but on the other hand is drawn to it and likes to pursue it,

SAMAJ, by *Mahatanshanker Ambashanker Sharma*, at the *Dharma Vijaya Printing Press*, Bombay. Paper cover, Pp. 77. Price Rs. 0-6-0. 1916.

Mr. Narsinhadas Vibhakar, B.A., L.L.B., Barrister-at-Law, the publisher of this Vichar Pushpa Mala Series, has no doubt made a good choice in selecting Sir Rabindranath Tagore's *Samaj* for translation. We wish the execution were as good as the choice. It is a translation from a Hindi Version, and the language is full of provincialisms. The original is however so good and so virile, that no mistranslation or incorrect translation can destroy its effect. This thoughtful pamphlet deserves a perusal, we may say not merely a perusal but a considerable perusal.

ANANG BHASM, by Sakarlal Amzatlal Dave. B.A., printed at the Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard, pp 64 Price Rs. 0-8-0. 1916.

This translation of Prof. Baine's novel, the Ashes of

a God, preserves all the delightfulness and orientalism of the original, and as the translator says, to appreciate its beauty, its reading should be finished at one sitting, otherwise its delicate touches are sure to be missed.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the May number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra gives us his views regarding

University Education in India

an abstract of which is culled below. Mr. Mitra's views deserve to be seriously pondered over by the educational authorities. Says he :

The main incentive for collegiate study is not now culture or deep learning but diplomas for service and professions. True culture is farthest from the sight of most of our young men. Cramming is the means of passing through a number of successive examinations beginning with the Matriculation one following another successively after each two years. The London University system is the model which, however, I think has been sufficiently shown to be unsuitable to India. We require a system suitable to the genius of Indian youths, Indian ideas and tradition.

In one matter, however, I am in harmony with most of my friends—I mean the medium of instruction. The medium must be the vernacular of each province or State. Mysore must have the Canarese. English is a very difficult language to master and unnecessarily a long time is wasted in its study, in mastering its idioms and idiosyncracies. We see that even long study and practice are insufficient to make us write or speak as Englishmen. The Scotch has his idioms, so the Australians and Yankees. Why not make English a second language like Sanskrit or Arabic? Vernaculars,—mother tongues,—are easy of learning and writing in and much time would be saved by the adoption of them as medium. We may adopt the same scientific terms as Europe has, if there are no current Indian equivalents. Scientific terms are for the world and not for any particular country. It is undeniable that the Vernacular or Vernaculars of each province in British India and each Native State should be the medium of lectures. Professors coming from foreign countries may feel difficulty in learning Indian dialects and imparting lessons through their mediums, but they may with a little industry acquire a competent knowledge of vernaculars. If they cannot do so, they should be considered as unfit to hold the responsible posts of professors. They must learn to speak in our dialects.

In my opinion the standard of Matriculation Examination, entitling a student to receive collegiate training, should be sufficiently high. The Matricula-

tion Examination should be the test for entering college life and not Government Service as Clerks. Service Examination should be different from Matriculation Examination. The syllabus for Matriculation Examination should be—

- (a) Complete knowledge of the vernacular dialect with facility in composition.
- (b) Knowledge of Sanskrit or Persian language and literature.
- (c) Knowledge of English as a compulsory second language, just sufficient to understand the meanings of technical words and expressions.
- (d) Histories of India, England, France, Greece and Rome.
- (e) Geography.
- (f) Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry and
- (g) Elementary Physics and Chemistry.

The standard of the London University Matriculation Examination may be the type.

No student should be allowed to appear for the Matriculation Examination before he has completed the age of sixteen, except in cases certified by the Head-master of the high school in which the student was studying for at least three years and two other teachers that the student is fit notwithstanding that he is below the age of sixteen.

There should be no division into classes of the result at the Matriculation Examination, no candidate having passed unless he secures at least one-half of the full marks.

After a student passes the Matriculation Examination, he should select his subject of study in collegiate life and devote himself to it for at least five years without any intermediate examinations. The bifurcation should be complete; there should be no plurality of subjects.

If the student selects Sanskrit he should select its particular branch—(a) Literature and Grammar including Philology, (b) Philosophy, (c) Vedas and Upanishads etc.

He may select (a) History, (b) Philosophy, (c) English, (d) Physics, (e) Chemistry, or any other Science, (f) Mathematics etc.

Each subject should be taught by one professor assisted if necessary by an assistant professor. The quarters of the professor and his assistant, if any, should be in one full apartment, where his or their students would also reside. The type should be the ancient Indian System of education under a great master.

As for professional education, where the subjects of examination must be many, such as Law, Medicine, and Engineering, the system in vogue must of necessity be followed.

Shakespeare as a School-Lad.

Marie Corelli interprets the tercentenary of Shakespeare for boys and girls in a bright little article in the pages of the *East and West* for July. Though written for school-going children, we, who are out of school and grown-up, have read the article with profit and pleasure. Here are a few cullings :

Boys are all the "possibilities" of famous men. If we should go into a sculptor's studio and see lumps of clay occupying the space, we should not be able to tell which might be used for a statue of Apollo, or which for Hercules. It is the same thing with a school. Statues are not made there, but *men*—and no pains are spared in the making, but it is impossible to predict how they will turn out, when finished. In the case of Shakespeare, his first head-master, Mr. Roche, does not appear to have meditated with pardonable pride on the ability or progress of his pupil; nor have we any ground for imagining that Mr. Hunt, who succeeded Roche, ever patted William's remarkable head and said: "Well done."

To an imaginative mind books are the bread of life. Shakespeare must have devoured any and every book that came in his way. The love of reading is in itself an education, and his plays prove how much and how closely he studied the literature of his time. But, though he was destined for an immortal heritage of fame second to none, I do not suppose he showed the least sign of any such future distinction when at this school. Personally speaking, I think he must have been very much like other boys, up to all sorts of mischief, and that if he were a boy again now, we should not be able to pick him out as a genius. If we could do so, I am afraid it would rather go against him, as he might be tiresome and hardly a boy at all. I like to believe that he was probably what is called 'a handful,' brimming over with health and high spirits, full of 'vim' and vitality. I am quite sure he was not an apathetic or 'half alive' boy with only a dull sense of plod in his brain. He must have been alert and wide awake to everything he could see or hear or learn. But probably he was so little remarkable among his companions at school that if they noticed him at all, it might be only to 'rag' him on the personal subject of his expansive forehead and ask him if there was anything behind that big front door!

You may perhaps think it strange that I should choose to write on such a subject as "Shakespeare at School," when nothing is known of his school-days. But there is another School—far more important than this or any—which Shakespeare attended regularly, and where he became the most brilliant scholar the world has ever seen, carrying off all first honours—I mean the School of Nature. There he learned every lesson that was set before him, and certainly missed nothing. It was his close and sympathetic observation of small things as well as great, and his power of seeing *beyond* the material object to its spiritual significance that gave him such keen clearness of thought and mastery of language.

The chief thing to be learned from the very scarce details of Shakespeare's life, is that he sank himself altogether in his work, and in this sense was always 'at school'—that is, always studying men and matters.—always gathering new material from the miracle of life. The secret of happiness is, to be

thoroughly *alive*; to get a good grip on things both human and divine, and to express the full consciousness of this warm, inward vitality in both manner and speech.

It was the power and clearness of his thought that made the fame of Shakespeare; thought which was not for himself but for all the world, in one grand, comprehensive view, as though he stood on some vast height, overlooking this planet just as we might overlook a field from the summit of a hill. He saw all Nature spread out before him and Man in Nature; and from this imperial attitude of vision he wrote the truths which we—three hundred years after his death—know to be still true.

The Political Condition of India in the Time of Harsha

(7th Century A. D.)

To the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* C.V. Vaidya contributes a well written article dealing with the subject mentioned above.

Mr. Vincent Smith observes in his "Early History of India" 3rd Edition, that when "the wholesome despotism of Harsha terminated by his death, India instantly returned to her normal condition of *anarchical autonomy*." Refuting this statement Mr. Vaidya says :

This is, I am afraid, a wrong and an unhistorical view. To those who look upon India as one country and who consider a despotic imperial rule as the only remedy for her political ills, the political condition which usually obtained in ancient India may appear as one of anarchical autonomy. But it must be remembered that India never was one kingdom at any time except the present, when the British rule has brought the whole country under subjection. India may indeed be called one country from certain aspects of race, religion and tradition, but it cannot be denied that it never was, at least in ancient history, one country politically. It generally consisted of a number of kingdoms and these were usually at war with one another. To apply to this condition the term *anarchical autonomy* would be a misnomer.

For what was the condition of Europe at this time or for that matter at any time in its history? Europe may fitly be compared to India in every respect. Exclusive of Russia, Europe is almost equal to India in extent and population and its people are practically of one race, namely, Aryan and of one religion, namely, Roman Christianity. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang describes India as divided into about seventy kingdoms (Watters, vol. I, p. 140). Europe in the seventh century could not have been divided into less. England itself was divided into five kingdoms, France, Germany and Italy into many more. Indeed the condition of society, civilization and the means of communication in ancient times prevented the formation of kingdoms larger than those that existed in India or Europe at that time. And history shows that these kingdoms of Europe were constantly at war with one another. European history is indeed a terrible history detailing the constant and usually sanguinary wars waged by the several kingdoms with one another. Now would it be proper to describe

this condition of Europe as one of anarchical autonomy, or to make the comparison still more complete, to say that when the Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces after his death, Europe reverted to her usual condition of anarchical autonomy? Even now when railways and telegraphs have made growth of large kingdoms possible, Europe is still divided into a number of small kingdoms which are not larger than the kingdoms in India described by Hiuen Tsang. If we take 6000 li or 1200 miles as the average circumference of a large Indian kingdom like Maharashtra, the area of an average large kingdom in square miles comes to about, 1,20,000 sq. miles. Or we may make a calculation in another way and divide the total present area of India viz. 18,02,629 sq. miles, by 70 and arrive at the area 25,752 sq. miles of an average kingdom in India as existing in the seventh century. The smaller kingdoms existing in Europe at this day, Belgium (11,373 sq. ms.), Holland (12,582), Portugal (32,000), Italy (1,10,632), Bulgaria (33,615), Roumania (53,489) and Greece (25,014), not to speak of the small states of which the German Empire is composed, are not thus larger than the kingdoms existing in India in Hiuen Tsang's days, and these states of Europe are normally in a condition of war. A decade does not pass without a fight somewhere, and yet these small states are alive and flourishing; and history cannot describe the normal condition of Europe as one of 'anarchical autonomy.' The mistake lies in looking upon India as one country or territory that deserved to be one country under one rule and hence, I apprehend, the use of the word anarchical.

The writer holds that the "main cause of the difference in the vitality of the nations in the West and the nations in the East lies in the entire divergence in the development of their political ideas."

The Indo-Aryans were indeed in the beginning imbued with the same racial tendencies as their brethren in the west. The sovereignty so to speak belonged to the people and the king was merely their leader and agent. There were public assemblies of the people which advised the king on all important matters. Taxation was levied apparently with the consent of the people. The later tradition that the people promised Manu one sixth of their land produce in consideration of his accepting their kingship contains the germ of this principle. Kings were often elected and in some tribes there were no kings at all, the people themselves regulating their affairs by a council of elders. In short in the earliest period of Indian history the political condition of the people was developing in the same direction as in the west. The state was still tribal and the same word in the plural indicated the state and the people, while in the singular it meant the king. In the Vedic and even in Epic times this was the rule. For example the Kurus, the Madras, the Panchalas, the Kosalas and so on meant both the people and the country; and the singular Kuru, Madra, Panchala and Kosala and so on meant the king. A similar state of things obtained in the west. The land was there also called after the people and the king was called by the same name. France was the land of the Franks, England of the Angles and Saxony of the Saxons; and France, England and Saxony meant also the kings of those lands. Thus the name of the people gave the name to the country and the king, both in the east and the west.

In the succeeding centuries this condition gradually changed. The people gradually receded from view, probably because they were now composed largely of Sudras and not of the Aryans as in previous times. The kings who were often non-Aryan and sometimes even foreign, gradually assumed absolute power. The people thus became accustomed to the rule of kings who were not of their own race and of the Kshatriya caste. They gradually ceased to take interest in politics, being less or never consulted and eventually came to believe that it was none of their business to meddle with state affairs. Particular persons of the three higher castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas did take some interest in politics being soldiers and officials, but the generality of the people, being Sudra, was debarred from all participation in political activities.

In India, on the other hand, especially in the north, the Dravidian lower classes were very inferior in capacities, and being different in complexion, features and habits remained distinct in position, social and political, and never struggled for equality of rights. Political power therefore gradually centred primarily in the higher classes, especially in the Kshatriyas and in the kings next. The king was invested with divine attributes in public estimation by superstition as well as by craft, and the despotic power of kings without any restriction by popular assemblies was eventually firmly established during the Buddhistic period of Indian history.

Such remained the political condition of India in the seventh century. The king was absolute and possessed despotic power unrestricted by the voice of any public assemblies. The kingdom and the people belonged to him, so to speak, as his private property. The kingdoms naturally ceased to be called by the names of the people. Among the seventy or so kingdoms mentioned by Hiuen Tsang only a few bear the name of the people. The old names of Kuru, Panchala, Anga, Vanga &c. are gone and we have the names of Thanaser, Kanauj, Karnasuvarna, Tamralupti and so on. They are named generally after the capital town or some physical feature of the country. The kings are not named after the people but after a Vansa or family as the Vardhanas, the Maukharis, the Guptas and so on.

And these families did not attain to kingly position by the consent or approbation of the people or by hereditary rights of several generations even, but by divine favour obtained, it was believed, by reason of austerities performed by certain individuals in their past lives. Under this superstitious view anybody might become king or had the right to become king if only he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne by hook or crook. The people had not only no political rights but had no hand whatever in the acceptance of kings, as persons became kings by reason of their austerities performed in former lives. Under such a view of the organization of a state there can scarcely be born that national vitality which is the essential factor in the strength of nations. Naturally enough patriotism was a virtue which never arose in India. But the place of patriotism was supplied by the feeling of loyalty. The king being the absolute master of the state or the people, appointed by divine will, the people could naturally be actuated only by the feeling of loyalty or love to the divine king.

In the Harsha Charita we find many such examples recorded by Bana and in these, servants or officers give up their lives simply for the grief they felt for the death of their sovereign. And if the royal family

continued steady on the throne for generations it did so not by the patriotism of the people, but by the loyalty of their servants and officers.

How the breaking up of Harsha's empire came about :

Harsha's Empire was the culminating point of the Buddhist period of Indian history, which was passing away. He founded and maintained an empire as strong as the Gupta empire and in the history of the following mediæval period no kingdom approached either the extent or the solidarity of Harsha's rule. Harsha again was one of the most righteous emperors in the history of the world, conscientiously endeavouring to secure the happiness of his people. And yet the political conceptions of the people remaining the same, he could not infuse into his empire any national vitality. On the contrary the very extent of this mass of kingdoms held up together by force, increased its aptitude to topple down at the slightest shock, like a pile of stone heaped one upon another without any cement. Of course, we cannot blame Harsha, for not introducing the cement. For, India had not evolved representative institutions, nor had the Indian intellect evolved proper conceptions of a political state. That department of enquiry remained a blank in the Indian intellectual activity. Harsha, therefore, could never have thought of giving to the people any rights of participation in the government of the country.

Under such a view kingdoms and even empires could not have any vitality; Harsha's empire fell to pieces, immediately his strong arm was removed from the administration. The subject kingdoms immediately became independent while Kanauj itself was seized by the commander-in-chief, Harsha having left no son. For in such a state of political views not only the virtue of patriotism cannot be fostered, but the contrary vice namely treason cannot but have ample scope to flourish. Every ambitious person who can by force or treachery seize the throne has the assurance that the people's allegiance will be transferred to him as a matter of course.

Discussing the causes which lead to the fall of a nation the writer says :

There can be no doubt that representative government creates a feeling of self-interest in the people which is the great backbone of a nation's strength. History indeed records the fall of the brilliant city-states of Greece and of Rome in spite of such national sentiment. But we must remember that that sentiment had been completely undermined in Greece and Rome by demoralization and luxury and hence it was that these states succumbed and fell. But they rose again when the same sentiment became strong. The Indian states on the other hand never developed the national sentiment at all and hence were never strong. They could not have developed into strong states in the succeeding centuries. On the contrary coming under the influence of certain causes which we shall discuss in another place they gradually became enervated and hence fell easily before the advancing tide of Mahomedan invasions.

In conclusion we read that

the despotic states of India of the seventh century were certainly strong as compared with the contemporary despotic kingdoms of Asia and it is hence that they could beat back the Huns who in Europe could not be beaten away. The prominent index of the enervation of a people is their employment

of mercenary forces and neither Hiuen Tsang nor Bana mentions any mercenary troops in the army of Harsha.

The Indian states of the 7th century, were generally happy and prosperous in spite of their despotic constitutions. The fact is that Indian thinkers had developed the theory that if the kingly power was divine the laws also were divine-made and incapable of change. The laws were laid down by the Smritis and no human agency had power to change them. The kings thus had no legislative power even with the consent of the people. In the west the king is looked upon as the source of all law. In India on the other hand law was ordained by the Smritis whose authority was supreme and unchallengeable. The duty of kings was simply to administer justice according to the divine-ordained law and to keep peace and order by the punishment of robbers and other evil-doers. They were to receive taxes from the produce of land and the profits of trade for performing this duty and even the amounts of the taxes so to be levied were fixed by the Smritis. The expenses of Government, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, were limited and the people with their highly religious nature were free from crime.

Says Hiuen Tsang :

"As the government is honestly administered and the people live on good terms, the criminal class is small. The government is generous and the official requirements are few. Hence families are not registered and individuals are not submitted to forced labour and contributions. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations."

Dr. Sridhar V. Ketkar writes about

Historical Research in Deccan

in the pages of the *Indian Review* for June. The article provides interesting reading and traces the growth of the historical spirit in Deccan from the very beginning. "Historiography in the Maratha country," says the writer, "could be divided into four periods."

First of all, there is the period of the Maratha regime. During this period the Marathas had shown a considerable literary activity, and their energies did not spare the field of Historiography also. They had learnt from the Mohammedans the value and also practice of this noble art. To copy a few 'Bakhars' was at that time a part of the education of a young man who expected to enter the Government service as a clerk. A large number of Bakhars (chronicles) came into existence, and in writing them very important work was done by the Kayastha Prabhus, who are generally known by their more popular name Parabhus, though the people of other castes also had their share in the work. Biographies and family histories were compiled. Autobiographies and diaries by important men also came to be written. We have, for example, a short autobiography of Nana

Phadnavis still available. Some people used to write 'Tippanas' or the Memoranda.

These Bakhars were very inaccurate, the writers did not base their information on any records but on some things which they had heard. Their information is usually scanty, some of the information which they recorded has been borrowed from a very remote source, and the language of the Bakhars the modern taste will find disagreeable. Moreover the authors have often resorted to imagination. Cases of anachronism are plentiful. Add to the lack of culture of the Bakhar writers, the prejudices and intentional falsehoods found in the historians of every country and age, and then we shall get a picture of the Maratha historiography prior to the British rule. The Bakhar writing did not really end with the Maratha rule. Some work of the type were compiled even after 1818; but they were written by men who had received their education during the Maratha rule, but who had lived to see the overthrow of their countrymen. Among these men could be mentioned Sohoni, who wrote a bakhar of the Peishwas.

The period after 1818, could be divided into two parts, the dividing point being the memorable year of 1857, when the Universities of Bombay and Calcutta were founded. During the first part, the printing presses were introduced. Men who came to front at this time, like Dadoba Pandurang, Hari Keshavji, Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, were writing text-books for schools, and some other books, the aim of which primarily is to impart through vernacular the knowledge which was available only through English. To put in Marathi what was in English was the aim of almost all those who at that time were writing in Marathi. To translate from the English was the raging passion among the writers. Moreover, these men found historical literature in English regarding their own country. Those who learnt English began to compare the English literature with their own. Moreover, they did not have sufficient knowledge of Marathi literature or Sanskrit literature, because very few books were printed, and those who had good libraries at command were extremely few. How greatly were the educated men of those times ignorant of Indian literature would appear astounding to the people of to-day. Dadoba Pandurang compiled a grammar of Marathi language, a work which is studied even to-day. He was entirely ignorant of Sanskrit language when he wrote it. Another class of men who took part in the literary activity of the period, was that of men oriented in Sanskrit lore, that is, Shastris and Pandits. These men began to learn English after they finished their Sanskrit studies. Now Shastri Sathe, the most learned man of his times, began to study English at the age of sixty, and began to advise his young scholars to study English. Those who had studied Kanada, Jaimini, and Gadadhari, with their sacred Brahmin Masters, continued their studies in logic by reading the works of Hamilton and Mill at a later age. Similar was the case with the students of Astronomy. Strangely enough (or

rather we will not call it strange when we can understand the Psychology of it) this class, with the study of English, cultivated also a great deal of contempt for the traditional Sanskrit culture, and a great reverence for the European literature and intellectual tradition. Among such men could be mentioned Krishna Shastri Chipalonekar, who did a great deal to formulate the present Marathi prose style by writing a number of independent works and translating many books. His most important scientific contributions have been his essays on Marathi grammar which were primarily intended as a criticism on the grammar of Dadoba Pandurang. The first generation of the English educated men was that of those who studied Sanskrit language and literature first, and devoted attention to the study of Sanskrit much later. The work of this generation towards historiography and many other matters was that of bringing into Marathi what existed in Sanskrit. They did not exert to publish the old Sanskrit chronicles or to reconstruct a history critically with the help of document. Their effort was to bring into Marathi what is ready made—the productions of the English historians. The only effort made to reprint the earlier Marathi literature was devoted exclusively to print and publish the semi-sacred literature, and Gujarathi poetry. In this task Parashram Pant Tatya Godboli, Madhav Chandoba, and Govind Raghunath Ketkar (the grand-father of the present writer) took prominent part.

During the first period of Maratha Historiography, Bakhars, Tawarikhs, and Kaijiyats, were considerably written, but their knowledge among the common people was not great. The learned classes shunned these, and they remained only with the official class. During the second period, the knowledge of history not only of the Marathas but of other peoples also was circulated considerably by some writers who translated or borrowed from English works. We now come to a third period in which attempt is made to popularize the Bakhar literature.

The Bakhars were disliked for their language, and new prose styles, modelled after the English styles, was being formed. Men educated in Sanskrit language and literature had introduced a new style of writing Marathi, discarding the style of Bakhar which contained such a large admixture of Persian words. So some new works were necessary to satisfy the people of new tastes. Moreover, a large number of Bakhars, which were written in the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th centuries, were unpublished. But this task was not undertaken until late. The newly educated men did not come in contact with the Bakhars to any great extent as they came from poorer classes, and the Bakhars remained only with such families which produced men of affairs during the Maratha regime. In fact, prior to 1870, there was very little printed literature excepting some semi-sacred poetical works.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Caste in America.

It has been said that one of the reasons why there cannot be self-rule in India is that there is no inter-marriage and inter-dining between castes and sects, and that there is also what may be called "touch-me-not-ism" in India. It is interesting, therefore, to find that the United States of America is the greatest (self-ruling) republic in the world in spite of the presence of all the retrograde, inhuman, unjust and unrighteous features of the caste system. *The Literary Digest* has an article on "Negro-segregation in St. Louis." From it we learn :

For several days before the people of St. Louis voted to segregate the negroes of the city, negro girls and women handed out circulars on the streets bearing a cartoon depicting a white man driving a negro before him and lashing his bare back, with the inscription "Back to slavery." And now that the two ordinances embodying segregation have been carried by a three-to-one vote in a centrally located city of 700,000 inhabitants, the *New York Evening Post* alludes ironically to "the two watchwords of democracy—emancipation and segregation," and the *New York World* deplores the attempt "to deprive black men of property, liberty, and hope." But the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* observes that "the separation or segregation of the races" which "prevails generally through the South" on cars, boats, and in public places "has caused no special injury to any one," and "has unquestionably tended to prevent friction between the races when traveling, which of old frequently developed into serious disturbances and what were called 'race-riots.'"

It forbids negroes to move into blocks in which as many as 75 per cent. of the occupants are white, and prohibits "the use by negroes in 'white' or 'mixed' blocks of any building or part of a building for a church, dance-hall, school, theater, or place of assemblage for negroes."

The segregation-campaign seems quite insincere to a writer in the St. Louis *Labor*, who says :

"The education of the negro, and providing him with proper means for a living, are more worthy of the thought of good people than to crowd him into conditions where life is unbearable. Crowding him back into the alleys and slums will not make for a better condition for the white man than for the black man."

Prohibition of Inter-marriage.

The American Journal of Sociology has an article on "The Legal Status of Negro-white Amalgamation in the United States"

from which we glean the following items of information :

"The constitution of six of the American States prohibit negro-white intermarriages. Twenty-eight of the states have statute laws forbidding the inter-marriage of negro and white persons. Twenty of the states have no such laws ; of ten of those latter states bills aimed at the prevention of negro-white inter-marriages were introduced and defeated in 1913."

"The Alabama constitution prohibits the legislature from passing a law legalizing the intermarriage of white persons and any descendant of a negro. This means that a person whose ancestry may be traced to a negro—even though that person has no detectable physical mark of negro ancestry—may not marry a white person."

"The Florida constitution prohibits intermarriage between white persons and others possessing even one-sixteenth or more negro blood. Many such persons do not physically show their affinity with the negro race."

"The other four states, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, by their constitutions prohibit the intermarriage of white persons and others having one eighth or more negro blood."

"Four states appear from their statutes to acknowledge that the existing laws against negro-white intermarriage do not reach all causes of negro-white amalgamation. Three of those states have, in addition to laws against intermarriage, laws against cohabitation and against concubinage."

"Alabama is the only state which would seem to have attempted to reach all the causes of negro-white amalgamation. Her laws include this phrase : 'if any white person or any negro..... live in adultery or fornication with each other, each of them must, on conviction, be imprisoned.....'"

Those who wish to have a more comprehensive survey of the problem of caste in America should read Mr. Lajpat Rai's recently published work on "The United States of America."

Japanese Police.

F. Nishiguchi tells us in the *Japan Magazine* that

Though the police of Japan are worse paid than those of any other country in the world, they are regarded as efficient and faithful as any that can be found. This is due no doubt to the fact that in Japan ability and loyalty to duty are never made to depend on money. However much the Japanese official may like to a better salary and to improve his circumstances, he is not expected to show it, and the policeman is no exception to this trait. His pride must lie in the fact that he is an official of the empire rather than in the emoluments of his position ; so that it is very rarely that a policeman of Japan is found to

succumb to the influences of filthy lucre. Another reason is that most of the police force of Japan consists of men who belong to the old samurai families, who were wont to despise trade and all traffic in money. This is not so true to-day as it formerly was, since a great deal of new blood has come into the ranks of the police in recent years. A samurai will at any time prefer to take a poorly paid position in the police force to finding himself ranked among merchants or tradesmen. And though the national police are not ranked very high socially, they are nevertheless proud of their place as guardians of the peace and are inclined to glory in their purity of motive and honesty of life.

The writer also says :

The Japanese policeman is generally respected and trusted by his countrymen ; and he has to keep up a good appearance, in spite of his poverty, to deserve the respect in which he is held. His wife is entitled to be addressed as *okusan*, instead of *okamisan*, the title of a lower-class wife.

The ordinary Indian policeman is worse paid than the Japanese. He also does not feel that he is a servant of the people, because the empire and the nation are not identical, wholly or in part.

The National Condition of India.

Under the above heading Sogen Yamagami, professor of the Buddhist College of Sodo Sect, Tokio, contributes a readable article to the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association*.

Some of his observations are interesting, as for instance, speaking of the unification of India the writer says :

India is a crowded country with a large variety of languages and religions. The question that presents itself to me is this : "Is it possible out of all this conglomeration to bring about a more united condition ?" In my opinion, this present condition need not necessarily remain so.

To unify the country called India would be a great thing. If a uniform ideal would but permeate their thoughts, a unity would quickly follow. This uniform ideal would build the nation up in a concrete whole, and bring about the necessary forms needed. Some people doubt whether such an ideal exists or whether the Indian is capable of such thought. Personally, I certainly think that the Indian is capable of such thought, and more than that, I certainly think that such an ideal exists.

Later on we read :

The Indian consciousness is continually looking within until its deepest depths have been fathomed. "What am I ?" "What is humanity ?" "What is the *atman*, the ego ?" have always occupied the Indian thought through the long ages.

The Japanese *Atama* for head, the foremost part of a human body, is derived from the Indian word *atman* or *ego*.

Speaking of political conditions in India the writer observes :

Bengal was divided into two parts. There was every reason to think, that this partition was carried into effect. Bengal is the centre of the Indian intellectual, and the education is most widely spreading. Therefore, the influence was too powerful for the Government to rule as one presidency. There was one more thought in reference to religion ; the quarrel between the Hindu and the Mohammedans will reduce their mutual strength and hinder their development by themselves. In view of these considerations, Bengal was divided into east and west.

The writer proposes the following means to unite Japan and India :

We Buddhists in Tokyo should first of all erect a large building to enable the Indian students and commercial men to house. A good system of supervision of the students and every opportunity to increase or perfect their knowledge must be effected. If this be done in Tokyo, the capital of Japan, and perhaps one even in Calcutta, the old capital of India, it would induce many more Indians to visit our country. Without our making suitable preparations for our invited guests so as to give them every advantage, it is only imprudence on our part to expect any sympathy from those with whom we desire to be united. Let us then put out our hands so that the Indians will follow our example and give assistance and facilities to our travellers and merchants who go to India for sight-seeing or on business. Without such an arrangement for intercommunication, it would be impossible to have the desired unity between the two countries, or at least, when it does come, it will be sadly belated. Let us then commence these preparations at once and let religion be the cement to join our unity ; we have the same faith, same belief, and a stronger binder could not be found.

How to Modernize our Schools.

The *American Review of Reviews* for April contains noteworthy views of some prominent American educationists, on the abovenamed subject, which are of more than passing interest.

Dr. Abraham Flexner who "stands today in the first rank of American authorities in the field of educational science and administration", has the following :

MODERN CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION.

I suggest that, in the first place a man educated in the modern sense has mastered the fundamental tools of knowledge : he can read and write ; he can spell the words he is in the habit of using ; he can express himself clearly orally or in writing ; he can figure correctly and with moderate facility within the limits of practical need ; he knows something about the globe on which he lives. So far there is no difference between a man educated in the modern sense and a man educated in any other sense.

There is, however, a marked divergence at the next step. The education which we are criticising is overwhelmingly formal and traditional. If objection is made to this or that study on the ground that it is useless or unsuitable, the answer comes that it "trains the mind" or has been valued for centuries.

"Training the mind" in the sense in which the claim is thus made for algebra or ancient languages is an assumption none too well founded; traditional esteem is an insufficient offset to present and future uselessness.

A man educated in the modern sense will forego the somewhat doubtful mental discipline received from formal studies; he will be contentedly ignorant of things for learning which no better reason than tradition can be assigned. Instead, his education will be obtained from studies that serve real purposes. Its content, spirit, and aim will be realistic and genuine, not formal or traditional. Thus, the man educated in the modern sense will be trained to know, to care about and to understand the world he lives in, both the physical world and the social world. A firm grasp of the physical world means the capacity to note and to interpret phenomena; a firm grasp of the social world means a comprehension of and sympathy with current industry, current science, and current politics.

The extent to which the history and literature of the past are utilized depends, not on what we call the historic value of this or that performance or classic, but on its actual pertinency to genuine need, interest or capacity. In any case, the object in view would be to give children the knowledge they need and to develop in them the power to handle themselves in our own world. Neither historic nor what are called purely cultural claims would alone be regarded as compelling.

If the subject serves a purpose, it is eligible to the curriculum; otherwise not. I need not stop at this juncture to show that "serving a purpose," "useful," "genuine," "realistic," and other descriptive terms are not synonymous with "utilitarian," "materialistic," "commercial," etc.,—for intellectual and spiritual purposes are genuine and valid, precisely as are physical, physiological and industrial purposes. That will become clear as we proceed.

We must not only cultivate the child's interests, senses and practical skill, but we must train him to interpret what he thus gets to the end that he may not only be able to perceive and to do, but that he may know in intellectual terms the significance of what he has perceived and done. The modern School would prove a disappointment, unless greater intellectual power is procurable on the basis of a realistic training, than has been procured from a formal education, which is prematurely intellectual, and to no slight extent a mere make-believe.

About

MODERN CURRICULUM

Dr. Flexner says:

The curriculum of the modern school would be built out of actual activities in four main fields which I shall designate as science, in lustry, esthetics, civics. Let me sketch briefly a realistic treatment of each of these fields.

TRAINING IN SCIENCE.

The work in science would be the central and dominating feature of the school—a departure that is sound from the standpoint of psychology and necessary from the standpoint of our main purpose. Children would begin by getting acquainted with objects—animate and inanimate; they would learn to know trees, plants, animals, hills, streams, rocks, and to care for animals and plants. At the next stage, they would follow the life cycles of plants and animals and

study the processes to be observed in inanimate things. They would also begin experimentation—physical, chemical, and biological. In the upper grades, science would gradually assume more systematic form. On the basis of abundant sense-acquired knowledge and with senses sharpened by constant use, children would be interested in problems and in the theoretic basis on which their solution depends. They will make and understand a fireless cooker, a camera, a wireless telegraph; and they will ultimately deal with phenomena and their relations in the most rigorous scientific form.

The work in science just outlined differs from what is now attempted in both its extent and the point of view. Our efforts at science teaching up to this time have been disappointing for reasons which the above outline avoids: the elementary work has been altogether too incidental, the advanced work has been prematurely abstract; besides, general conditions have been unfavorable. The high school boy who begins a systematic course of physics or chemistry without the previous training above described lacks the basis in experience which is needed to make systematic science genuinely real to him. The usual textbook in physics or chemistry plunges him at once into a world of symbols and definitions as abstract as algebra. Had an adequate realistic treatment preceded, the symbols when he finally reached them, would be realities. The abyss between sense training and intellectual training would thus be bridged.

Of coordinate importance with the world of science is the world of industry and commerce. The child's mind is easily captured for the observation and execution of industrial and commercial processes. The industries growing out of the fundamental needs of food, clothing and shelter, the industries, occupations, and apparatus involved in transportation and communication—all furnish practically unlimited openings for constructive experiences, for experiments, and for the study of commercial practices. Through such experiences the boy and girl obtain not only a clearer understanding of the social and industrial foundations of life, but also opportunities for expression and achievement in terms natural to adolescence.

LITERATURE AND ART SUBJECT.

A realistic treatment of literature would take hold of the child's normal and actual interests in romance, adventure, fact or what not and endeavor to develop them into as effective habits of reading as may be. Translations, adaptations, and originals in the vernacular—old and new—are all equally available. They ought to be used unconventionally and resourcefully, not in order that the child may get—what he will not get anyway—a conspectus of literary development; not in order that he may some day be certificated as having analyzed a few outstanding literary classics, but solely in order that his real interest in books may be carried as far and as high as is for him possible; and in this effort the methods pursued should be calculated to develop his interest and his taste, not to "train his mind" or to make of him a make-believe literary scholar.

There would be less pretentiousness in the realistic than there is in the orthodox teaching of literature; but perhaps in the end the child would really know and care about some of the living masterpieces and in any event there might exist some connection between the school's teaching and the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading.

Of the part to be played by art and music I am not qualified to speak. I do not even know to

what extent their teaching has been thought of from this point of view. I venture to submit, however, that the problem presented by them does not differ in principle from the problem presented by literature. Literature is to be taught in the Modern School primarily for the purpose of developing taste, interest, and appreciation, not for the purpose of producing persons who make literature or who seem to know its history; we hope to train persons, not to write poems or to discuss their historic place, but to care vitally for poetry,—though not perhaps without a suspicion that this is the surest way of liberating creative talent.

The Modern School would, in the same way, endeavor to develop a spontaneous, discriminating and genuine artistic interest and appreciation,—rather than to fashion makers of music and art. It would take hold of the child where he is and endeavor to develop and to refine his taste.

Languages have no value in themselves: they exist solely for the purpose of communicating ideas and abbreviating our thought and action processes. If studied, they are valuable only in so far as they are practically mastered,—not otherwise: so at least the Modern School holds. From this standpoint, for purposes of travel, trade, study, and enjoyment, educated men who do not know French and German usually come to regret it keenly. When they endeavor during mature life to acquire a foreign tongue, they find the task inordinately difficult and the result too often extremely disappointing. It happens, however, that practical mastery of foreign languages can be attained early in life with comparative ease. A school trying to produce a resourceful modern type of educated man and woman would therefore provide practical training in one or more modern languages.

MODERNIZING HISTORY TEACHING.

The fourth main division, which I have called civics, includes history, institutions, and current happenings. Much has been written, little done, towards the effective modernization of this work; so that though new views of historical values prevail in theory, the schools go on teaching the sort of history they have always taught and in pretty much the same way.

"Should a student of the past," writes Professor Robinson of Columbia, "be asked what he regarded as the most original and far-reaching discovery of modern times, he might reply with some assurance that it is our growing realization of the fundamental importance and absorbing interest of common men and common things."

MATHEMATICAL INSTRUCTION.

The Association of Teachers of Mathematics in New England has suggested "a one-year course in elementary algebra and geometry of a concrete sort, designed so far as possible to test the pupil's qualifications for future mathematical study; and Dr. Snedden has raised the question as to why girls, in high schools or as candidates for college should be required to present algebra; he has also urged that a knowledge of algebra is of no importance to men following law, medicine, journalism, or theology. Professor Breslich, of Chicago, has been attacking the same problem vigorously from a not unrelated point of view. Without considering any point settled, it is clear that a Modern School which wiped the slate of mathematics and then subsequently wrote upon it only what was found to serve the real needs of quantitative thought and action might evolve a

curriculum in mathematics that we should not recognize.

The writer goes on to say:

For the sake of convenience, the four large fields of activity have been separately discussed. But it must be pointed out that the failure of the traditional school to make cross connections is an additional unreality. The traditional school teaches composition in the English classes, quantitative work in the mathematics classes; history, literature, and so on each in its appropriate division. Efforts are indeed making to overcome this separateness, but they have gone only a little way. The Modern School would from the first undertake the cultivation of contacts and cross-connections. Every exercise would be a spelling lesson: science, industry, and mathematics would be inseparable; science, industry, history, civics, literature, and geography would to some extent utilize the same material. These suggestions are in themselves not new and not wholly untried. What is lacking is a consistent, thoroughgoing, and fearless embodiment. For even the teachers who believe in modern education are so situated that either they cannot act, or they act under limitations that are fatal to effective effort.

In speaking of the course of study, I have dwelt wholly on content. Unquestionably, however, a curriculum revolutionized in content will be presented by methods altered to suit the spirit and aim of the instruction. For children will be taught merely in order that they may know or be able to do certain things that they do not now know and cannot now do, but material will be presented to them in ways that promote their proper development and growth—in liveliness and socially. For education is not only a matter of what people can do, but also of what they are.

In the preceding sketch I have made no distinction between the sexes. It is just as important for a girl as it is for a boy to be interested in the phenomenal world, to know how to observe, to infer, and to reason, to understand industrial, social, and political developments, to read good books, and to finish school by the age of twenty. Differentiation at one point or another may be suggested by experience; but in the vocational training alone can one assume in advance its necessity. The Modern School, with its strongly realistic emphasis, will undoubtedly not overlook woman's domestic role and family functions.

About

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

we are told:

If children are to be taught and trained with an eye to the realities of life and existence, the accessible world is the laboratory to be used for that purpose. Let us imagine a Modern School located in New York City; consider for a moment its assets for educational purpose: the harbor, the Metropolitan Museum, the Public Library, the Natural History Museum, the Zoological Garden, the city government, the Weather Bureau, the transportation systems, lectures, concerts, plays, and so on. Other communities may have less, but all have much. As things now are, children living in this rich and tingling environment get for the most part precisely the same education that they would be getting in let us say, Oshkosh or Keokuk. Again, the Modern School is as much interested in the child's body as in his mind.

It would, therefore, provide play-facilities, sports, and gymnastics. A study of the country day schools, now springing up, should tell us whether the Modern School should or should not seek to provide for the child's entire day. Some of this additional material, we already know pretty well how to organize and use; as for the rest, we shall have to find out.

Dr. Eliot advocates the following changes in the programs of American secondary schools:

The introduction of more hand, ear, and eye work—such as drawing, carpentry, turning, music, sewing, and cooking, and the giving of much more time to the sciences of observation—chemistry, physics, biology, and geography—not political but geological and ethnographical geography. These sciences should be taught in the most concrete manner possible—that is in laboratories with ample experimenting done by the individual pupil with his own eyes and hands, and in the field through the pupil's own observation guided by expert leaders. In secondary schools situated in the country the elements of agriculture should have an important place in the program, and the pupils should all work in the school gardens and experimental plots, both individually and in co-operation with others. In city schools a manual training should be given which would prepare a boy for any one of many different trades, not by familiarising him with the details of actual work in any trade, but by giving him an all-round bodily vigor, a nervous system capable of multiform co-ordinated efforts, a liking for doing his best in competition with mates, and a widely applicable skill of eye and hand. Again, music should be given a substantial place in the program of every secondary school, in order that all the pupils may learn musical notation, and may get much practice in reading music and in singing. Drawing, both freehand and mechanical, should be given ample time in every secondary school program, because it is an admirable mode of expression which supplements language and is often to be preferred to it, lies at the foundation of excellence in many arts and trades, affords simultaneously good training for both eye and hand, and gives much enjoyment throughout life to the possessor of even a moderate amount of skill.

Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, the distinguished Johns Hopkins pathologist and professor of medicine points out the mistaken methods in science teaching. Says he:

The memorising of a mass of facts is far less important than a well-rounded education in fundamental principles, a certain training in methods of investigation, and, above all, the acquisition of the scientific habit of mind. A student at graduation can never be a finished product. He is only a beginner in his subject. What we must do for him is to prepare him in such a way that he will know how to continue his studies for himself after graduation, and we must see to it that he will be capable of making growth himself parallel with the progress that his science makes.

The learned writer concludes by saying:

The Modern School would "discipline the mind" in the only way in which the mind can be effectively disciplined—by energizing it through the doing of real tasks. The formal difficulties which the Modern School discards are educationally inferior to the genuine difficulties involved in science, industry, liter-

ature, and politics; for formal problems are not apt to evoke prolonged and resourceful effort. It is, indeed, absurd to invent formal difficulties for the proffered purpose of discipline, when within the limits of science, industry, literature, and politics, real problems abound. Method can be best acquired, and stands the best chance of being acquired, if real issues are presented. Are problems any the less problems because a boy attacks them with intelligence and zest? He does not attack them because they are easy, nor does he shrink from them because they are hard. He attacks them, if he has been wisely trained, because they challenge his powers. And in this attack he gets what the conventional school so generally fails to give—the energizing of his faculties, and a directive clue as to where he will find a congenial and effective object in life.

The Modern School undertakes a large and free handling of the phenomenal world, appealing in due course to the observational, the imaginative, and the reasoning capacities of the child; and in precisely the same spirit and with equal emphasis, it will utilize art, literature, and music. Keeping always within reach of the child's genuine response should indeed make for, not against, the development of spiritual interests. Are science and such poetry as children can be brought to love more likely or less likely to stir the soul than formal grammar, algebra, or the literature selections that emanate from the people who supervise the college entrance examinations?

Fear does us little good. We can achieve nothing by being afraid; whereas men have achieved great things, by being the contrary. Nothing is more pernicious than implanting fear in young minds by suggesting to them the existence of imaginary bugbears. The fear thus implanted in the mind of a child is difficult to get over even when the child grows up. *The Spectator* has an interesting article entitled

The Infection of Fear

in which some light has been thrown on the psychology of fear. We read:

Fear is communicable like an infectious disease. Suggestion and imagination are as powerful as the most virulent bacillus to plant a disease. We have all read of the bound and blindfolded man who, having had a knife passed harmlessly across his throat, and hearing water dropping into a pail, died because he believed that he was bleeding to death. Many of us have listened to the noise of rats or mice or cracking furniture, or the gurgling of water in pipes, in the stillness of the night, and imagined it to be the footfall of a burglar. Among children fear is nearly always conveyed by suggestion. Children are proverbially afraid of darkness—"men fear death as children fear to go in the dark"—and yet few children are afraid of darkness as such. They are afraid because they have been told by foolish persons of ogres, and bad fairies, and ghosts, and cruel policemen who come at night for naughty children who cry. Boys have been known to work with a malignant success upon the fears of another boy till they wrecked his nerve. It was fun to them, but nearly mental death

to him. Make the abnormal appear the normal, and your standard is taken away and you yourself are lost. There is a well-known anecdote about a farmer who was induced to believe that his dog was a pig because every one whom he met on the road congratulated him on the fine appearance of the pig he was taking to market. Fainting, it has been said with as much truth as paradox, is infectious. Brain calls to brain in a packed crowd of sightseers on a sultry day; and when one woman faints, self-confidence diminishes at the signal on all sides.

So it is with fear. Most people can be talked into a state of fear. A railway carriage full of people has been thrown into alarm because some one suggested that the train was traveling at a reckless speed. The ordinary jolts from an indifferent permanent way seemed to be the perilous leaps of an engine that kept the rails more by good luck than good management. Fear has spread among the passengers in a steamship because some idiotic person suggested, when the ship slowed down in a mist, that the captain did not know where he was. The idiot in such a case has a touch of the criminal, because he can have no evidence for what he says, and because no useful purpose can be served by his remark even if he speaks on any evidence.

G. C. Whitworth contributes to the *Journal of the East India Association* for April an important article in which he shows how much there is in common between the two communities of

Hindus and Muhammadans

in origin, in practice and in interest.

Says the writer:

In the first place, the great bulk of Indian Muhammadans were originally Hindus, so that there is no initial antipathy of race between them. It may be urged that converts or perverts are specially antagonistic to their former faiths, but that argument hardly applies after the lapse of so many generations as are in case here. Again, there are in India Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindus. Such are the Pathans, the Mapillas, the Navaitas, the Sidis, and a certain number of emigrants from Arabia and Persia. But these, all told, are a small minority, and many of them have an admixture of Hindu blood in their veins.

Secondly, there are a great number of Hindu tribes or castes of whom a part has in the past accepted Islam, the rest of them remaining Hindus; and we find the two sections subsisting amicably side by side, though differing in religion and as to many customs. And there are, again, the castes or tribes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted Islam only in part, and to this day observe some Hindu elements and some Muhammadan elements of religion and custom.

The castes, a part of which has accepted Islam wholly, are thus enumerated:

Among the Rajputs we find several such clans: the Gautamas, the clan to which Buddha belonged; the Bhagelas, who have given their name to Bhagalkhand; the Bhattis, of which clan the ruler of

Jaisalmer is a member; and the Tomars, who were for a long time a ruling family at Delhi.

It is interesting to notice that the Jadubansis, who, as the race in which both Krishna and the Buddha were born, might be expected to be pre-eminently Hindu, have very largely embraced Islam.

There are Muhammadans also in the widely spread race of the Jats, to which belong many ruling families in Upper India.

The great pastoral tribe of the Ahirs of the United Provinces, Kathiawar and Khândesh, also has Muhammadan representatives. And so have the other cattle-keeping castes, the Gaulis and the Sabahis; also the Khatkis, or butchers.

Among the cultivating classes some few of the Kamboh of the Punjab, of the Makvanas of Gujarat, and many of the Rajbansis of the Koch tribe, have adopted Islam. The last-named were not converted from Hinduism, but some of the original Koch tribe adopted the one religion and some the other.

The Machhis are some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. So also are the Vaghairs, another fishing caste, on the coasts of Cutch and Kathiawar.

The Bhunjas, or grain-parchers; the Chhipas, Bhandharas, and Khombatris, who are dyers; the Kharadis, or turners; the Kumbars, or potters; the Salats, or stonemasons; the Kadias, or bricklayers; and the Chumaras, or limeburners, are similarly divided.

So of the trading Banjaras: the Panjigars, or starchers; the Ghanchis, or oil-pressers; the Maparas, who measure grain; the Kalacs, who distil and sell spirits; and the Pakhalis, or water-carriers.

Lastly, there are several castes or tribes who are by profession actors, dancers, singers, jugglers, buffoons, etc., parts of each of which have become Muhammadans. Such are the Nats, Garudis, Bhandis, Banjaranis, Chanthas, Baturupias, Bhavaias, Gandhraps, and Vadis.

Then there are "some castes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted some elements of Islam while retaining more or less of their original religion and practice, and present therefore a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism."

This list also may be headed by some of the Rajput clans; the Jadejas, who still rule in Cutch; the Bargujars of Rohilkhand; the Molesalams, represented by several thakors, or chieftains; the Sials, who used to rule at Jhang; the Samas of Sindh, and perhaps also the Osvals of Marwar, have all had more or less connection with Islam, and present some Hindu and some Musalman characteristics. The Molesalams, in dress and appearance, resemble Hindus, but they marry either among themselves or with Musalmans. The Jadejas have been converted. The Samas keep their Rajput names, but their ceremonies are mostly Muhammadan.

The Bishanavis consider themselves Hindu rather than Musalman, but add "Shaikh" to their Hindu name. They observe the ceremonies of both religions.

The Kharrals of the Punjab and the Nianas of Cutch both call themselves Musalmans, but both have many Hindu customs. The Kasbatis of Gujarat also call themselves Musalmans, but sometimes take Hindu wives. The Kamalias of Gujarat profess Islam but worship Balucharaji, and serve as musicians in her temple; while the Musaddis, who are

Muhammadian devotees, have adopted the prayer of Guru Nanak as their rule of faith. The Meos, of the Alwar region, are Muhammadan in name but retain their village gods and employ Brahmans as well as the Kazi. Some of the Kanbis of Gujarat were converted to Islam, and took the name of Matia, or believer, but, except that they bury their dead, their customs have remained Hindu.

The great trading classes of Khojas, Momnas and Memans, the first two of which are mostly Shiahs and the third Sunnis, have, as is well known, retained much of Hindu law and custom.

Some of the wilder tribes also, as the Tadvis and Nirdhis of Khandesh, have a mixed regard for the faith of Islam and certain Hindu deities.

Countless instances may be observed of Hindus and Musalmans acting together in full accord without any check arising from differences of religious opinion.

Some of the Mughal Emperors, as is well known, had Hindu as well as Musalman Queens. Inter-marriages between Rajputs and Musalmans were so common that we have the name Rangarkh to express the original issue of such marriages. The Kasbatus, as mentioned above, sometimes take Hindu wives, and the Molesalams, who are partly Hindu, may intermarry with Musalmans; and a recent Jam of Navanagar had a Musalman wife, and his son by her was declared and accepted as his successor.

Hindus held high office, both civil and military, under the Mughal Emperors, and recently the Muhammadan State of Hyderabad had Hindu Prime Ministers, and the Hindu State of Jaipur a Musalman Prime Minister. Baroda has had a Muhammadan Prime Minister and Chief Justice. Those great marauders, the Pindaris, were some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. In the Mutiny both communities took part, and Hindus fought in support of a Muhammadan dynasty, and Musalmans for a representative of the Peshwa.

The writer quotes instances of the two communities coming together in public meeting and of their joining hands to do honors to great Indians whether Hindu or Mahomedan.

There are societies of a philanthropic character which have both Hindu and Muhammadan members; the Seva Sadan has an Islamic branch; the Servants of India include some Musulmans; and some of the co-operative societies bring both communities together—so much so, it is said, that in one village the necessity of united action put an end to the frequently-recurring Muharram strife. There was a joint Hindu and Muhammadan Committee of the Indian South African League. There is an Indian Union Society in London to promote common interests.

There are joint clubs where Hindus and Muhammadans meet: the Orient in Bombay, the Lumsden in Amritsar, and I believe one such has recently been opened in Calcutta. There is also a joint ladies' club in Lahore. Not long ago the Punjab Association Club entertained the Punjab Muslim Club. I have myself dined at the Orient Club with a Hindu guest on one side of me and a Musalman on the other. What are called Cosmopolitan dinners are sometimes given, especially after social conferences; and recently at an Indian student's dinner at Cambridge a Musal-

man proposed the health of the Hindus and a Hindu that of the Muslims.

Hindus returned a Muhammadan representative to the Viceroy's Council for several years. The *Indian Patriot* a Hindu paper, recommended a Muhammadan as the first member of the Executive Council. In the Councils members support and oppose one another independently of religious tenets. So also of at least the Bombay Municipal Corporation; and a Musalman President of that body has been proposed by a Parsi and seconded by a Hindu.

In Lahore there is a "League of Help" with a Hindu Hon. Secretary and a Muhammadan Hon. Treasurer.

In Haidarabad (Nizam's) there was a meeting of women of all creeds, who assembled to give expression (in six different languages) to their sorrow at the death of Mr. Gokhale. The Muhammadan ladies, the report says, vied with the Hindus in eloquence on the subject. There was also a children's meeting in the same place, at which Hindu and Muhammadan boys acted together in a play written by a Hindu. And a poem by a young Muhammadan was recited on the same occasion.

Turning to some more expressly religious points of contact between Hindus and Musalmans the writer says:

Chaitanya, the great Bengal teacher of the sixteenth century, had some Musalmans among his followers; also that H. H. the Aga Khan has some Hindu followers—the Juvays certainly, if not others. Again, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, the supreme modern saint of the Hindus, got himself initiated by an Islamic saint into one of the deepest phases of Muhammadanism; and the present Guru of the great Sringeri monastery in Mysore has very friendly relations with the Muhammadans, receiving addresses from them and presenting them with shawls and other marks of honour. Musalmans also visit the Belur matha near Howrah on the occasion of the Paramahansa's birthday; and Bhai Baldev Narayan named as his masters Jamaluddin as well as Keshub Chandra Sen and Ramkrishna. Hindus also take part in the lighter side of some Muhammadan festivals, as the Muharram and the Shab-i-barat, and offer vows at Musalman shrines, as at Penkonda and Trichinopoly, and there exists somewhere in the Panch Mahals (at Champaner, if I remember right) a Muhammadan shrine actually on the top of a Hindu temple, with access to it only through the temple.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore on the Spirit of the Hindu Stage.

Writing in a recent number of the *Drama*, Sir Rabindranath Tagore gives in a cursory way a succinct description of the Hindu theatre, and incidentally claims superiority for the Hindu stage, with its lack of elaborate scenery. The Hindu stage is imaginative, the Western realistic. Sir Rabindranath 'speaks of how in Bharata's work on the drama—*Natya-shastra*—there is a description of the stage, but no mention of scenery. And the author of *Gitanjali* says that "this absence of

concrete scenery cannot have been much of a loss." He continues :

In spite of Wagner and his idea of the combined arts, it may be argued that any one of the arts is only to be seen in her full glory when she is sole mistress ; it hurts her dignity and degrades her if she is called upon to share her household with a rival,—the more so, if that rival happen to be the favourite of the moment. If we have to sing an epic, the tune needs to become a chant, and to give up all hopes of rising to melodic heights. The true poem furnishes its own music from within itself and rejects with disdain all outside help.....

It may seem that dramatic art must needs be less independent than other forms ; that the drama is created with the direct object in view of attaining its fulfillment by means of outside help, and therefore awaits the acting, scenery, music, and other accessories of the stage.

I cannot agree with this opinion. Like the true wife, who wants none other than her husband, the true poem, dramatic otherwise, wants none other than the understanding mind. We all act to our selves as we read a play ; and the play which cannot be sufficiently interpreted by such invisible acting, has never yet gained the laurel for its author.

So far as acting goes, it would be more correct to say that it has forlornly to wait the coming of the charms. But the drama, which cramps and curtails itself to fit in with the actor's skill, becomes, like the henpecked husband, an object of scorn. The attitude of the drama should be : "If I can be acted, well, and good ; if not, so much the worse for the acting".....

It is superfluous to state, for instance, that the actor is dependent on the words of the drama ; he must smile or weep, and make his audience smile or weep, with the words of joy or scorn which the author puts into his mouth. But why pictures,—pictures which hang about the actor, and are not, even in part, his own personal creation ?

To my mind, it shows only faint-heartedness on the actor's part to seek their help. The relief from responsibility which he gains by their illusion is one which is begged of the painter. Besides, it pays the spectators the very poor compliment of ascribing to them an utter poverty of imagination.

Sir Rabindranath deploras the innovation of the elaborate paraphernalia of Western stage-craft in India ; and he thus urges his countrymen to free the Indian theatre of this unnecessary incubus :

The theaters which we have set up in India to-day, in imitation of the West, are too elaborate to be brought to the door of all. In them the creative richness of the poet and the player is overshadowed by the mechanical wealth of the capitalist. If the Hindu spectator has not been too far infected with the greed for realism ; if the Hindu artist has any respect for his own craft and skill ; the best thing they can do for themselves is to regain their freedom by making a clean sweep of the costly rubbish that has accumulated and is clogging the stage of the present day.

Japan's Position in the World.

The Japan Magazine writes :

JAPAN AND THE WORLD.

In a recent article in the 'Taiyo' its distinguished editor, Dr. Ukita, outlines his opinions as to Japan's position in the world, and inclines to the conviction that her mission is of the future rather than of the past, a theory strangely inconsistent with a nation of ancestor-worshippers. Still, to him the theory seems perfectly logical, since a race with so matchless an ancestry may hope to attain to still greater things. Dr. Ukita holds that geographically and racially Japan has no rivals in her march toward supremacy in the Far East. While her neighbors are still dreaming under the glamor of their past, Japan has added western civilization and its methods to her own and is leaving the rest of the Orient far behind, having already taken first rank among the family of nations. While Japan is quite convinced of her superiority to other oriental races and of her capacity to teach and lead them, she is not so sure that western nations yet admit her claims. As Japan represents an amalgamation of all that is best in Hindu and Chinese civilization, the people of India and China naturally looked upon her with suspicion when she began to assume a western aspect as well : she was running with the hare as well as with the hounds, so to speak. But Japan has persisted in her policy, reorganizing her internal administration, improving her diplomatic relations and winning two great wars, until now she commands the attention of the world.

ORIENTAL CONSERVATISM.

One of Japan's most difficult tasks is to get the other oriental nations to break through their crust of conservatism and follow her. Since her rapid development has greatly arrested western aggrandisement in the East, she is naturally mistrusted also by occidentals, and even some orientals fear that her hegemony of the Orient may expose them to the fate of Korea. This suspicion of Japan entertained by India, China and western nations renders her position as yet somewhat unstable. Though Japan regards herself as the interior of no race and nation on earth, western nations are prone to esteem her as no higher than other oriental nations, while they think her racial genius as well as her religion and civilization too divergent for assimilation with the West. Curiously enough, in spite of her devotion to modern science, Japan still worships tribal gods and deifies her ruler in a manner so anomalous as to puzzle Europe. The religious rites practised in Japan find no counterpart in the West this side of the sacrifices to the gods of Greece in the time of Socrates or in the Roman apotheosis of the Cæsars. That a modern nation should still cling to the religious conceptions of ancient Greece and Rome, must leave Japan a mystery to western Powers. Neither Britons nor Americans have any great love for Japan, and naturally treat Japanese subjects with discrimination, while Germany fosters the idea of the "Yellow peril," which she originated. The aversion of foreigners to Japan, cannot, in the opinion of Dr. Ukita, be removed by stories of Japan's brilliant past and theories of her still greater future. Japan must rely on herself and forge her destiny in spite of criticism and opposition.

India and Japan

The following address was given by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a large and enthusiastic audience on the evening of June 1st at the Public Hall at Tennoji, Osaka. The moment he began to speak the audience was carried away by the beautiful and sonorous melody of his voice. The address elicited repeated cheers and acclamations. The report is taken from the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* of June 3, 1916.

It has come to me as a delightful surprise to be received with such overwhelming warmth of welcome as has fallen to my lot since my arrival in your country. I had a dismal idea that poetry could have very little expectation from young nations who have to compete with others having a longer start and a more hardened conscience, who have to make up for their lost time for having come late in the arena of the modern age, the age of commercial scramblings and political piracies. Surely Natural Selection has a vigorous contempt for all poets, who are born neither with the protective convenience of a tough skin nor with the canine teeth of formidable ferocity. The traditional harps of the poets are an encumbrance in the race of life, and Struggle for Existence runs its course triumphantly trampling upon rhymes and rhythms under its ruthless feet.

Therefore it was a great relief to me to be treated in a manner that convinced me that your hearts still have room for the green of the earth and the blue of the sky—and your cherry blossoms will still have their chance in their competition with shrill machines and brand new inventions of iron age of the corrugated iron sheds, gramophones and cinematograph shows.

From my young days, my thoughts have constantly twined to Japan. And since, in later years, I have witnessed the wonderful rise to eminence in Asia of your great nation, it has been one of my special desires to visit Japan, where the east and the west found their meeting place and carried on their courtship far enough to give assurance of a wedding. It was my desire to know where and how Japan's Past found its affinity in its Present, and where lies the secret of her power which has the flexibility of a tempered steel blade which bends but does not break and whose strokes are all the more sure for being adaptable to new circumstances.

When my thoughts went back to Japan in earlier days, it was to remember those times when the Buddhist monks, starting from my country, crossed over the high mountains, traversed the great upland plains, and passed over the mighty rivers of China, till they reached the sea. They encountered difficulties, not only of climate and geography, but also of language and custom. Yet they went forward, strong in their belief in man's fellowship; and they proved the truth of their belief in living deeds. In their case, therefore, while the outward difficulties were so great, the inward path was made straight before them by the enthusiasm of their faith and the devotion to those truths of life, which they had discovered and explored. When those who had learnt the message from them reached at last the shores of Japan, their ideals found a home among your people.

I could not help contrasting the almost insurmountable difficulties, which these earliest pilgrims

from our shores must have encountered, with the ease and comfort in which I have just been able to accomplish my journey. What must have taken many years in those earlier days can now be completed in less than a month. Yet this modern civilisation with all its mechanical appliances for making life comfortable and progress rapid on the outside, has become itself a barrier in its turn with regard to the inner spirit of man, because it has made our life so intricate that it has lost its transparency of simplicity. Our things are more in evidence than ourselves. Our engagements are too numerous, our amusements are too frequent. The surface scum of life has become thick and muddy. All the odds and ends, the vast waste materials of civilisation floating about it, have created a growing barrier, not only shutting out our deeper nature but smothering it to a great extent. Exhibition of man's nature has taken its place on the surface, where his richness is in his materials, his strength in his organisation, his heroism in his ambitious undertakings, his mind in his science. Man's heart is squandering its strength in its craving for the drain drinking of sensationism,—pitifully asking for its continual doses of fresh news and fresh noise,—loosing its healthy taste for food in its insatiable thirst for stimulants. It is the stupendous unreality of this modern civilisation, always changing its shapes and shifting its course, furiously riding upon the dust storm of unmeaning restlessness, scattering about it in the wind shreds of things torn and mangled, decaying and dead,—all this is making the real man invisible to himself or to others. In the days of heroic simplicity, it was easy to come near to the real man, but in the modern times it is the phantasm of the giant time itself, which is everywhere and the man is lost beyond recognition, and while the means of communication are multiplying fast the communication itself is diminishing in its reality.

The whirlwind of modern civilisation has caught Japan as it has caught the rest of the world, and a stranger like myself cannot help feeling on landing in your country that what I see before me is the temple of modern age where before the brazen images an immense amount of sacrifice is offered and an interminable round of ritualism is performed. But this is not Japan. Its features are the same as they are in London, in Paris, in Berlin, or the manufacturing centres of America. Also the men you meet here for the first time have the same signs of the push and the pull of the rotating machine wheels of the present age. They jostle you, they drag you on with the rush of the crowd, they rapidly take note of your exteriors and offer their exteriors to be taken in snapshots. They have the curiosity for the superficial details, but not love for the real person. They are satisfied with the unessentials, because these can be gathered easily and got rid of as soon, these can be handled and soiled and swept away in the dust bin with as little loss of time as possible. For everything must make room for the next ephemera, the shock of the sensations has to be carried on and the men who have no time to lose must be amused in a hurry. They try to break chips off the permanent for making playthings for the temporary. At the first sight what you see most in this land is the professional, and not the human.

These are the drawbacks of the present time. And the obstacles that I shall have to surmount in order to come near to the heart of your country are far more difficult than those which our ancestors had to deal with in their communication with you. For

it was only the barrier of nature, which stood in their way. But now man has to be reached through the barrier of time, and not space, and this is the most difficult task to perform. But I must not lose heart. I must seek and find what is true in this land,—true to the soul of the people,—what is Japan, what is unique, and not merely mask of the time which is monotonously the same in all latitudes and longitudes. I earnestly hope that I shall not have to be satisfied with bird's eye views and flashlight impres-

sions, with snapshot pictures of all that hides you from view, and I shall claim my privilege as a poet, whose only gift of sympathy and love, to be allowed entrance into a corner of your living heart, and to carry away your love with me to the land which can justly feel proud of herself for being able to send to you as her gift in the past, not machines, not munitions of war, but her best that she could offer to all unity.

NOTES

Home Rule for India.

The greatest issue before the Indian public is Home Rule. Even in countries where universal and compulsory education is the rule and where the expression of opinion is free, the ideal of the most advanced thinkers is generally considered the national ideal. In India, it has been often urged as an objection against the acceptance of any political demand as the demand of the public that the voiceless millions have not expressed themselves in favour of it. But have they expressed themselves against it? Just as the leading men of other countries are the spokesmen of their fellow-countrymen, so are the leaders of India the spokesmen of the Indian people. By the leaders of India we mean the intellectual leaders. There are some prominent Indians who say and write what pleases the bureaucrats. They are not our leaders. They are gramophones playing to the bureaucracy.

As to our fitness for self-rule, our answer is that we are sufficiently fit to be able to make any experiment in that direction reasonably successful. No nation has yet proved itself perfectly fit for self-rule; every nation has made grave blunders. We have answered in our last February number the main objections urged against Indian Home Rule. Our reply need not be repeated now.

There are two kinds of fitness: the fitness to have and exercise a right, and the fitness to win it. The first kind of fitness can be proved by facts and arguments. This we have done. The second kind can be proved only by the logic of achievement, that is, by winning Home Rule. Let us prepare

ourselves to prove our fitness in this way, too; let us win self-rule by constitutional means. But we should bear in mind that constitutional agitation is not all plain-sailing. It involves sacrifice and suffering, as history shows.

Every intelligent man, literate or illiterate, naturally accepts the ideal of Home Rule when it is properly explained to him. There can be no other ideal for any intelligent and self-respecting person. Every one who is at all capable of even rudimentary political thinking must have a vague feeling that it is *the* thing. The task before our leaders is to convert this vague feeling into reasoned conviction. In other words, a Home Rule propaganda is required.

Mrs. Annie Besant has started such a propaganda in the Madras Presidency and in England. In the Deccan a Home Rule League has been established, which is making its views and arguments known through the *Mahratta* and by other means. Of course, as the Home Rule ideal means self-rule for India within the British Empire, the methods adopted everywhere are strictly constitutional.

During Christmas week last year, some publicists and others expressed the opinion that the Congress organisation, such as it is, would suffice for a self-rule propaganda, and that, therefore, a separate Home Rule League would not be necessary. Seven months have passed since then, without any congress committee making any appreciable effort in the direction required. The case, therefore, for the establishment of a Pan-Indian Home Rule League seems unanswerable.

In addition to a vigorous, active and strictly constitutional self-rule propa-

ganda, there should be a clear, unequivocal demand made by the next President of the Indian National Congress that India should have self-rule when the war is over. On this occasion our spokesman should be an Indian, and he should be pronounced, out and out Home Ruler. It is by our own strength, courage, sacrifice and sufferings that we can have the right of self-rule. We must, therefore, make the demand through an Indian spokesman. There should be as little reason as possible for our opponents to say that the demand for self-rule is not an indigenous demand.

The Congress is a non-sectarian, non-racial organisation. All religions and races are represented in it. But as Moslems have also a separate organisation of their own, the Moslem Leaguers should also elect a declared Home Ruler for their next president.

"A Mischievous Movement."

The Times of London has promptly paid the Indian Home Rule League in England the compliment of discussing the movement in its leading columns and calling it a "mischievous movement." There was a time when the Irish Home Rule movement was also, no doubt, spoken of as a dangerous movement; but it has since been found, though rather late, that it possessed mischief-preventing properties, of which the British Cabinet did not avail themselves early enough to prevent bloodshed, destruction of property, and deep-seated resentment and bitterness of feeling. What was once labelled "Poison" is now labelled "Panacea."

Constitutions are said to differ; what is one man's physic is said to be sometimes another man's poison. What would cure our ills might not suit those whom the *Times* represents.

The Times is also pleased to designate the Indian Home Rule League in London an obscure organisation. Why then trouble about it, if it be obscure and contemptible? It is just like the contempt which typical Anglo-Indians feel for Bengalis;—they despise us so much that they can never forget our presence.

The Bombay Government and Mrs. Besant.

In the opinion of the Governor of Bombay in Council, there being "reasonable grounds for believing that Mrs. Annie

Besant has acted and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety," the said Governor-in-Council has been "pleased to direct that the said Mrs. Besant shall not enter and shall not reside or remain in the Province of Bombay pending the further orders of Government."

It has not yet been made illegal to hold and express opinions different from those held by Governors-in-Council. It is therefore permissible to say that we do not believe that Mrs. Besant had acted and was about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. As the reasonable grounds referred to in the order served upon Mrs. Besant have not been and will not be mentioned, it is needless to speculate whether a knowledge of them, taking it for granted that they exist, might or might not change our opinion.

The order has been passed in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 3 of the Defence of India (consolidation) Rules; and that rule was framed in pursuance of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1915, which was a piece of emergency legislation said to have been necessitated by the war. In the course of the speech which Sir Reginald Craddock made in introducing the bill, he said:

"Apart from the military interests involved, it indicates nothing more than that there are in some parts of the country sporadic manifestations of disorder which require to be nipped in the bud lest they should grow and spread."

Mrs. Besant has been enthusiastic in her loyalty to the British throne, has personally contributed to the War Fund, has been the means of securing other contributions to it, has always supported the cause of the Allies, has from the very commencement of the war attacked the Germans in speech and writing with a vehemence which even some of her followers considered incompatible with the principle of universal brotherhood held by the Theosophical Society of which she is the president, and has persistently exposed the mischievous and dangerous character of the German Missions conducting schools and industries, sometimes with the aid of grants from Government. As regards her general politics, she has from long before the beginning of the war consistently denounced all methods of violence, and was in her zeal once misled to imply that the whole student population of Bengal was infected with the taint of political dacoity. One is,

e, left to infer that it is her home rule propaganda which is only considered prejudicial to public safety. This is probable. For the views of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and of the *London Times* often coincide, and the latter has already pronounced the home rule movement mischievous. We, however, hold that this movement is calculated to prevent mischief and do good to and strengthen the body politic. We have not the least doubt that history will prove our opinion to be correct.

The action of the Bombay Government may produce one good result. God overrules man's purposes, and makes even human bunglings bear good fruit. The Press Act of 1910 was meant to cope with anarchical crimes and incitements thereto, but has been enforced against many newspapers which were in no way guilty in this respect. But, for the most part, their proprietors, editors, and publishers were not much known to fame. The arbitrary application of the law did not, therefore, in their case, attract much attention. But when security was demanded under the Act from Mrs. Besant, who was not an obscure person, an agitation was set up all over the country, whose waves will perhaps reach the shores of England, too. Similarly, the Defence of India Act has led to the internment of more than two hundred persons in Bengal alone and of several others elsewhere. More than 20 persons have been deported from Bengal. But does anybody know their names even? Has any Member of Council tried to know? The liberty of the most obscure person is as necessary for the welfare of a country, and as precious to the person concerned as the liberty of the most famous. But the internment and deportation of so many persons has not created much stir in the country outside Bengal. And even in Bengal, there is nothing like the agitation caused by the deportation years ago of Messrs. Krishnakumar Mitra, Aswinikumar Datta and others. Now that the Defence of India Act has affected the freedom of movement of Mrs. Besant, who is known all over the world, the manner in which the Act is being wrongly enforced may be brought home to the public here, and in England to a slight extent. Not that this will produce any immediate good directly or indirectly. But publicity has a value of its own. As sunlight and the open air destroy disease germs, so publicity silently and impercep-

tibly destroys the evils which particular systems of administration directly or indirectly produce.

Is an Internment an Ordinary Criminal Case?

Recently some interned persons having failed to obtain any relief, made a representation to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, who informed them that as it was an ordinary criminal case Government would not interfere. An application was thereupon made on their behalf to the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Justice Chaudhuri in his judgment held that the case was not an ordinary criminal case at all, and that therefore the court had no jurisdiction. Thus have the aggrieved parties been driven from post to pillar without any redress. The view of the Bengal Government does not seem to be correct. In an ordinary criminal case, the accused party is tried in a law court, and knows the charge brought against him, which has to be proved by the prosecution. In the case of internments no such procedure is followed. As the law courts can give no redress, Government ought to consider each application very carefully.

The public belief is that the police have been given a *carte blanche*, which is undesirable. The police very often act upon the statements of spies and informers, who are generally drawn from the dregs of society as regards intellectual equipment or character, or both. Failure to detect the real offenders leads to indiscriminate arrests and the harassment of innocent men. This is not surprising. Irresponsible power is liable to abuse, whatever the character and intellectual capacity of its repositories may be. Such abuse of power provokes resentment. It is possible that many of the outrages spoken of as political are merely crimes of revenge. While, therefore, crimes, whatever their origin, have to be punished, a serious effort should be made to prevent unnecessary and unjustifiable arrests and the harassment of the innocent. Among police officials there are just and honest men, but many police men are really criminals whom only their place in the service shields from condign punishment.

In the situation created by the inability of interned persons to obtain relief from either Government or the High Court, one cannot but reflect upon the tragic

aspect of these cases. To the executive and the police the interned persons are only suspects. But many, if not all, of them are innocent, and they have their mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, many of whom feel helpless in the absence of the breadwinner and protector of the family. The uncertainty of their fate adds to the pain of separation.

The tears shed by women and children for their innocent relatives are corrosive.

The "how much" of Coercion.

In the quinine treatment of malaria, very small doses do not produce any beneficial results, they only make the parasites accustomed to quinine; to effect a cure sufficient doses of the bitter drug must be given. But if excessive doses are used, they in their turn do harm to the human constitution by producing new maladies, often worse than the original one.

Such is the case with coercion. Guizot says in his *Civilization in Europe*, that though there will never be any way of completely avoiding the use of force by governments, "the more the government dispenses with coercion, the more faithful it is to its true nature, the better it fulfils its missions.....Those governments which make the greatest use of coercion, succeed not nearly so well as those which employ it scarcely at all."

The difficulty lies in determining the "how much" of coercion. When a dose of quinine proves ineffectual, it is increased, but the good physician avoids overmedication. Anglo-Indian journalists and bureaucrats in sympathy with them are for continually increasing the doses of coercion and repression. But the excessive use of this remedy may injure the body politic in the same way as excessive doses of medicine do harm to the human body. There is, moreover, always a chance of a remedy producing a disease worse than the one it was meant to cure.

The good doctor does not prescribe medicine alone. He also feeds the body with proper diet, so that it may be strong enough to resist the attacks of disease germs. There is the bitter physic of repression, coercion, &c.; but where are those civic ideals and rights which alone can make the Indian body politic strong and capable of resisting undesirable influences?

When people get attacks of malarious fever, they have to be placed under medical

treatment. But better far is the eradication of malaria. This has been achieved by many civilized governments by the improvement of the sanitary condition of insanitary areas and other means. Similarly, in politics, the remedy which goes to the root of the matter lies in improving the political and economic condition of the country, making it thereby impossible for morbid political germs to find a fertile soil.

The greatest difficulty is felt by most bureaucrats in believing that the lessons of history are applicable in India, that Indian nature is human, not sub-human, and that Indians are not contemptible. We should be grateful if they could tell us how we could help them to get the better of their sceptical disposition.

The Allahabad Eleven.

The eleven commissioners who have resigned their seats in the Allahabad municipal corporation have done what was only proper and becoming. No one ought to continue in any position which in his opinion involves loss of self-respect. The new U. P. municipal legislation has treated the great Hindu majority as a contemptible entity or non-entity. And the new Act is evidently being worked in a way which is still more irritating; for we find among the eleven gentlemen who have resigned Pandit Motilal Nehru, who supported the Jahangirabad amendment giving Musalmans separate and excessive representation. Bureaucrats will find consolation in the fact that there will be enough Hindu candidates for the places vacated. The want of self-respect and political solidarity is at once our shame and our misfortune. But that is no reason why patriotic men should not choose the path of manliness and self-respect, and persevere in it.

The Allahabad Hindu public, headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, have done their duty by their representatives by supporting their action in a public meeting. Their resolution to persevere in the agitation against the new law is also right. For, whatever the result, one ought to see things through. There should be no resting until all the resources of constitutional agitation have been exhausted.

But care should be taken all the while to eschew all partisan bitterness in thought, word and deed, keeping in view the ideal of Indian unity.

A Faculty and College of Commerce for Calcutta.

The most important industry of Bengal is jute, and that is entirely in the hands of Anglo-Indians. This is very discreditable to Bengalis. Bombay's biggest industry is cotton; but it is not an Anglo-Indian monopoly. So far as indigenous industrial and commercial enterprise is concerned, Bombay is far ahead of Calcutta. It was only to be expected, therefore, that the University of Bombay should be more modern and go-ahead in recognising Commerce than the University of Calcutta. Bombay has a Faculty and a College of Commerce. There is no reason why Calcutta should not teach commerce. As great an aptitude for industrial and commercial pursuits may be developed in us as in any other people. It is within living memory that the Japanese have become famous for their commercial enterprise. Till very recent years, commerce was looked down upon in Japan, and fighting was considered the only honorable profession for those who were not priests.

Should the Calcutta University institute a Faculty of Commerce, care should be taken to see that commercial education be not taken to be practically identical with type-writing and book-keeping.

Disbanding of the Bengal Ambulance Corps.

In his article on the Japanese Press in the present number Mr. Lajpat Rai refers to the lack of journalistic enterprise in India so far as the indigenous press is concerned. A recent illustration of this deficiency is to be found in the fact that though the Bengal Ambulance Corps was disbanded in Calcutta on the 30th June last and the members told to go home, this piece of very important news was not published in any Calcutta daily for several days. It first saw the light of day in the vernacular weekly *Sanjibani*, whose paragraph was translated in the columns of an Anglo-Indian daily; and then the indigenous English dailies made their comments. Was this lack of enterprise or something else?

Whatever it might be, the fact remains that the second Bengal Ambulance Corps, consisting, we believe, of more than 80 young men, was disbanded on the 30th June. The reason for this step, as published in the papers, is that Government had written

or telegraphed to the Ambulance Committee that the corps would have to act as dooli-bearers and camp-followers; but should the Committee not accept this condition, the corps should be disbanded. The Committee could not see their way to accept this condition, and so disbanded the corps. As all this has so far remained uncontradicted, this version may be taken to represent the truth, at least in part. The whole truth may be known if the Committee publish the whole correspondence, which they ought to do, if they are at all mindful of their duty to the public, to the young men who enlisted themselves and to their guardians.

The Committee's decision cannot be found fault with. The corps was constituted at the instance and with the knowledge and consent of Government, for ambulance work. It would not have been proper for the Committee to compel the young men who had volunteered for one kind of duty to do a different kind of work.

Of course, any kind of honest work is honourable, be it that of sweepers, scavengers, grooms, scullions or dooli-bearers. But the young men who volunteered to do ambulance work belonged to the class of gentlemen, who by the custom of the country are not habituated to work of these descriptions and may consider them derogatory. Besides, there is another consideration to be kept in view. If an English gentleman has to do menial work for the army, he may do it cheerfully, knowing that men of his race, including himself, are entitled to become field-m Marshals also. But an Indian gentleman, particularly if he belongs to a class or province which may not furnish even privates to the army, may not feel greatly honoured if he be told that he may go to the front only as a dooli-bearer or a camp-follower.

We do not know why and under what circumstances Government, having promised to accept volunteers for ambulance work, felt compelled not to keep that promise. It cannot be that there was no need of an ambulance corps. It has been freely mentioned in the House of Commons that the medical arrangements in Mesopotamia left much room for improvement. Government wanted the corps. It cannot be that the first corps sent to the field were found unsatisfactory. For their work has received high praise from the military authorities.

Moreover, "the list of names of officers and men under General Townshend brought to notice for gallant and distinguished service in the field, from October 5th to January 17th, 1916, includes the following names of the Bengal Ambulance Corps :—Havildar A. Champati, Private Mathao Jacob, Private Lalit Mohan Banerji." The corps consisted of 66 men. For 4 out of 66 to be brought to notice for gallant and distinguished service is a good record.

"Fresh Troops from India."

Under the above heading the *Review of Reviews* writes :—

Col. Churchill pertinently asked in the House of Commons on May 23 "What was there to prevent us from raising ten or 12 new Indian Divisions?" He emphasized that "not to make full and proper use of our Indian resources was a wrong to India and to Europe." That is precisely what we have been contending. India's man-power is far in excess of that of all the rest of the Empire put together. The Rajas of India have been most liberal in monetary contributions. If the main difficulty is the lack of officers with a knowledge of Indian dialects, give commissions to Indians, and the grant of this birth-right would make them rally to our flag with fresh enthusiasm.

To this we may add, in the words of Colonel Yate, "Nepalese troops were serving in India under their own officers at the present time." Why cannot other Indian troops have officers of their own race? Another objection brought forward against Col. Churchill's proposal is that the training of Indian soldiers would take time. But does it take no time to turn raw English recruits into trained soldiers? Do they go straight from the farm, the shop and factory to the trenches? When at the commencement of the war Bengal volunteered to furnish a few soldiers, the same nonsensical argument was used. Other offers came at that time from provinces which have not enjoyed the distinction of being labelled cowardly, which Bengal has. If these offers had been accepted there would have been enough new and perfectly trained soldiers in Mesopotamia to prevent mishap and a set-back.

Even so late as the 24th July last Reuter telegraphed from London that Mr. Lloyd George, "referring to the further utilisation of the man power of the Empire, said that the whole question must be reviewed. He did not doubt that action would be taken shortly. The French had used their man-power to the largest extent, and there

was no reason why we should not follow their example."

On the 25th July "in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law said the Government was carefully considering the question of the recruitment and training of native troops in East, West and Central Africa. Steps were being taken to make the best military use of the natives of tropical Africa." Will not these new English and African troops require time for training.

In reply to another objection, of Mr. Tennant's, Colonel Yate pointed out in the House of Commons that the Germans could not look upon the employment of black troops by France as an indication that that country was coming to the end of her resources. "The French had employed Algerians, Moroccans, and Senegalese troops with conspicuous success. As for our Indian troops, all acknowledged the spirit which they had displayed. The 70,000 men who came over at the beginning of the War had never seen snow before, yet they went through the whole winter in Flanders, often up to their knees in snow, and exposed to cold and rain, and in spite of all these disadvantages, they had delighted everyone by their splendid heroism, and thoroughly deserved the tribute paid to them by Sir Douglas Haig in his latest despatch. The way in which the chiefs of India sent their troops had been magnificent, and the behaviour of the men in East Africa, Mesopotamia, and France had proved how the Indian soldier could fight."

In course of his reply to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Tennant also said that "with regard to India, it was a mistake to run away with the idea that the whole population of 315 millions could be drawn upon for the creation of soldiers. Of course, that was not the case at all." Of course women, children, old men, invalids, &c., must be exempted from service. But the division of the various provincials of India into military and non-military, is absurd, unreasonable and without precedent in any other country. In British India provinces and classes which at one time furnished troops to the British Indian army are no longer drawn upon: e.g., Behar, the Northern Circars, Bengal, the Malabar Coast, &c. Russia, like India, is inhabited by various races, professing different creeds. None of them are under any military

disability. The disability under which Jews laboured has been done away with. In India, too, there should not be any disability imposed upon any province, race, or caste. As General Jacob has observed :

"Men should be enlisted with reference to individual qualifications only. Any race, tribe, or caste, the individuals of which possessed high personal qualifications, would necessarily predominate over the others, but not by reason of race, tribe or caste, but simply on account of their personal and individual qualifications. This cannot, I think, be too much insisted on, or too frequently kept in view." P. 78 of "*Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India*," presented to both houses of parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859.

Mr. Tennant's Reply to Mr. Churchill ended with the following words :—

There was another aspect of the question. If they were going to convert large numbers of natives into warriors and large blocks of territories into armed camps, it would open up a vista of considerable difficulty for statesmen who would have in the future to govern those countries.

Arguments are of no avail when statesmen are in this distrustful mood. Still a few words may not be amiss. The April number of the *War League Journal* gives the following figures for the armies of Great Britain and the allies :—

Russia	150,00,000 men.
France	60,00,000 "
British Empire	50,00,000 "
Italy	45,00,000 "
Japan	30,00,000 "
Belgium	10,00,000 "
Serbia	5,00,000 "
Portugal	4,00,000 "

The British Empire is by far the largest of the States mentioned here. Its population is 417 millions. That of Russia, with its provinces and dependencies, is only 128 millions. That of France and her colonies and dependencies is smaller still, only 86 millions. The white population of the Russian Empire is, no doubt, greater than that of the British Empire, but that of France is less. The armies of Russia and France are larger than that of Great Britain because the two former states make greater use of the fighting capacity of their non-European and non-Christian inhabitants. If Russia and France do not apprehend any danger from the employment of non-European and non-Christian troops to the extent that they are used, why cannot Mr. Tennant give up his fears and his suspicions? It is a good sign that men like Colonels Churchill and Yates are not so suspicious.

There was a time, when British rule had

not been firmly established in India, when Mr. Tennant's way of thinking had perhaps greater justification. For instance, the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of India, wrote in his *Private Journal* on the 24th February, 1815, after visiting Agra Fort :

"The first sensation I felt in passing through its tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing do not belong to the class of inhabitants now seen in these regions. So true it is that the character of a sovereign imparts itself speedily to all whom he sways. As long as the Mussulman Emperors preserved their individual energy, the people over whom they ruled were capable of proud and dignified exertions.....The higher classes, in fact, became rapidly vitiated and effeminate; not so the lower orders. These lost, indeed, a sense of national pride....; but the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial. In truth the Mussulman part of the population must have felt itself as at all times living only under an armed truce amid the more numerous Hindus. Thence the attachment to the sabre has been maintained, and this disposition in the Mussulman has caused the Hindu to habituate himself to arms in self-defence. This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance. Such was not the case when their forefathers built this fort. The help contributed by the multitude in raising it has not been mere bodily labour. The execution of every part of it indicates workmen conversant with the principles and best practice of their art."—"The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings". Reprinted by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

It may be presumed from Colonel Churchill's speech that in his opinion the time has come when it is no longer necessary to apprehend danger from a combination of "the manly spirit" with "scope of mind." It cannot, of course, be known how many British statesmen share Mr. Churchill's and how many Mr. Tennant's sentiments. It would be good for the Empire and for India if an effective majority of them saw no harm in giving to those classes of the Indian people who had "scope of mind" opportunities for developing and keeping up "the manly spirit" and to those classes who had "the manly spirit," opportunities for acquiring "scope of mind." The Bengal Ambulance Corps which served in Mesopotamia had an opportunity of this description and an outlet for the adventurous spirit; its second batch, which has been disbanded,

has just missed having such an opportunity and outlet.

The Extent of Student Criminality.

The police and Anglo-Indian journals have a theory that all or almost all dacoits, motor bandits and political assassins are students and belong to the *bhadralok* class. This theory requires to be tested in the light of facts. All young men are not students, nor should anybody be styled a student simply because he was at school or college at some period of his life. A student is one whose name is actually to be found in the latest register of an educational institution and who attends its classes. All men who wear spectacles, dress well or can use a few English words do not belong to the class of gentry. It is necessary to prepare a list of all men who have been punished for the kind of crimes referred to above mentioning their occupation and social position. So long as this is not done, the blackening of the name of students and their harassment must be considered unjustifiable. A few black sheep among them cannot justify such treatment. It must be shown that a very large proportion of crimes is committed by them. Will some member of council move for such a list as we have suggested?

The native village, town or district of the criminals should also be put down in the list. For it is now the fashion for certain Anglo-Indian journals to defame East Bengal students as a class. It is probable that these defamatory statements have already done some harm to them. For we hear that this session the Presidency College has admitted a much smaller proportion of East Bengal students than usual, and that consequently the Eden Hindu Hostel has many "seats" vacant. We have no means of testing the correctness of this rumour. Will some member of council put a question and ascertain whether East Bengal students have been placed under a partial ban by the Presidency College? As East Bengal people pay taxes, they should have the advantage of the best equipped college in the province.

Doubling College Hours.

It is well-known that there are more young men desirous of receiving high education than the existing colleges can make room for. The establishment of new colleges has become very difficult, almost im-

possible. Classes may, no doubt, be divided into sections each containing a maximum of 150 students. Yet class-rooms are not unlimited in number, and it requires money to acquire land and build new class-rooms. Capital, however, is what our colleges do not possess. There is a way out of the difficulty which ought to be taken advantage of. By immemorial custom our indigenous educational institutions held and still hold their classes for some hours before midday and for some hours in the afternoon. Our colleges may revert to this method. Some sections of a class may be held in the morning and some after midday. They need only increase the number of professors. This would not be difficult to do. There are enough qualified men to be had, and the fees paid by the additional number of students would suffice for the salary of the new professors. In some subjects new professors would not be required. The existing staff will agree to work for extra hours for extra pay.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

We tender our respectful congratulations to our distinguished and patriotic countryman Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak on his completing the sixtieth year of his eventful life, which he did on the 20th July last. We wish him many more years of devoted service to the Motherland. A purse of a lakh of rupees has been presented to him on the occasion by his friends and admirers. He has accepted the amount, not for personal use, but for national work to be done in a constitutional way. Nothing less could be expected of him.

Mr. Tilak has suffered much for his country. But he is a strong man, and has borne his trials like a man. A new trial awaits him. On his birth-day, a Bombay police officer served a notice on him to show cause why he should not be bound down to be of good behaviour for one year. His offence, it is alleged, consisted in disseminating sedition orally. The securities required amount to Rs. 40,000.

Mr. Tilak had intended to proceed to England, with his lawyer and friend Mr. Daji Abaji Khare to look after the conduct of the law-suit which he has instituted against Sir Valentine Chirol for libel. The Government of Bombay has refused him a pass-port. The reasons, of course, are not known.

In congratulating or praising a man

who is not in the good books of men in power, it is the fashion to say that though we do not see eye to eye with him in all matters, yet there are many good points in his career or character, etc. Why, for that matter, there is nobody on earth, and there never was any, with whom we agree on all points; we do not see eye to eye even with our own selves of the year 1915 or even of yesterday.

Government of India Act Amendment Bill.

At the great representative meeting held in Bombay to protest against the Government of India (Consolidation) Act Amendment Bill, this piece of new legislation was subjected to criticism in all its aspects and bearings, though the main note still seemed to echo the cry of the Anglo-Indian merchants, who are affected only by the anticipated loss of the right to sue the Secretary of State in certain cases and contingencies. Not that the loss of this right would be slight or negligible. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar very ably showed that to be able to sue the king was an immemorial right in India. It was not lost under her Mahomedan rulers, and has been enjoyed up till now. The executive and the police are for all practical purposes safe from the operations of the criminal laws. If they or the Secretary of State cannot be sued for what they do, in civil courts, every one of them would under certain circumstances practically become an irresponsible autocrat beyond the reach of the laws of the land.

But great though the loss of the right to sue the Secretary of State would be, there are other provisions of the Bill which may practically affect our status at least to an equal extent. The military bearings of clause 3 have not received the attention that they deserve. As we have discussed the question in all its aspects in our article on "Outsiders as Public Servants in British India" in the June number, we shall not repeat the arguments and information contained therein. We are glad to note that Mr. N. M. Samarth made good use of them in his speech at the Bombay meeting. As there are many cities, including Calcutta, the quondam capital of India, which have still to hold their protest meetings, our article may be read with advantage. The information given there would not be found in any other newspaper or perio-

dical, or in any ordinary public library in India.

Should the Bill become law, one of its probable or possible effects might be the garrisoning of India by Asiatic mercenaries who are not British Indian subjects or even Indians. 'This might not happen, but it also *might* happen.' Should it happen, it would mean for us British Indian subjects, a double dose of subjection, instead of the extension of the right to enter the army to all provinces of British India for which we have been agitating. Indians have been for a long time past demanding commissions in the army. Indian ruling chiefs and their relatives might, according to this clause, be given such commissions, and the demand of British Indian subjects shelved in this way.

That the Native States take officers from British India is probably because their own supply of capable officers is not equal to their need. British India on the contrary, has more than a sufficient number of capable men. Still for the sake of Indian solidarity, we do not object to the inhabitants of Indian India obtaining a few appointments in British India. But why should any ruling chief or any relative of his legislate for us? He does not pay the piper; why should he call the tune? Besides, with a few exceptions, the seven hundred and odd Indian states have a much more backward, autocratic and irresponsible system of administration than the British provinces. It would be a retrograde step to have in our legislative and executive councils uneducated or ill-educated unprogressive dummies from these States with medieval ideas,—should they have any ideas at all.

The "explanatory remarks" officially "offered regarding the main clauses" of the Bill contains the following paragraph:—

Clause 5.—By various enactments, passed in the time of the East India Company servants of the Government in India are prohibited from engaging in trade. It is proposed to allow members of Executive Councils who at the time of their appointment were concerned in trade or business to retain their rights subject to restriction. The tenure of the office mentioned is ordinarily limited to five years, and the amendment will facilitate the acceptance of office by Indian gentlemen of the commercial classes who cannot usually be expected to renounce all practical interest in their business affairs as a condition for holding office for so short a period.

Several questions have to be asked with regard to this explanation. It is said that the amendment will facilitate the

acceptance of office by Indian gentlemen of the commercial classes who cannot usually be expected to renounce all practical interest in their business affairs as a condition for holding office for so short a period. Does this mean the permanent addition of one commercial member to each of the executive councils as the commercial expert of Government? And does it also mean that this member will, in the case of each council, be an Indian gentleman? It is necessary to have an answer to these questions, particularly the second, as the mention of *Indian* gentlemen may lead some unwary simple-minded Indian politicians and publicists to swallow the clause as a dainty morsel. But Indian or non-Indian, we do not want any member of an executive council to be also a trader. He may be honest, but we want him also to be above suspicion. In England, in Canada, in Japan, certain members of the Government have been accused of using their official influence for private gain. In India certain Indian capitalists have been suspected of making inaccurate pro-government pronouncements in industrial matters and giving pro-official evidence in other matters, because their concerns enjoy special concessions as regards railway freight or are favoured with government contracts. No handle should be given for such whisperings against the future commercial members of the executive councils.

And if these members are to be Anglo-Indians, as we think they are sure to be, at least in the majority of cases, their official position, combined with their personal interest in the commercial exploitation of India by British capital, will make their influence a formidable obstacle in the way of indigenous industrial development. Looked at from any point of view, clause 5 appears to us entirely unacceptable.

The organizations for Indian and Anglo-Indian agitation afford a painful contrast. The first to raise a note of alarm was the Burma chamber of commerce. Then followed other Anglo-Indian chambers. Telegrams of protest have been sent by them to the Secretary of State for India, and a deputation has waited upon him. So far as we are concerned, not even half a dozen protest meetings have been held, no representations have been made by the congress committees or public associations, no de-

putations of prominent Indians in England and pro-Indian Englishmen has waited upon the Secretary of State. All movements depending for success on constitutional agitation require organization and engineering. There is nothing discreditable about it. A spontaneous outburst is very good to talk about, but sustained and widespread agitation is always and everywhere partly the result of organization. But there is such utter lack of organisation among us that there is not even a regular weekly telegraphic supply of news on our behalf to England, though every one knows and complains that Reuter is either hostile or remains silent.

The Education of Girls and Women.

Generally speaking we have not felt called upon to discuss the academic question as to what woman's education in India ought to be like. The reason is, the education of our girls and women is so little attended to, the recipients of education are so few, that we have always on principle supported any kind or degree of education that has been proposed to be imparted to them, taking it for granted, of course, that it is not to be injurious to the minds, morals, or bodies of the pupils. Primary, Secondary, Collegiate, liberal, professional, technical, industrial,—all sorts of education are welcome, whether imparted through the vehicle of the vernaculars or English.

Though this has been our attitude, we certainly hold definite views. It has not been proved that the laws of thought are different for men and women, or that women's souls are different from men's souls. Nor has women's brain capacity been demonstrated to be inferior to that of man. All knowledge is woman's province as well as that of man. All women do not possess equal capacity, facilities or opportunity, just as these differ in the case of man. There are men who are fit only to wash dishes or sweep streets, just as there are women also who are fit only for this kind of work. Women are fully as capable of profiting by a liberal education as men.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation a commissioner sneered at bluestockings. But are there not pantalooned pedants and bombastic fools among men? It is so comfortable for some specimens of the human male to think of the household drudge as the ideal woman. Those who feel

the presence of cultured womanhood every hour of the day know that "girl graduates" can and do perform all domestic duties, however trivial or tiresome, and are at the same time able to do such other kinds of work as only intellectual training and artistic accomplishment can fit one to perform.

It requires a little power of thought and some knowledge of what educated women do in India and in foreign countries to realize that even the proper upbringing of her children by a mother requires considerable education. "Domestic Science" in Western Women's Colleges includes much higher knowledge which our graduates do not usually possess.

The Calcutta Corporation Sub-committee's Report on Female (*sic*) Education in Calcutta concludes as follows:—

In conclusion the Committee desire to express their strong agreement with the following principles laid down in para. 17 of the Resolution of the Government of India dated the 21st February, 1913, and quoted in the memorial to the Viceroy drawn up by the Hindu ladies of Bombay at a public meeting held on the 31st December, 1915, namely:—(a) the education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life; (b) it should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys nor should it be dominated by examinations; (c) special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings of school life; (d) the services of women should be freely enlisted for instruction and inspection, and (e) continuity in inspection and control should be specially aimed at.

We do not exactly understand what is meant by the words "the position which they will fill in social life." Does position refer to the wealth of families, or to their traditional occupation, or to their actual occupation, or to the question whether women ought entirely to confine their activities to the domestic circle or may they also perform public or philanthropic duties in official or non-official capacities?

As for wealth, were not the wives of some of our richest men born of poor parents? As for official position, are the wives of Indian members of the India Council, executive councils, Indian high court judges, Indian commissioners of divisions, Indian advocates-general, &c., daughters of fathers who held offices as high as their husbands do? We know this is not the case. How then can one know what position a girl's future husband and therefore the girl herself will fill in social life? The best course, therefore, to adopt is to give a girl the best and highest education that she is

capable of receiving. If she shows special aptitude for any of the fine or industrial arts or handicrafts, she ought to be educated in it.

If position is to be taken to mean traditional occupation, we shall be quite at sea. The wives of the higher caste Hindus do not follow the professions of their husbands. The wives of Brahmans are not priests in the same way as their husbands are; the wives of Kayasthas are not clerks and accountants; nor are the wives of Baidyas professional physicians. One has only to turn to pages 428 and 429 of Sir E. Gait's Census of India, Vol. I, Part I, to be convinced that the vast majority of the males of the higher castes follow other than their ancestral occupations. And, speaking generally, this is the case with the lower castes, too. For instance, "the Doms are in theory scavengers and basket-makers, and in Bengal and Bihar 44 and 81 per cent, respectively are so in practice also, but in the United Provinces only 14 per cent. live by these pursuits. In Bengal about a third of the Chamars and Mochis are tanners and cobblers and in Baroda about one-half, but in Bihar the proportion falls to one in ten and in the United Provinces to one in 27."

Even if the majority of persons followed the traditional occupations of their families, it would not be right to insist that children must be educated for these traditional occupations. They may and do often have entirely different tastes and aptitudes, and every profession and occupation gains by the infusion of new blood.

It is wrong to try to confine boys and girls to ancestral, hereditary or traditional occupations. In Western countries an outcry has been raised for vocational education. But Westerners are wideawake people. Some of them have perceived the danger lurking in the cry for vocational education. In his recent work on "*The United States of America*" Mr. Lajpat Rai quotes the following observations of Dr. Wheeler, President of the University of California, "an eminent educationist and a man of very great influence and position in the American world," on vocational education:—

"I am wondering, too, whether this most recent zeal for 'vocational training' with all the possibilities of good, may not respond to the spirit of caste and minister to it. As such it surely bears within it the

seeds of sin and destruction. Does it propose that the life occupation of a child shall be determined for it early in life? That means that children shall follow mainly the crafts of their parents. It is the old device of monarchial-aristocratic Europe for committing the young to manual and industrial pursuits. It is the old derailing switch which can be relied upon to shunt the children of laboring classes out into the labor field at the age of 12 and shut them off from the open road to highest attainment, even though they have the talent and the will for it. That is not democracy. It is just the opposite. Democracy is the matter of free opportunity, a fair field and equal chance. The teaching of a vocation to young children, furthermore, does not provide them with an equipment which will be available in the handicraft and industries of real life. It is misleading in making them think it does. The instruction of later years is another thing."

If girls are to be educated with reference, not to the traditional occupation of their caste, but to the actual occupation of the future husbands, how is that occupation to be divined? A pleader's daughter may have a teacher or a clerk or a trader as her husband. The daughter of a blacksmith by caste and occupation may be married to a blacksmith by caste who is a pleader or a clerk by actual occupation.

Lastly comes the question whether women should lead a strictly domestic life or should they also have in addition some sort of work or career meant for earning a livelihood or for the public good, or both. Those who admit that girls require some education, however elementary, also hold that it is best that their teachers should be women. They also admit that there should be inspectresses of schools. For instance, the Calcutta Corporation Sub-committee observe:—

As regards classical languages, the difficulty would seem to be the want of competent female teachers. The Committee are, therefore, of opinion that the only way to provide for instruction in classical languages would be to increase the provision for the adequate training of women teachers. Collegiate education should be provided for by spending money in making selected existing colleges thoroughly efficient in both buildings and teaching staff.

In the opinion of the Committee the number of institutions for the higher education of women in Calcutta is sufficient considering the present demand for the higher education of women. But owing to the great distances that have to be covered by day-students it seems desirable to increase the hostel accommodation in connexion with the existing colleges. If this were done the number of students desiring higher education would probably increase.

The Committee believe that a residential training college for women teachers is required in Calcutta in order that a sufficient number of trained teachers, possessed of the educational qualifications necessary for the work they will be called upon to do, may be provided for the future requirements of girls' schools in Calcutta. Such a college should be associated with

a school in which the students under training can obtain practical experience in class teaching under expert supervision. The Committee believe that if encouragement is given to suitable persons to join the training college, by the offer of stipends to cover all necessary expenses, and by the guarantee of a certain number of appointments annually to passed students, a regular and sufficient supply of women candidates for admission to the training college may be ultimately secured.

The inspection of the curricula and the actual teaching should rest with inspectresses; and as regards qualifications for the task it would ordinarily be expected that an inspectress should be able to take the classes herself and to this extent to act the part of an itinerant training teacher.

Education is not the only field where women can do good to the public. Trained midwives are an admitted necessity. There is nothing in this beneficent profession which is necessarily incompatible with respectability and good character. Women physicians and women sanitary inspectresses and advisers have already done great good to the public. Society requires them in ever-increasing numbers.

These are the professions for which women are peculiarly fitted, and required. They may, besides, become clerks, typists, &c., but few Indian women would take to such occupations, at least for years to come.

Any book dealing with charities, social service, and temperance and other philanthropic organisations in the West will show in how many ways and in how widely differing fields women make themselves useful to society. The chapters on "Woman in the United States" and "Charity and social service organisations" in Mr. Lajpat Rai's book on "*The United States of America*" may be read by those who wish to have some idea of woman's work and worth by spending an hour or so for the purpose.

But why go to the West alone? Do we not know of the work of the late Mrs. Jannabai Sakkai, the well-known Hindu lady of Bombay? Did not Bombay ladies of all sects take part enthusiastically in the agitation for improving the status and ameliorating the condition of Indians in South Africa? Did they not raise considerable sums for helping their sisters and brethren in South Africa? Women in Bombay and elsewhere are raising War Relief Funds. The Bombay Ladies' Famine Relief Committee have been raising considerable amounts for the help of the famine-stricken in Kathiawar, Rajputana, Bankura, &c. The Bombay Social Service

League and the Depressed Classes Mission Society are doing philanthropic work of great value in various directions with the help of women. Even in backward Bengal, women showed some faint sympathy with South African Indians by calling a meeting and raising a small sum. They have also raised small amounts for famine-relief. A few of them have done good work in connection with a Widow's Home, a rescue home, and teaching in the zenana. To be able to do the different kinds of work mentioned in this paragraph satisfactorily requires education. Those ladies who have done such work belong to different sections of Indian Society, Hindu, Jaina, Parsi, Christian, Brahmo, etc.

There are many persons who think that a little elementary education is enough for girls; but they also think that this education should be imparted by women teachers. This makes the situation somewhat amusing. Women teachers for girls' elementary schools, to be competent, must have received secondary education; and competent women teachers for girls' secondary schools must have received collegiate education. Women professors and principals for women's colleges, and inspectors cannot discharge their duties satisfactorily if they have not received post-graduate education. So the advocates of elementary education for girls must admit that some women require higher and some the highest education. If high education be good and necessary for some women, it certainly cannot be a very bad thing. If high education spoils women, why then do you think of placing your little girls under these spoiled women for instruction? And why again are you so selfish that you wink at the injury done to women by secondary and university education, in order that you may have teachers for elementary girls' schools to which you may send your daughters? Either keep your daughters illiterate, or admit that education, without any adjective denoting degree, is good and necessary for women.

Sir Roland Wilson on Home Rule for India.

The Indian Messenger quotes the following passage in support of Home Rule for India from Sir Roland Wilson's book "The Province of the State" :--

"If there are to be found in India itself a sufficient number of persons willing and able to form an

effective 'justice-association,' the task ought to be left to these persons, because there are inherent difficulties in the government of one people by another situated on the other side of the globe, through agents sent out for the purpose, neither born, bred, nor intending to become domiciled among the people committed to their charge, and whose personal interests remain from first to last centred wholly in their native land. Even with the best intentions on the part of the ruling nation these difficulties can never be entirely overcome; consequently that task should never be undertaken or continued, if there is any tolerable alternative. During the century (1757-1857) which witnessed the gradual establishment of the British supremacy in India, it may truly be said that there was no tolerable alternative, at least from the point of view from which this book is written. Regarded as instruments for protecting peaceful industry and dealing out equal justice, the various native Governments which had sprung up on the ruins of the old Moghal Empire were undeniable failures. No serious student of history, whether Indian or European, denies that in these essential points British rule has been, relatively speaking, a success. But this very success was bound to produce in time conditions more favourable to the formation of an indigenous justice association which would, other things being equal, have an immense advantage over any possible Government operating from Downing Street, for reasons above stated. There will naturally be much difference of opinion as to the precise point of time when other things have become so approximately equal as to cause the inherent advantages of Home Rule to turn the scale. Two things, however, seem fairly clear, if our general principle is admitted. First, that so long as the necessity for foreign rule continues, any experiment that may be tried in the way of elective governing bodies, must be merely experiments and must leave the ultimate decision of all questions in the hands of the paramount power. Next, that ripeness for universal suffrage, or anything approaching to it, should not be considered a *sine qua non* for the granting of Home Rule. It will be sufficient if a workable constitution can be framed which will vest the supreme legislative and executive power in some set of persons who may be reasonably expected to maintain external and internal security even nearly as well as it is now maintained by European officials responsible to the British Parliament. If they do it nearly as well at the outset, they will do it quite as well, or better, after some years' practice and will be followed in due course by still more capable successors who will doubtless be led in due time, by experiences more or less analogous to ours, to see in democracy a more perfect stage for the exercise of their best gifts."

It is noteworthy that the calm judgment of a jurist of the standing of Sir Roland Wilson is in favour of self-rule for India, though he does not definitely fix the time for its commencement.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore in Japan.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the famous Japanese author, writes to us in a private letter, as we also learn from some Japanese papers, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been receiving a wonderful reception in the



Sir Rabindranath addressing a meeting at Osaka, Japan.

Land of the Rising Sun. On his arrival at Kobe on board the Tosa-maru, where he first touched Japanese land, he was interviewed by press representatives. A Japanese paper says that he stated to his interviewers that he had had a very pleasant voyage, except for one day in the Bay of Bengal, where the ship had to pass through a cyclone of great violence. The wind was blowing at 120 miles an hour, and it was regarded as the worst storm within living experience in that region. Sir Rabindranath Tagore praised the Captain and officers very much indeed for the splendid way in which they had handled the ship during the storm. The ship at one time came near the centre of the cyclone. The Tosa-maru actually got through the cyclone better than any other boat. The rest of the voyage was in delightful weather and the poet was able to get a considerable amount of his literary work done on board. He told his interviewers that his habits were retired and solitary, and

that he wished to be as free from public meetings during his visit as possible. He wished especially to see all he could of Buddhism in Japan, and to live for some time, if that were possible, in a Buddhist monastery. He wished also to study the people of Japan, in the country, rather than in the towns; for he had been used to country life in India and understood the country people best.

After his stay in Fokyo the poet hoped to go to some retired part of Japan, and there study the village life and continue his literary work. He has taken with him a young artist from India who has been taught by the poet's nephew, Abanindra Nath Tagore. He will study Japanese brush-work while in that country and Japanese art in general.

Mr. Shumei Okawa, writes to us from Tokio: "Since his arrival here he was the guest of honour at many a well-attended reception given by the leading Japanese including H. E. Count Okuma."



Press dinner to Sir Rabindranath at Osaka, Japan.

the Premier of Japan. The Indian residents of Japan also entertained the poet in Kobe and Yokohama." There was a dinner given to him by the leading journalists. We are indebted to Mr. Okawa for the following extracts from two of the leading Japanese daily papers :

"The Tokio Mainichi," commenting on the Indian poet Tagore who is visiting Japan, says that Japan owes to India much in thought. India was civilized early while yet Japan was uncivilized. Indian ideas have influenced the world much. Even Plato received inspiration from India. Schopenhauer and Swedenborg were affected by Indian thought. Japan received the Indian civilization through Korea and China. We must repay our debts to India. We ought to receive Tagore with our whole heart.

"The Yorodzu" says that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who landed in Japan yesterday, will be welcomed here by the literary world of this country, to which he will give life. The editor reviews the thought of Tagore and says that he stands for harmonization of life and poetry. His influence will be very much appreciated here. Japan owes India much in ideas.

Rabindranath's Bengali Speech in Japan.

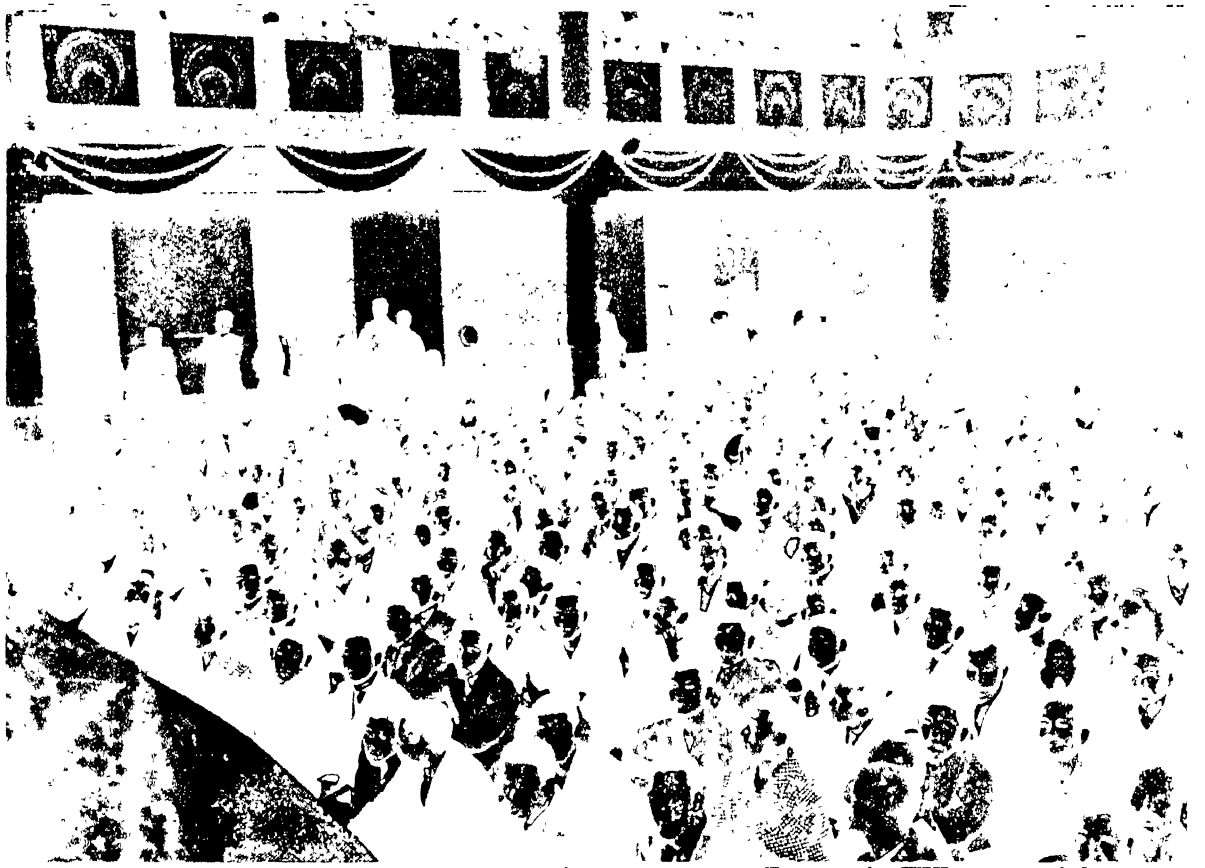
That the greatest of Bengali authors made a speech in Bengali in Japan was

quite in the fitness of things. The following paragraphs relating to the address are taken from the *Kobe Herald* :

TAGORE UNDER THE TREES AT UYENO. SAGE, SPEAKING IN BENGALI, GIVES WARNING TO JAPAN.

A public welcome for Sir Rabindranath Tagore took place at the Kanemi, in Ueno Park, on the 13th inst., when over two hundred prominent men were present, including Count Okuma, Dr. Takata, Minister of Education, Mr. Kono, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Dr. Baron Yamakawa of the Imperial University and Dr. Okuda, Mayor of Tokio. The host of the day, says *The Far East*, was Chief Abbot Hoki, head of the Soto sect. The temple was appropriate for the occasion, situated as it is in the thick wood of the ancient park. In reply to an address of welcome, the poet said at the outset that he did not speak Japanese, while English was not the native language of the Japanese, and inasmuch as the poet himself was not quite at home in the borrowed language, he preferred to speak in his native tongue in the presence of his Japanese friends.

This Bengali speech was translated by Prof. Kimura into Japanese, and was to the effect that the poet was disappointed on his arrival at Kobe, for everything that greeted his eye was pure imitation of the West. It was when he reached Shizuoka that he felt that he had come to Japan, for a Japanese priest was at the station to meet him, burning fra-



The audience hearing Sir Rabindranath at Osaka, Japan

grant incense, while his hands were joined together when speaking to the Indian visitor. There were two antagonistic currents in the country, new Japan and old Japan, and it was his ardent desire that Japan would cherish what was her own.

Count Okuma then delivered a speech, and much amusement was aroused by the veteran mistaking the Bengali address for English. The Prime Minister said that he could hardly understand English, yet wished to express the sense of his gratitude to the sage of India for his timely visit and for giving very sound warning, for Japan stood at the present time at the parting of the ways in her inner life, and the world of thought faced a turning point. Dr. Takakusu closed the meeting with a few appropriate remarks. The speeches were followed by a real vegetarian dinner and the waiters on the occasion were students of a Buddhist school.

A Japanese on Rabindranath.

"A Japanese" writes to a paper published in Japan :

To think that among the Orientals whom the Europeans are inclined more or less to despise in matters relating to the mind there should be one who has raised himself to a world wide fame never dreamt of by the Orientals, is no doubt at once flattering and elating to the Japanese, and a large part of the enthusiasm with which Tagore is received on his

present visit to us, I am inclined to attribute to this. The Japanese who thought that things Oriental are already out of date have found in Tagore an example of how even Orientals can be the subject of respect, if not worship, throughout the world, and in this sense the Japanese have reason to be grateful to Tagore.

I hear from my book store keeper that with the name of Tagore surprising the ears of the Japanese a few years ago, there has been an increasing demand for Sanscrit grammars.

The Gratitude of Asia to Japan.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore delivered a lecture on "The Message of India to Japan" at the Imperial University of Tokyo on June 12 last. *The Japan Advertiser* reports, that the audience "filled to overflowing the auditorium of the Imperial University." "The audience," says the same paper, "was composed mostly of Japanese, professors and students, but there were a large number of foreigners present, including a large proportion of women. The lecture was punctuated by frequent outbursts of applause, and the great poet held

his hearers intent throughout his talk." He began by speaking of Asia's gratitude to Japan and the reasons therefor.

The first thing which is uppermost in my heart is the feeling of gratitude which we all owe to you,—we whose home is in Asia. The worst form of bondage is the bondage of dejection which keeps men hopelessly chained in loss of faith in themselves. We have been repeatedly told, with some justification, that Asia lives in the past,—it is like a rich mausoleum which displays all its magnificence in trying to immortalise the dead. It was said of Asia that it could never move in the path of progress, its face was so inevitably turned backwards. We accepted this accusation and came to believe it. In India I know, a large section of our educated community, grown tired of feeling the humiliation of this charge against us is trying all its resources of self-deception to turn it into a matter of boasting. But boasting is only a masked shame, it does not truly believe in itself.

When things stood still like this and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise, Japan rose from her dreams, and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind overtaking the present time in its foremost goal. This has broken the spell under which we lay in torpor for ages, taking it to be the normal condition of certain races lying in certain geographical limits. We forgot that in Asia great kingdoms were founded, philosophy, science, arts and literatures flourished, and all the great religions of the world had their cradles. Therefore it cannot be said that there is anything inherent in the soil and climate of Asia that produces mental inactivity and atrophies the faculties which impel men to go forward. For centuries we did hold the torch of civilisation in the East when the West slumbered in darkness and that could never be the sign of sluggish mind or narrowness of vision.

Japan Both New and Old.

Sir Rabindranath then described how Japan was both old and new, and how valuable is her legacy of ancient culture from the East.

The truth is that Japan is old and new at the same time. She has her legacy of ancient culture from the East,—the culture that enjoins man to look for his true wealth and power in his inner soul, the culture that gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death, acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to man as a social being,—the culture that has given us the vision of the infinite in all finite things, through which we have come to realise that the universe is living with a life and permeated with a soul, that it is not a huge machine which had been turned out by a demon of accident or fashioned by a teleological God who lives in a far away heaven. In a word modern Japan has come out of the immemorial East like a lotus blossoming in an easy grace, all the while keeping its firm hold upon the profound depth from which it has sprung.

And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shewn her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift

and its lock and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with an amazing eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilisation.

Japan's Teaching.

What has Japan to teach us? Let the Poet reply.

Thus it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed, that we must nakedly take our plunge into the youth-giving stream of the time-flood. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has taught us that we must learn the watchword of the age, in which we live, and answer has to be given to the sentinel of time, if we must escape annihilation. Japan has sent forth her word over Asia, that the old seed has the life germ in it, only it has to be planted in the soil of the new age.

Japan No Mere Imitator.

The Poet does not believe that Japan has become strong merely by imitation.

I, for myself, cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the West. We cannot imitate life, we cannot simulate strength for long, nay, what is more, imitation is a source of weakness. For it pampers our true nature, it is always in our way. It is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every movement.

The real truth is that science is not man's nature, it is mere knowledge and training. By knowing the laws of the material universe you do not change your deeper humanity. You can borrow knowledge from others, but you cannot borrow temperament.

But in the first incertitude of new knowledge we not only try to learn but we try to imitate. That is to say, with the science that we acquire we try the impossible feat of acquiring the teacher of science himself, who is the product of a history not our own. But in that vain attempt we merely copy his manners and mannerisms, those outer forms which are expressions of his historical identity, having their true meaning only with regard to himself. Of course there are forms which are not merely personal but universal, not historical but scientific, and these can be and have been borrowed by one nation from the other with great advantage.

"Something radically wrong in the Administration of Bengal."

New India thus neatly turns the tables upon the *Pioneer*:—

Commenting on the present situation in Bengal and the recent armed dacoities, the *Pioneer*, which as a rule advocates repression, says:

There must be something radically wrong in the administration of Bengal when the Government is unable to stamp out these crimes.

Of course there is, and towards that wrongness the *Pioneer*, and other Anglo-Indian newspapers have contributed their share. Indian leaders and the Indian press have consistently pointed out that the method adopted by the Government is wrong and that repression must fail. Well, repression is failing.

and will continue to do so. The *Pioneer* must join the ranks of Indians and demand a change of policy.

A Nice Story.

Lord Hardinge, ex-viceroy of India, is said to have told a correspondent of the "New York Times" the following story:—

"There is ample evidence, that German assistance, financial and otherwise, has been given to agitators. One plot was directly instigated by Germany through various agents, who were supplied with considerable funds. This was an ambitious scheme—nothing less than to create a general revolt, which was timed to break out on Christmas Day, 1915. However, the Government was furnished with full information of the projected rising, and was able to forestall it, and render all preparations abortive. The centre of this plot was in Bengal, where there has always been a certain amount of anarchist activity. Another specific instance of the loyalty of the people in presence of a conspiracy of this kind occurred in Balasore. Here the presence of a number of revolutionaries was signalled to the police by villagers, whom the agitators had approached. The peasants themselves assisted the police in tracking down and arresting the revolutionaries, some of them actually giving their lives in their loyalty to the Government in a melee that occurred when the arrest was effected."

It is not certain whether the level-headed ex-viceroy told exactly this story. The people of Bengal, where, we are to believe, was situated the centre of the insurrectionary plot, know absolutely nothing of such a projected rising. There have been no court-martialling, hanging, shooting and transportation for life. It naturally seems to us a myth, this Bengal-centred rebellious plot of Christmas, 1915. Where and how many were the insurgents, where and what were their army, and their arms, in this land bereft of arms? When found out, how were the men and their army disposed of? The extremist Anglo-Indian journals spin revolutions out of revolver shots. It is strange that even they had no inkling of the terrible Christmas rising which came to nought.

As for the Balasore story, there is a very tiny kernel of fact in it. And that is described in the following paragraph from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

Four or five young Bengalees having committed one or more murders in Calcutta fled to a jungle in Mayurbhanj. Having been discovered they made for another forest in the State for safety. The villagers went in pursuit and one of them was shot dead. Then the entire police force of the district, headed by the Magistrate, surrounded them. The little band defended themselves desperately against these odds with their revolvers till their leader was killed, or rather mortally wounded, when they surrendered. Needless to say they were all afterwards publicly hanged. These young men are glorified into "revolutionaries" by the late Viceroy, and the idea sought

to be created is that Bengal is full of rebels. How could you blame the Germans if they believed that India was honey-combed with revolutionaries when such sensational stories were circulated by the highest authorities in India?

The American newspaper story reminds one of Falstaff's story-telling regarding the men in buckram.

Old and New British Universities.

Some people have an idea that Oxford and Cambridge are in every respect superior to the other British universities. This is not at all true. At a recent Senate meeting of the Bombay University, Principal Paranjpye, the first Indian Senior Wrangler, observed:—

"He took great pride in Cambridge University where he had studied, but they could not overlook the fact that the London and some of the provincial universities were in some respects superior to Oxford and Cambridge." *India*, May 4, 1916, p. 199.

"The Best of our Enemies."

"The Evening Standard and St. James's Gazette" of May 2, published the following under the heading "The Best of Our Enemies":—

The latest proof that the Turk is a gentleman lies in General Townshend's being allowed to keep his sword. This would not have been his fate if he had fallen into the hands of the Germans. It is a chivalrous act, which does not surprise us. During this war the Turk, and the Turk alone among our enemies, has been credited with those generous deeds in the midst of battle which ennoble war and the warrior. Such things touch the heart of the English; and, consequently, the feeling for the Turk is vastly different from the feeling for the German or even the Austrians.

The Turk has kept his fighting qualities, too. But the Armenian massacres, if true, are a great and indelible stain on his escutcheon.

Law-making and Ballad-making.

The Japan Chronicle, a British-owned and British-edited paper of Kobe, writes:—

For two or three generations the most active among Sir Rabindranath Tagore's fellow-countrymen have been much concerned with the question of a people's right to make their own laws, but the Bengali poet who has just arrived in Japan has chosen rather the path of that 'very wise man that believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation.' In a manner he has disproved a favourite argument, for one of the dogmas of the extremists was that without political freedom it was impossible that genius should flourish. During the past generation there have been a number of Indians who have not found it necessary to wait for this consummation before showing that they were master-spirits of their age. In literature Tago-

is the most prominent of these, just as Dr. Bose is in science, and as was the late Jamsetji Tata (of another race, religion and language, but politically their fellowcountryman) in industry.

How delightful !

The editor of this Kobe paper, has, one may be sure, started a movement in England to convince his countrymen that they should cease to make their own laws, that they should entrust Norwegians with that tiresome and utterly unimportant task, and that they should all only make and sing ballads day and night, year in and year out. Not only that. Part of his propaganda in England, we presume, is that Englishmen should give up their independence, acquiescing in their country becoming a dependency of some powerful empire ; for is not a dependency as great a nursery of all sorts of genius, poetic, scientific, industrial, etc., as any other country ?

The few Indians who have distinguished themselves have done so, not because of, but in spite of their political condition. Compare the literatures of independent and dependent countries, as regards quality, range, extent, variety, depth, sublimity, comprehensiveness, full, fearless, frank and sincere expression, and unfettered suggestiveness, and it will be at once plain that no dependent country, so far as its period of dependence is concerned, can hold the candle to the great independent countries of the world.

India has been under British rule for more than a century and a half. It is a very much bigger country in extent and population than Great Britain. How many authors, scientists and industrial captains, of the first rank, have India and Great Britain respectively produced during the last century and a half ? Needless to say, the figures for India would make a very very poor show by the side of those for Great Britain. It is only hypocrites or fools who can say that the power to make the laws of one's country is not to a great extent responsible for this difference.

Genius is of various kinds. Prophets and founders of religions were men of great genius of a certain kind. Christians are bound to believe that Jesus Christ was the greatest religious genius in history. Now, his genius grew and shone in a dependent country. But, for this reason, are the Christian nations of Europe and America partial to bondage for themselves, instead of being fierce lovers of liberty ?

Rabindranath Tagore has, no doubt,

chosen his part wisely and well, though it is not mere ballad-making. For a man of his genius and gifts to be condemned to make speeches in the council chambers that led to nothing, would have been a tragedy too deep for tears. He has not played or attempted to play at law-making,—real law-making is a very necessary and serious duty. He has chosen rather to help in the making of men and women, loosening their inner chains, which are the hardest to shake off, expanding their horizon, enabling them to know and realize themselves, and giving them the joy which is also strength. All this is not mere giving from outside. It is awakening men to a consciousness of their inner and own resources.

An Indian Lady's Academic Success.

We are glad to read in *India* that Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyay has obtained a second class in the Cambridge Moral Science Tripos. She is a daughter of the late Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyay of Hyderabad and a sister of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Famine in Bankura.

The prospects in Bankura are far from cheerful. The rains are still holding off from many parts of the district, agricultural operations there being consequently at a standstill. Rice has become dearer than before. A rise in the number of recipients of gratuitous relief is apprehended in the near future. It is with considerable reluctance that we ask the generous public to continue their help for some months longer yet.

The Meaning of "Free"-dom.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Chicago Daily News*, referring to Bethmann-Hollweg's statement that Britain wants to destroy "united and free Germany," Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey said:—

We never were smitten with any such madness. We want nothing of the sort, and Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg knows we want nothing of the sort. We should be glad to see the German people free, as we ourselves want to be free, and as we want the other nationalities of Europe and of the world to be free.

We believe that the German people—when once the dreams of world empire cherished by pan-Germanism are brought to nought—will insist upon the control of its Government ; and in this lies the hope of secure freedom and national independence in Europe.

Viscount Grey wants all the national-

ities of the world to be free, and in his opinion the hope of secure freedom lies in the control by a people of its government. As India is a part of the world, may not her inhabitants consider their desire to control their government entirely legitimate?

"No more Enquiries."

The following letter has been published in *India* :—

Sir,—If it be not an impertinence to differ from such a great and good leader as Sir William Wedderburn, I venture to suggest that the demand for a substantial form of self-government should not be accompanied by a demand for a parliamentary enquiry. To do so will be tantamount to an admission that the case for self-government needs any enquiry.

To me it seems that it is futile and at times harmful to ask for or have such enquiries. The enquiry made by the Royal Commission on Public Services has established that. Have we gained anything therefrom? Are we likely to gain anything by it?

Firstly, there is no reason to hope that the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into the affairs of India is likely to be better than the constitution of the aforesaid Commission was. Secondly, we have seen by experience how witnesses are selected for such enquiries. Thirdly, we know how opinion on questions relating to the granting of political privileges has practically been crystallised. There are two views on every such question. One is the view of the educated Indian, and the other is that of the Imperial Britisher. With an exception here and there, and except in details, both sides have the same tale to tell, however large the number of witnesses on either side.

In all such enquiries the advantage always lies on the side of the bureaucracy. They have the choice of witnesses, with the result that they get many Indians also to back up their case, and they secure a great bulk of evidence in their support. Independent Indian opinion is, as a rule, very meagrely represented. The Committee or Commission take a long time to write their report, and if they base their conclusions on the evidence before them the report is oftener than not, unsatisfactory. Then it takes years for the Government to consider that report and make up their mind as to how far they will act on it.

The case for self-government is clear and obvious. It needs no enquiry, and the Congress will be immensely weakening it by even tacitly admitting that anything is to be gained by such an enquiry.

As to the deputation question, it all depends on the constitution of the deputation, on the time they can spend in England, and on the financial backing they obtain. On all these points I have my own opinions, which I refrain from expressing for fear of being misunderstood. One thing, however, I will say, that it is better to go unrepresented than be represented by half-hearted but amiable advocates, who in their over anxiety to appear fair, good, and reasonable spoil their clients' case by making damaging admissions which are used against their clients with fatal results.

Let the scheme for self-government be thoroughly discussed in India before it is formulated. Once it has been formulated, let us stick to it with firmness. Let the authorities grant as much as is acceptable to them, but let us not show our weakness by trying to bargain with them. An attempt to bargain through people who have had no training in diplomacy, when the other side is represented by lifelong, trained diplomats possessing vast powers, is more likely to be harmful to the former than otherwise.

New York, June 8, 1916.

LAJPAT RAI.

We are of the same opinion as Mr. Lajpat Rai.

England's Friendliness to Japan.

The Japan Magazine writes:

When England increased her customs tariff to meet war needs, she thoughtfully provided rules for special treatment of certain exports from Japan; and likewise, when the Indian Government was proposing to levy a cotton export duty as well as one on imports of cotton, Britain had the proposal dropped owing to the serious effect it would have on Japan's cotton industries.

No official mentioned this last fact during the last Budget Debate. England ought certainly to be friendly to her eastern ally. But Indian interests ought not to be sacrificed.

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MY REMINISCENCES

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(27) *The Broken Heart*

WHILE in England I began another poem, which I went on with during my journey home, and finished after my return. This was published under the name of *Bhagna Hriday*, The Broken Heart. At the time I thought it very good. There was nothing strange in the writer's thinking so; but it did not fail to gain the appreciation of the readers of the time as well! I remember how, after it came out, the chief minister of the late Raja of Tipperah called on me solely to deliver the message that the Raja admired the poem and entertained high hopes of the writer's future literary career.

About this poem of my eighteenth year let me set down here what I wrote in a letter when I was thirty:

When I began to write the *Bhagna Hriday* I was eighteen—neither in my childhood nor my youth. This borderland age is not illumined with the direct rays of Truth,—its reflection is seen here and there, and the rest is shadow. And like twilight shades its imaginings are long-drawn and vague, making the real world seem like a world of phantasy.

The curious part of it is that not only was I eighteen, but everyone around me seemed to be eighteen likewise; and we all flitted about in the same baseless, substanceless world of imagination, where even the most intense joys and sorrows seemed like the joys and sorrows of dreamland. There being nothing real to weigh them against, the trivial did duty for the great.

This period of my life, from the age of fifteen or sixteen to twenty-two or twenty-three, was one of utter disorderliness.

When, in the early ages of the Earth, land and water had not yet distinctly separated, huge mis-shapen amphibious creatures walked the trunkless forests growing on the oozing silt. Thus do the passions of the

damages of the immature mind, as disproportionate and curiously shaped, haunt the unending shades of its trackless, nameless wildernesses. They know not themselves, nor the aim of their wanderings; and, because they do not, they are ever apt to imitate anything else. So, at this age of unmeaning activity, when my undeveloped powers, unaware of and unequal to their object, were jostling each other for an outlet, each sought to assert superiority through exaggeration.

When milk-teeth are trying to push their way through, they work the infant into a fever. All this agitation finds no justification till the teeth are out and have begun assisting in the absorption of food. In the same way do our early passions torment the mind like a malady till they realise their true relationship with the outer world.

The lessons I learnt from my experiences at that stage are to be found in every moral text-book, but are not therefore to be despised. That which keeps our appetites confined within us, and checks their free access to the outside, poisons our life. Such is selfishness which refuses to give free play to our desires, and prevents them from reaching their real goal, and that is why it is always accompanied by festering untruths and extravagances. When our desires find unlimited freedom in good work they shake off their diseased condition and come back to their own nature;—that is their true end, there also is the joy of their being.

The condition of my immature mind which I have described was fostered both by the example and precept of the time,

and I am not sure that the effects of these are not lingering on to the present day. Glancing back at the period of which I tell, it strikes me that we have gained more of stimulation than of nourishment out of English Literature. Our literary gods then were Shakespeare, Milton and Byron; and the quality in their work which stirred us most was strength of passion. In the social life of Englishmen passionate outbursts are kept severely in check, for which very reason, perhaps, they so dominate their literature, making its characteristic to be the working out of extravagantly vehement feelings to an inevitable conflagration. At least this uncontrolled excitement was what we learnt to look on as the quint-essence of English literature.

In the impetuous declamation of English poetry by Akshay Chowdhury, our initiator into English literature, there was the wildness of intoxication. The frenzy of Romeo and Juliet's love, the fury of King Lear's impotent lamentation, the all-consuming fire of Othello's jealousy, these were the things that roused us to enthusiastic admiration. Our restricted social life, our narrower field of activity, was hedged-in with such monotonous uniformity that tempestuous feelings found no entrance;—all was as calm and quiet as could be. So our hearts naturally craved the life-bringing shock of the passionate emotion in English literature. Ours was not the aesthetic enjoyment of literary art, but the jubilant welcome by stagnation of a turbulent wave, even though it should stir up to the surface the slime of the bottom.

Shakespeare's contemporary literature represents the war-dance of the day when the renaissance came to Europe in all the violence of its reaction against the severe curbing and cramping of the hearts of men. The examination of good and evil, beauty and ugliness was not the main object—man then seemed consumed with the anxiety to break through all barriers to the inmost sanctuary of his being, there to discover the ultimate image of his own violent desire. That is why in this literature we find such poignant, such exuberant, such unbridled expression.

The spirit of this bacchanalian revelry of Europe found entrance into our demurely well-behaved social world, woke us up, and made us lively. We were dazzled with the glow of unfettered life which

tell upon our custom-smothered heart, pining for an opportunity to disclose itself.

There was another such day in English literature when the slow-measure of Pope's common time gave place to the dance-rhythm of the French revolution. This had Byron for its poet. And the impetuosity of his passion also moved our veiled heart-bride in the seclusion of her corner.

In thiswise did the excitement of the pursuit of English literature come to sway the heart of the youth of our time, and at mine the waves of this excitement kept beating from every side. The first awakening is the time for the play of energy, not its repression.

And yet our case was so different from that of Europe. There the excitability and impatience of bondage was a reflection from its history into its literature. Its expression was consistent with its feeling. The roaring of the storm was heard because a storm was really raging. The breeze therefrom that ruffled our little world sounded in reality but little above a murmur, but therein it failed to satisfy our minds, so that our attempts to imitate the blast of a hurricane led us easily into exaggeration; a tendency which still persists and may not prove easy of cure.

And for this, the fact that in English literature the reticence of true art has not yet appeared, is responsible. That human emotion is only one of the ingredients of literature and not its end,—which is the beauty of perfect fulness consisting in simplicity and restraint,—is a proposition which English literature does not yet fully admit.

Our minds from infancy to old age are being moulded by this English literature alone. But the other literatures of Europe, both classical and modern, of which the art-form shows the well-nourished development due to a systematic cultivation of self-control, are not subjects of our study; and so, as it seems to me, we are yet unable to arrive at a correct perception of the true aim and method of literary work.

He, who had made the passion in English literature living to us, was himself a votary of the emotional life. The importance of realising truth in the fulness of its perfection seemed less apparent to him than that of feeling it in the heart. He had no intellectual respect for religion, but songs

of *Shyama*, the dark Mother, would bring tears to his eyes. He felt no call to search for ultimate reality; whatever moved his heart served him for the time as the truth, even obvious coarseness not proving a deterrent.

Atheism was the dominant note of the English prose writings then in vogue—Bentham, Mill and Comte being favourite authors. Theirs was the reasoning in terms of which our youths argued. The age of Mill constitutes a natural epoch in English History. It represents a healthy reaction of the body politic; these destructive forces having been brought in, temporarily, to rid it of accumulated thought-rubbish. In our country we received these in the letter, but never sought to make practical use of them, employing them only as a stimulant to incite ourselves to moral revolt. Atheism was thus for us a mere intoxication.

For these reasons educated men then mostly fell into two classes. One would be always thrusting themselves forward with unprovoked argumentation to cut to pieces all belief in God. Like the hunter whose hands itch, no sooner he spies a living creature on top or at foot of a tree, to kill it, whenever these came to learn of a harmless belief lurking anywhere in fancied security, they felt stirred up to sally forth and demolish it. We had for a short time a tutor of whose this was a pet diversion. Though I was a mere boy, even I could not escape his onslaughts. Not that his attainments were of any account, or that his opinions were the result of any enthusiastic search for the truth, being mostly gathered from others' lips. But though I fought him with all my strength, unequally matched in age as we were, I suffered many a bitter defeat. Sometimes I felt so mortified I almost wanted to cry.

The other class consisted not of believers but religious epicureans, who found comfort and solace in gathering together, and steeping themselves in, pleasing sights sounds and scents galore, under the garb of religious ceremonial; they luxuriated in the paraphernalia of worship. In neither of these classes was doubt or denial the outcome of the travail of their quest.

Though these religious aberrations pained me, I cannot say I was not at all influenced by them. With the intellectual impudence of budding youth this revolt

also found a place. The religious services which were held in our family I would have nothing to do with, I had not accepted them for my own. I was busy blowing up a raging flame with the bellows of my emotions. It was only the worship of fire, the giving of oblations to increase its flame—with no other aim. And because my endeavour had no end in view it was measureless, always reaching beyond any assigned limit.

As with religion, so with my emotions, I felt no need for any underlying truth, my excitement being an end in itself. I call to mind some lines of a poet of that time:

My heart is mine
I have sold it to none,
Be it tattered and torn and worn away,
My heart is mine!

From the standpoint of truth the heart need not worry itself so, for nothing compels it to wear itself to tatters. In truth sorrow is not desirable, but taken apart its pungency may appear savoury. This savour our poets often made much of; leaving out the grain in whose worship they were indulging. This childishness our country has not yet succeeded in getting rid of. So even to-day, when we fail to see the truth of religion, we seek in its observance an artistic gratification. So, also, much of our patriotism is not service of the motherland, but the luxury of bringing ourselves into a desirable attitude of mind towards the country.

(28) *European Music.*

When I was in Brighton I once went to hear some *Prima Donna*. I forget her name. It may have been Madame Neilson or Madame Albani. Never before had I beheld such an extraordinary command over the voice. Even our best singers cannot hide their sense of effort; nor are they ashamed to bring out, as best they can, top notes or bass notes beyond their proper register. In our country the understanding portion of the audience think no harm in keeping the performance upto standard by dint of their own imagination. For the same reason they do not mind any harshness of voice or uncouthness of gesture in the exponent of a perfectly formed melody; on the contrary, they seem sometimes to be of opinion that such minor external defects serve better to set off the internal perfection of the composition. As with the outward poverty of the Great Ascetic,

Mahadeva, whose divinity shines forth naked.

This feeling seems entirely wanting in Europe. There outward embellishment must be perfect in every detail, and the least defect stands snared and unable to face the public gaze. In our musical gatherings nothing is thought of spending half-an-hour in tuning up the *Tanpuras*, or hammering into tone the drums, little and big. In Europe such duties are performed beforehand, behind the scenes, for all that comes in front must be faultless. There is thus no room for any weak spot in the singer's voice. In our country a correct and artistic exposition* of the melody is the main object, thereon is concentrated all the effort. In Europe the voice is the object of culture, and with it they perform impossibilities. In our country the virtuoso is satisfied if he has heard the song; in Europe, they go to hear the singer.

That is what I saw that day in Brighton. To me it was as good as a circus. But, admire the performance as I did, I *could not* appreciate the song. I could hardly keep from laughing when some of the *cadenzas* imitated the warbling of birds. I felt all the time that it was a misapplication of the human voice. When it came to the turn of a male singer I was considerably relieved. I specially liked the tenor voices which had more of human flesh and blood in them, and seemed less like the disembodied lament of a forlorn spirit.

After this as I went on hearing and learning more and more of European music, I began to get into the spirit of it; but upto now I am convinced that our music and theirs abide in altogether different apartments, and do not gain entry to the heart by the self-same door.

European music seems to be intertwined with its material life, so that the text of its songs may be as various as that life itself. If we attempt to put our tunes to the same variety of use they tend to lose their significance, and become ludicrous; for our melodies transcend the barriers of everyday life, and only thus can they carry us so deep into Pity, so high into Aloofness; their function being to reveal a picture of the

inmost inexpressible depths of our being, mysterious and impenetrable, where the devotee may find his hermitage ready, or even the epicurean his bower, but where there is no room for the busy man of the world.

I cannot claim that I gained admittance to the soul of European music. But what little of it I came to understand from the outside attracted me greatly in one way. It seemed to me so romantic. It is somewhat difficult to analyse what I mean by that word. What I would refer to is the aspect of variety, of abundance, of the waves on the sea of life, of the ever-changing light and shade on their ceaseless undulations. There is the opposite aspect—of pure extension, of the unwinking blue of the sky, of the silent hint of immeasurability in the distant circle of the horizon. However that may be, let me repeat, at the risk of not being perfectly clear, that whenever I have been moved by European music I have said to myself: it is romantic, it is translating into melody the evanescence of life.

Not that we wholly lack the same attempt in some forms of our music; but it is less pronounced, less successful. Our melodies give voice to the star-spangled night, to the first reddening of dawn. They speak of the sky-pervading sorrow which lowers in the darkness of clouds; the speechless maddening intoxication of the forest-roaming spring.

(29) *Valmiki Pratibha.*

We had a profusely decorated volume of Moore's Irish Melodies: and often have I listened to the enraptured recitation of these by Akshay Babu. The poems combined with the pictorial designs to conjure up for me a dream picture of the Ireland of old. I had not then actually heard the original tunes, but had sung these Irish Melodies to myself to the accompaniment of the harps in the pictures. I longed to hear the real tunes, to learn them, and sing them to Akshay Babu. Some longings unfortunately do get fulfilled in this life, and die in the process. When I went to England I did hear some of the Irish Melodies sung, and learnt them too, but that put an end to my keenness to learn more. They were simple, mournful and sweet, but they somehow did not fit in with the silent melody of the harp which filled the halls of the Old Ireland of my dreams.

* With Indian music it is not a mere question of correctly rendering a melody exactly as composed, but the theme of the original composition is the subject of an improvised interpretative elaboration by the expounding Artist. *Ti*

When I came back home I sang the Irish melodies I had learnt to my people. "What is the matter with Rabi's voice?" They exclaimed. "How funny and foreign it sounds!" They even felt my speaking voice had changed its tone.

From this mixed cultivation of foreign and native melody was born the *Valmiki Pratibha*.^{*} The tunes in this musical drama are mostly Indian, but they have been dragged out of their classic dignity; that which soared in the sky was taught to run on the earth. Those who have seen and heard it performed will, I trust, bear witness that the harnessing of Indian melodic modes to the service of the drama has proved neither derogatory nor futile. This conjunction is the only special feature of *Valmiki Pratibha*. The pleasing task of loosening the chains of melodic forms and making them adaptable to a variety of treatment completely engrossed me.

Several of the songs of *Valmiki Pratibha* were set to tunes originally severely classic in mode; some of the tunes were composed by my brother Jyotirindra; a few were adapted from European sources. The *Telugu* style of Indian modes specially lends itself to dramatic purposes and has been frequently utilized in this work. Two English tunes served for the drinking songs of the robber band, and an Irish melody for the lament of the wood nymphs.

Valmiki Pratibha is not a composition which will bear being read. Its significance is lost if it is not heard sung, and seen acted. It is not what Europeans call an Opera, but a little drama set to music. That is to say, it is not primarily a musical composition either. Very few of the songs are important or attractive by themselves; they all serve merely as the musical text of the play.

Before I went to England we occasionally

^{*} *Valmiki Pratibha* means the genius of Valmiki. The plot is based on the story of Valmiki, the robber chief, being moved to pity and breaking out into a metrical lament on witnessing the grief of one of a pair of cranes whose mate was killed by a hunter. In the metre which so came to him he afterwards composed his *Ramayana*. *Tr.*

[†] Some Indian classic melodic compositions are designed on a scheme of accentuation, for which purpose the music is set, not to words, but to unmeaning notation sounds representing drum-beats or plectrum-impacts which in Indian music are of a considerable variety of tone, each having its own sound symbol. The *Telugu* is one such style of composition. *Tr.*

used to have gatherings of literary men in our house, at which music, recitations and light refreshments were served up. After my return one more such gathering was held, which happened to be the last. It was for an entertainment in this connection that the *Valmiki Pratibha* was composed. I played *Valmiki* and my niece, Pratibha, took the part of *Saraswati*—which bit of history remains recorded in the name.

I had read in some work of Herbert Spencer's that speech takes on tuneful inflexions whenever emotion comes into play. It is a fact that the tone or tune is as important to us as the spoken word for the expression of anger, sorrow, joy and wonder. Spencer's idea that, through a development of these emotional modulations of voice, man found music, appealed to me. Why should it not do, I thought to myself, to act a drama in a kind of recitative based on this idea. The *Kathakas*^{*} of our country attempt this to some extent, for they frequently break into a chant which, however, stops short of full melodic form. As blank verse is more elastic than rhymed, so such chanting, though not devoid of rhythm, can more freely adapt itself to the emotional interpretation of the text, because it does not attempt to conform to the more rigorous canons of tune and time required by a regular melodic composition. The expression of feeling being the object, these deficiencies in regard to form do not jar on the hearer.

Encouraged by the success of this new line taken in the *Valmiki Pratibha*, I composed another musical play of the same class. It was called the *Kal Mrigaya*, The Fateful Hunt. The plot was based on the story of the accidental killing of the blind hermit's only son by King Dasaratha. It was played on a stage erected on our roof-terrace, and the audience seemed profoundly moved by its pathos. Afterwards, much of it was, with slight changes, incorporated in the *Valmiki Pratibha*, and this play ceased to be separately published in my works.

Long afterwards, I composed a third musical play, *Maya Khela*, the Play of *Maya*, an operetta of a different type. In this the songs were important, not the drama. In the others a series of dramatic situations were strung on a thread of

^{*} Reciters of Putanic legendary lore. *Tr.*

melody, this was a garland of songs with just a thread of dramatic plot running through. The play of feeling, and not action, was its special feature. In point of fact I was, while composing it, saturated with the mood of song.

The enthusiasm which went to the making of *Valmiki Pratibha* and *Kal Mrigaya* I have never felt for any other work of mine. In these two the creative musical impulse of the time found expression.

My brother, Jyotirindra, was engaged the livelong day at his piano, refashioning the classic melodic forms at his pleasure. And, at every turn of his instrument, the old modes took on unthought-of shapes and expressed new shades of feeling. The melodic forms which had become habituated to their pristine stately gait, when thus compelled to do a quick-step to more lively unconventional measures, displayed an unexpected agility and power; and moved us correspondingly. We could plainly hear the tunes speak to us while Akshay Babu and I sat on either side fitting words to them as they grew out of my brother's nimble fingers. I do not claim that our *libretto* was good poetry but it served as a vehicle for the tunes.

In the riotous joy of this revolutionary activity were these two musical plays composed, and so they danced merrily to every measure, whether or not technically correct, indifferent as to the tunes being homelike or foreign.

On many an occasion has the Bengali reading public been grievously exercised over some opinion or literary form of mine, but it is curious to find that the daring with which I had played havoc with accepted musical notions did not rouse any resentment, on the contrary those who came to hear departed pleased. A few of Akshay Babu's compositions find place in the *Valmiki Pratibha* and also some adaptations from Vihari Chakravarti's *Sarada Mangal* series of songs.

I used to take the leading part in the performance of these musical dramas. From my early years I had a taste for acting, and firmly believed that I had a

special aptitude for it. I think I proved that my belief was not ill-founded. I had only once before done the part of Aleck Babu in a farce written by my brother Jyotirindra. So these were really my first attempts at acting. I was then very young and nothing seemed to fatigue or trouble my voice.

In our house, at the time, a cascade of musical emotion was gushing forth day after day, hour after hour, its scattered spray reflecting into our being a whole gamut of rainbow colours. Then, with the freshness of youth, our new-born energy, impelled by its virgin curiosity, struck out new paths in every direction. We felt we would try and test everything, and no achievement seemed impossible. We wrote, we sang, we acted, we poured ourselves out on every side. This was how I stepped into my twentieth year.

Of these forces which so triumphantly raced our lives along, my brother Jyotirindra was the charioteer. He was absolutely fearless. While I was a mere lad, and had never ridden a horse before, he mounted me and made me gallop by his side, with no qualms about his unskilled companion. When at the same age, while we were at Shelidah, the head-quarters of our estate, news was brought of a tiger, he took me with him on a hunting expedition. I had no gun,—it would have been more dangerous to me than to the tiger if I had. We left our shoes at the outskirts of the jungle and crept into it with bare feet. At last we scrambled up into a bamboo thicket, partly stripped of its thorn-like twigs, where I somehow managed to crouch behind my brother till the deed was done; with no means of even administering a shoe-beating to the unmannerly brute had he dared lay his offensive paws on me!

Thus did my brother give me full freedom both internal and external in the face of all dangers. No usage or custom was a bondage for him, and so was he able to rid me of my shrinking diffidence.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE EXPANSION OF ASIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY PROF. BENAY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A. •

THE darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vikramāditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of a continuous growth and progress. It is a record of the political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest water-mark attained by oriental humanity.

(a) ENTER JAPAN AND SARACEN.

Kalidasa was the harbinger of spring all through Asia. The Chinese Renaissance followed hard upon the Hindu Renaissance of the 5th century A. D. ; and immediately afterwards from two wings two new actors appeared on the scene to participate in the general awakening and to add to the splendour of the Asiatic Middle Ages. These were the Japanese on the East and the Saracens on the West.

The beginning of this great epoch of Chinese history is thus characterised by Fenollosa :

"We have described the extraordinary invigoration of Chinese genius due to the sudden fusion into the Hsin and Tang empires, apparently for the moment complete, of all hitherto separate movements and scattered elements,—Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Northern, Southern, Tartar and Miaotze. The Tang Dynasty had come in as a military colossus in 618 ; but the great soldier and leader of Tang who consolidated Chinese strength and expanded it again far towards the west, was the second Tang Emperor Taio (Tai Tsung), one of the greatest and wisest of Chinese rulers, who reigned from 627 to 650. It was in this great westward expansion that the introduction of Graeco-Buddhist art was effected. Chinese armies and peaceful missions now marched again westward into Turkestan ; and the pious pilgrim Huen Thsang stopped at all the famous Graeco-Buddhist sites in Khotan, Turkestan, Gandhara and Central India, collecting manuscripts, drawings and models of every description, which were all safely brought back to China in the year 645.

Meanwhile communications by sea had been opened up with Sassanian Persia ; princes and scholars of the western kingdom had been received as guests in Taio's capital and wrote in Persian the world's first careful notes of the Middle Empire..... There

is reason to believe, too, that the Byzantine Emperors, or their governors in Syria, had held communication with China and even implored the assistance of her powerful ruler to make common cause against Mohammed, who was just starting a conflagration on the borders of both. Taio apparently agreed to the alliance, and his armies were preparing to advance from Turkestan to the relief of Persia, when the Saracens with Napoleonic haste, frustrated the junction by driving a wedge eastward across the Chinese path."

While reading this account one is led to think that all the conditions of the preceding Hindu Renaissance were repeating themselves in the land of Celestials. In the Land of the Rising Sun it was the brilliant Nara period (A.D. 710-94). And in the land of the Tigris

"By Bagdat's shrines of fretted gold,
High walled gardens green and old,

In sooth it was a goodly time,
For it was in the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid *."

Hindusthan had really crossed the Himalayas. The Sanskrit *Panchatantra* was translated into Persian in the sixth century in order to be palmed off in Europe as Aesop's *Fables*, Huen Thsang was propagating Hindu Culture in Far Cathay, and Japanese scholars were imbibing themselves with Hindu ideals at the feet of the Chinese Masters of Law. For a time, Hindu and Asian became almost synonymous terms. The intellectual and spiritual currency of the Eastern world was struck off in the Indian mints of thought. India became the heart and brain of the Orient.

It was the message of this Orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of her mediaeval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in his *History of the English People* :

"The establishment * * * was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers

* (c) A. D. 800.

like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Baghdad."

The chief feature in the history of Asiatic peoples in the Middle Ages is their phenomenal expansion.

A glance at the historical atlas of the world from the time of Attila the Central Asian Hun's havoc on Europe (A.D. 442-47) down to the establishment of the Ottoman Islam Empire in the place of the Greek (Eastern or Byzantine) Empire would show that, during all this period, not an inch of Asiatic soil was under foreign rule or even 'sphere of influence,' except certain parts of Asia Minor.

Rather, on the one hand, the amazingly rapid conquests of the followers of Mahomet carried the frontier of Asia to the Pyrenees mountains and converted the Mediterranean Sea almost into an Asiatic lake. The story of that Expansion of Asia is to be read best in the history of the Christian *jihads* or Holy Wars against Islam. These Crusades undertaken by Pan-European or Pan-Christian Alliances were but attempts at self-defence on the part of the Westerners against a wholesale Orientalisation.

And, on the other hand, the avalanche of the Barbarians of Scythia kept the whole territory of the Slavs to the east of the Carpathian Mountains as a mere appendix of Asia. The Princes of Moscow were feudatories and tax-"farmers" to the Mongol masters. The blood of the modern Russian reveals the story of that Asianisation.

The freedom of the rest of Christian Europe against the aggressions of Islamic Arab and the Buddhist Tartar remained precarious for several centuries. As Yule observes in his edition of *Travels of Marco Polo*:

"In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave from the borders of Poland and the Gulf of Scanderoon to the Amur and the Yellow Sea."

This is a picture of the 13th century (A.D. 1260).

Wordsworth eulogises Venice, "the Queen of the Adriatic," as the bulwark of Europe:

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee,
And was the safeguard of the West."

These lines indicate incidentally how far into the heart of Europe the Asiatic sphere of influence had penetrated.

The fierce contests between the Turk

and the army of the Holy Roman Empire at the very gates of Vienna in later times (1529 and 1682) also point to the same fact. That account is given in *The Two Sieges of Vienna*, a work translated into English from Schimmer's German.

The contributions of Islam to European civilisation have a place in the pages of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and of the works of more modern specialists in Saracenic culture. I may mention also the Indian scholar Ameer Ali's luminous *History of the Saracens*.

The Expansion of Asia from the Tartar (Scythian or Mongol) skin also was not a mere barbaric raid. Howorth writes in his monumental *History of the Mongols*:

"From China, Persia, Europe, from all sides, where the hoofs of Mongol horses had tramped, there was furnished a quota of ideas to the common hive, whence it was distributed. Europe which had sunk into lethargy under the influence of feudal institutions and of intestine wars, gradually awoke. An effluvia of architectural energy, as Colonel Yule has remarked, spread over the world almost directly after the Mongol conquests. Poetry and the arts began rapidly to revive. The same thing occurred in Persia under the Ilkhans, the heirs and successors of Khulagu, and in Southern Russia at Serai, under the successors of Batu-Khan. * * * The art of printing, the mariner's compass, fire-arms and a great many details of social life, were not discovered in Europe but imported by means of Mongol influence from the furthest East."

In the volume, entitled *The So-called Tartars*, of the same work on Mongols, Howorth describes the Asiatic expeditions into Central Europe and the permanent conquests effected thereby.

"This comprised the country from the Yaik to the Carpathian mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. These various tribes owing more or less supreme allegiance to the ruler whose metropolis was Serai on the Volga, and the whole were comprised in the phrase the Golden Horde."

The following is taken from the Preface:

"In these four chapters I have endeavoured to trace out the story of the original conquest of Russia during the Tartar domination and have tried to point out how far the conquest has affected the history and the social economy of that great and interesting empire. I have also tried to show how during the Tartar supremacy the south of Russia, under the influence of a strong rule, was the focus of a vast trade and culture, and the means by which Cairo, Baghdad and Peking were brought into very close contact with Venice, Genoa and the Hanseatic towns."

The story of the Middle Ages is really the story of a Greater Asia.

Asiatic genius has ever been aggressive. The achievements of that Aggressive Asia are to be noticed not only in the victories of war but also in the "more glorious" victories of peace.

THE FESTIVAL OF MEMORY

Doth rapture hold a feast,—
Doth sorrow keep a fast
For Love's dear memory
Whose secret shall outlast
Time's new-born mystery,
Secure and unsurpass'd

Shall I array my heart
In Love's vermeil attire ?
O shall I fling my life
Like incense in Love's fire ?
Weep unto sorrow's lute,
Or dance to rapture's lyre ?

What know the worlds trine
Of gifts so strange as this
Twin-nurtured boon of Love,
Deep agony and bliss,
Fulfilment and farewell
Concentred in kiss

No worship dost thou need
O Miracle divine !
Silence and song and tears,
Delight and dreams are thine,
For thou hast made my soul
Thy sacrament and shrine.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

MY OWN JAPANESE POETRY

BY YONE NOGUCHI.

I COME always to the conclusion, that the English poets waste too much energy in "words, words, and words," and make, doubtless with all good intentions, their inner meaning frustrate, at least less distinguished, simply from the reason that its full liberty to appear naked is denied. It is the poets more than the novelists who not only misinterpret their own meaning, but often deceive their own souls, and cry to their hearts too affectedly whose timid eyes look aside ; it is almost unbelievable how the English-speaking people, with their pronounced reserve and good sense, can turn at once in "poetry" so reckless and eloquent. When I say it seems that they take a so-called poetical license, I mean that what they write about, to speak slangily, by the yard, is not Life or Voice itself (or to use my own beloved word, Death or Silence itself) ; from such a viewpoint I do not hesitate to declare that the English poets, particularly the American poets, are far behind the novelists. I can prove with many instances that there are books and books of "poems"

in which one cannot find any particular design of their authors ; it is never too much to say that they have a good intention, though not wise at best ; but after all, to have only that good intention is not the way to make art or literature advance.

I always insist that the written poems, even when they are said to be good, are only the second best, as the very best poems are left unwritten or sung in silence. It is my opinion that the real test for poets is how far they resist their impulse to utterance, or, in another word, the publication of their own work—not how much they have written, but how much they have destroyed. To live poetry is the main thing, and the question of the poems written or published is indeed secondary ; from such a reason I regard our Basho Matsuo, the seventeen syllable *hokku* poet of three hundred and fifty years ago, as great, while the work credited to his wonderful name could be printed in less than one hundred pages of any ordinary size. And it is from the same reason that

I pay an equal reverence to Stephane Mallarme, the so-called French Symbolist, though I do not know the exact meaning of that term. While they are poets different in nature, true to say, as different as a Japanese from a Frenchman (or it might be said, as same as the French and the Japanese), it seems to me that they join hands unconditionally in the point of denying their hearts too free play, with the result of making poetry living and divine, not making merely "words, words and words," and further in the point that both of them, the Japanese and the Frenchman, are poetical realists whose true realism is heightened or "enigmatised" by the strength of their own self-denial, to the very point that they have often been mistaken for mere idealists. Putting aside the question whether they are great or not, the fact that they have left little work behind is the point that I should like to emphasise; blessed be they who can sing in silence to the content of their hearts in love of perfection. The real prayer should be told in silence.

For a poet to have few lines in these prosaic days would be at least an achievement truly heroic; I think that the crusade for the Western poetry, if it is necessary, as I believe it is most momentous, should begin with the first act of leaving the "words" behind, or making them return to their original proper places. We have a little homely proverb—"The true heart will be protected by a god, even though it offer no prayer at all." I should like to apply it to poetry and say that Poetry will take care of itself all by itself without any assistance from words, rhymes, and metres. I flatter myself that even Japan can do something towards the reformation or advancement of the Western poetry, not only spiritually but also physically.

My book of poems often brings forth, accidentally as it seems to me, the question whether one can attain a success with the language of adoption. I never had, let me tell you to begin with, any thought of success or failure when I began to write in English, and still I haven't to-day; I beg you not to mix my work with such a discussion, because, to give you one reason, I hate to have it classed with so-called literature or poetry. To put my own work aside. It is interesting, however, to reflect and consider whether we can pay

any tribute to the English language when we adopt it for writing. There are beauties and characteristics of any language which cannot be plainly seen by those who are born with them; it is a foreigner's privilege (or is it the virtue of capital-lettered ignorance?) to see them and use them, without a moment's hesitation to his best advantage as he conceives it. I have seen examples of it in the work of Western artists in adopting our Japanese traits of art, the traits which turned meaningless for us a long time ago, and whose beauties were lost in time's dust; but what a force and peculiarity of art Utamaro or Hiroshige, to believe the general supposition, inspired in Monet, Whistler and others: it may seem strange to think how the Japanese art of the Ukiyoe school, nearly dead, commonplace at its best, could work such a wonder when it was adopted by the Western hand: but after all that is not strange at all. And can we not do the same thing with language? Not only the English language but any language, is bound to become stale and stupid if it shuts itself up for too long a time; it must sooner or later be rejuvenated and enlivened with some new force. To shake off classicism, or to put it more abruptly, to forget everything of history or usage, often means to make a fresh start; such a start must be expected to come from one great enough to transcend above it, or from a foreigner. And the latter's ignorance (blessing is that ignorance) in his case becomes a strength and beauty; it is only he who can dare an extraordinary act in language such as no native writer ever dreams, and the result will be no small protest, sometimes a real revelation. That is why even we Japanese can make some contribution to the English language when we use it. The English poem, as it seems to me, is governed too greatly by old history and too respectable prosody; just compare it with the English prose which has made such a stride in the recent age, to see and be amazed at its unchanging gait. Perhaps it is my destitution of musical sense (a Western critic declared that Japanese are for the most part unmusical) to find myself more often unmoved by the English rhymes and metres; let me confess that, before perceiving the silver sound of a poet like Tennyson or Swinburne born under the golden clime, my own Japanese mind al-

ready revolts and rebels against something in English poems or verses which, for lack of a proper expression, we might call physical or external. As my attention is never held by the harmony of language, I go straightforward to the writer's inner soul to speculate on it, and talk with it; briefly, I am sound blind or tone deaf—that is my honest confession. I had no reply to one English lady the other day who wrote me to inquire concerning the underlying rhythm of my poetical work, as I had ~~no~~ thought about it when it was written: my mind always turns, let me dare say, to something else. I used to read the works of English poets in my younger days; but I soon gave up the reading of them when I thought that my literary salvation would only come through my own pain and imagination. As far as the language is concerned, I need not much of it for my assistance; because my hope is to become a poet without words. While some critic or poet accuses me for being faulty and even unnatural, I am quite content with my work; because although it may not be so-called literature or poetry, it is I myself, good or bad, noble or ignoble, high or low.

Japanese poetry, at least the old Japanese poetry, is different from Western poetry in the same way as silence is different from a voice, night from day; while avoiding the too close discussion of their relative merits, I can say that the latter always fails, naturally enough, through being too active to properly value inaction, restfulness, or death; to speak shortly, the passive phase of life and the world. It is fantastic to say that night and day, silence and voice are all the same; let me admit that they are vastly different; it is their difference that makes them so interesting. The sensitiveness of our human nature makes us to be influenced by the night and silence as well as by the day and voice; let me confess, however, that my suspicion of the Western poetic feeling dates from quite far back in the days of my old California life, when I was quite often laughed at for my aimless loitering under the moonbeams, and for my patient attention to the voice of the falling snow. One who lives, for instance, in Chicago or New York, can hardly know the real beauty of night and silence; it is my opinion that the Western character, particularly of Americans, would be

sweetened, or at least toned down, if that part of the beauty of Nature might be emphasized. Oh, our Japanese life of dream and silence: The Japanese poetry is that of the moon, stars, and flowers, that of a bird and waterfall for the noisiest. If we do not sing so much of life and the world it is not from the reason that we think their value negative, but from our thought that it would be better, in most cases, to leave them alone, and not to sing of them is the proof of our reverence toward them. Besides, to sing the stars and the flowers in Japan means to sing life, since we human beings are not merely a part of Nature but Nature itself. When our Japanese poetry is best, it is, let me say, a searchlight or flash of thought or passion cast on a moment of Life and Nature, which, by virtue of its intensity, leads us to the conception of the whole; it is swift, discontinuous, an isolated piece. So it is the best of our seventeen-syllable *hokku* and thirty-one syllable *uta* poems that by their art, as Tsurayuki remarks in his *Kokinshū* preface, "without an effort, heaven and earth are moved, and gods and demons invisible to our eyes are touched with sympathy;" the real value of the Japanese poems may be measured by what mood or illusion they inspire in the reader's mind.

It is not too much to say that an appreciative reader of poetry in Japan is not made but born, just like a poet; as the Japanese poetry is never explanatory, one has everything before him on which to let his imagination freely play; as a result he will come to have an almost personal attachment to it as much as the author himself. When you realize that the expression or words always mislead you, often making themselves an obstacle to a mood or an illusion, it will be seen what a literary achievement it is when one can say a thing which passes well as real poetry in such a small compass mentioned before; to say "suggestive" is simple enough, the important question is how. Although I know it sounds rather arbitrary, I may say that such a result may be gained partly (remember only partly) through determination in the rejection of inessentials from the phrase and the insistence upon economy of the inner thought; just at this moment while I write this article, my mind is suddenly recalled to the word which my old

California poet-friend used to exclaim: "Cut short, cut short, and again cut short!"

The other day I happened to read the work of Miss Lizette Woolworth Reese whose sensitiveness, the sweetest of all femininity for any age or race, expressed in language of pearl-like simplicity, whether studied or not, makes me think of her as a Japanese poet among Americans. When I read her "A White Lilac" from "A Quiet Road" (what a title with the sixteenth century dreaminess) I called my straight attention to her sensitiveness to odour; as a better specimen let me give you the following:—

Oh, gray and tender is the rain,
That drips, drips on the pane;
A hundred things come in at the door,
The scent of herbs, the thought of yore.

I see the pool out in the grass,
A bit of broken glass;
The red flags running wet and straight,
Down to the little flapping gate.

Lombardy poplars tall and three,
Across the road I see.
There is no loveliness so plain,
As a tall poplar in the rain

But oh, the hundred things and more
That come in at the door;
The smack of mint, old joy, old pain,
Caught in the gray and tender rain.

With all due respect, I thought afterward what a pity to become an American poetess if she has to begin her poem with "Oh, gray and tender is the rain"—such a commonplace beginning. I declared bluntly that I, "as a Japanese poet" would sacrifice the first three stanzas to make the last sparkle fully and unique like a perfect diamond. Explanation is forbidden in the House of Poesy for Japanese, where, as in the Japanese tea-house of four mats and a half, the Abode of Imagination, only the hints tender and gray like a ghost or Miss Reese's rain, are suffered to be dwelling. Although of this American poetess it is said that her rejection of inessentials is the secret of her personality and style, it seems that that rejection is not sufficient for my Japanese mind. If I be blamed as unintelligible from too much rejection, I have only to say that the true poetry should be written only to one's own heart to record the pain or joy, like a soul's diary whose sweetness can be kept when it is hidden secretly, or like a real prayer for which only a few words uttered are enough.

Here I am reminded of a particular *hokku*, a rain-poem like Miss Reese's, by Buson Yosaho of the eighteenth century:—

Of the *samidare* rain,
List to the Utsubo Bashira pipe!
These ears of my old age!

Is it unbelievable to you when I tell you that such is a complete Japanese poem, even a good poem? It is natural for you to ask me what the poem means at first and where the greatness comes in. The poem, as you see, in such a Lilliputian form of seventeen syllables in the original, carries my mind at once to the season's rain chanting the Utsuba Bashira, or Pipe of Emptying, that descends from the eaves (how like a Japanese poem with a singular distinction of inability to sing!) to which the poet Buson's world-wearied old ears awakened; you will see that the "hundred things and more" that come in at the door of his mind should be understood, although he does not say it. Indeed you are the outsider of our Japanese poems if you cannot read immediately what they do not describe to you.

My Japanese opinion, shaped by hereditary impulse and education, was terribly shattered quite many years ago when Edwin Markham's "The Man With a Hoe" made a furore in the American Press. I exclaimed: "What! You say it is poetry? How is it possible?" It appeared to me to be a cry from the Socialist platform rather than a poem; I hope I do not offend the author if I say that it was the American journalism whose mind of curiosity always turns, to use a Japanese figure, to making billows rise from the ground. Putting aside many things, I think I can say that Mr. Markham's poem has an inexcusable error to the Japanese mind: that is its exaggeration, which, above all, we cannot stand in poetry, and even despise as very bad taste. Before Edwin Markham there was Whittier, who sent out editorial volleys under the guise of poetry; it is not too much to say, I dare think, that "An American Anthology," by Mr. Stedman, would look certainly better if it were reduced to one hundred pages from its eight hundred; we are bewildered to see so many poet-journalists perfectly jammed in the pages. How I failed in my attempt to read Walt Whitman—yes, during the last seventeen years; true to say, a page or two of "Leaves of Grass"

soon baffled, wearied and tired my mind. The fact that he utterly failed to impress my mind makes me think accidentally what a difference there is between East and West. One cannot act contrary to education; we are more or less a creation of tradition and circumstances. It was the strength of the old Western poets, particularly of America, that they preached, theorized, and moralized, besides singing in their own days; but when I see that ~~xxx~~ Japanese poetry was never troubled by Buddhism or Confucianism, I am glad here to venture that the Western poetry would be better off by parting from Christianity, social reform and what not. I think it is time for them to live more of the passive side of Life and Nature so as to make the meaning of the whole of them perfect and clear, to value the beauty of inaction so as to emphasize action, to think of Death so as to make life more attractive, although I do not insist upon their conforming themselves, as we Japanese poets, with the stars, flowers and winds.

We treat poetry, though it may sound too ambitious to the Western mind, from the point of its use or uselessness; it rises, through a mysterious way, to the height of its peculiar worth, where its uselessness turns, lo, to usefulness. When one knows that the things useless are the things most useful under different circumstances (to give one example, a little stone lazy by a stream, which becomes important when you happen to hear its sermon), he will see that the aspect of uselessness in poetry is to be doubly valued since its usefulness is always born from it like the day out of the bosom of night; you cannot call it, I trust, merely a Japanese freakishness or vagary if we appear to you in the matter of poetry to make much ado about nothing. I dare say we have our own attitude toward poetry. I have no quarrel with one who emphasizes the immediate necessity of joining the hand of poetry and life; however, I wish to ask him the question what he means by the word life. It is my opinion that the larger part is builded upon the unreality by the strength of which the reality becomes intensified; when we sing of the beauty of night, that is to glorify, through the attitude of reverse, in the way of silence, the vigor and wonder of the day. Poetry should be meaningful; but there is no world like that of poetry in which the word "meaning" so often baffles,

bewilders, disappoints us; I have seen enough examples of poems which appealed to me as meaningful and impressed another as hopelessly meaningless.

I deem it one of the literary fortunes, a happy happening but not an achievement, that till quite recently our Japanese poetry was never annoyed by fatigues, tormented by criticism; it was left perfectly at liberty to pursue its own free course and satisfy its old sweet will. The phenomenon that the literary part of criticism could find a congenial ground in Japan might make one venture to explain it from the point of our being whimsical, not philosophical; emotional, not intellectual; I have often thought that this mental lack might be attributed to the inconsistency of climate and sceneries, the general frailty and contradictions in our way of living. What I am thankful for is that it has never degenerated into mere literature; when the Western poetry is in the hand, so to say, of men of letters, the greatest danger will be found in the fact that they are often the prey of publication; it is true that the Western poets, minor or major or what not, have had always the thought of printing from early date till today. I know that at least in Japan the best poetry was produced in the age when publication was most difficult; I dare say that the modern opening of the pages for poets in the press and the easy publication of their work in independent books both in the West and the East, would never be the right way for the real encouragement of poetry. I read somewhere that a certain distinguished European actress declared that the true salvation of the stage should start with the destruction of all the theatres in existence; I should like to say well-nigh the same thing in regard to the real revival of poetry. Let the poets forget for once and all about publication, and let them live in poetry as the true poets of old day used to live. Indeed, to live in poetry is first and last. When one talks on the union of poetry and life, I am sure that so it should be in action and practice, not only in print; I have seen so many poets who only live between the covers and die when the ink fades away.

I often open the pages of *hokku* poems by Basho Matsuo and his life of fifty-one years; he gained moral strength from his complete rejection of worldly luxuries. He lived with and in poverty, to use the

Japanese phrase, *seishin* or pure poverty ; by whose blessing his single-minded devotion was well rewarded ; of course it was the age when material poverty was not a particular inconvenience as today. I read somewhere in his life that he declined in the course of his pilgrimage to accept three *ryo*, (equivalent to seven or eight pounds in the present reckoning) the parting gift by his student, as he was afraid his mind would be disturbed by the thought that his sudden wealth might become an attraction for a thief ; oh, what a difference from the modern poets who call for a better payment. He had one of his poetical students at Kaga, by the name of Hokushi, who sent him the following *hokku* poem when his house burned down :—

"It has burned down :
How serene the flowers in their falling !"

The master Basho wrote to Hokushi, after speaking the words of condolence, that Kyorai and Joshi (his disciples) too had been struck with admiration by the poem beginning : "It has burned down" ; and he continued : "There was in ancient time a poet who paid his own life as the price of a poem ; I do not think that you will take your loss too much to heart when you get such a poem." When Basho said the above, I believe that his admiration for Hokushi was more on account of his attitude toward life's calamity than for the *hokku* poem itself ; Hokushi did not study poetry in vain, I should say, when his own mind could keep serene like the falling flowers while seeing his house burn to ashes. That is the real poetry in action. With that action as a background, his poem, although it is slight in fact, bursts into a sudden light of dignity.

Indeed the main question is what is the real poetry of action for which silence is the language ; to say the real poet is a part of nature does no justice, because he is able more often to understand nature better through the very reason of his not being a part of nature itself. It is his greatness to soar out of nature and still not ever to forget her, in one word, to make himself art itself. And how does he attain his own aim ? Is it by the true conception of Taoism, the doctrine of Cosmic change or Mood of the Universe, of the Great Infinite or Transition ? or is it through the Zenism, of whose founder, Dharuma, I wrote once as follows :

"Thou furest one into the presence of tree and hill ;
Thou blendest with the body of Nature old ;
List, Nature with the human shadow and song.
With thee she seems so near and sure to me,
I love and understand her more truly through thee :
Oh magic of meditation, witchery of silence,—
Language for which secret has no power :
Oh vastness of the soul of night and death
Where time and pains cease to exist."

The main concern is how to regulate and arrange nature ; before arranging and regulating nature, you have to regulate and arrange your own life. The thoughts of life and death, let me say, do not approach me ; let me live in the mighty serenity of the Eternal ! By the virtue of death itself, life grows really meaningful ; let us welcome death like great Rikiu who being forced to *harakiri* by his master's suspicion, drank the "last tea of Rikiu" with his beloved disciples and passed into the sweet Unknown with a smile and song on his face for the very turn of the page.

When I think on my ideal poet, I always think about our old Japanese tea-masters who were the true poets, as I said before, of the true action ; it was their special art to select and simplify nature, again to make her concentrate and emphasize herself according to their own thought and fancy. Let me tell you one story which impresses me still as quite a poetical revelation as when I heard it first.

Three or four tea-masters, the aestheticians of all aestheticists, headed by famous Rikiu, were once invited by Kwanpaku Hidetsugu, a feudal lord of the sixteenth century, to his early morning tea ; the month was April, the day the twentieth whose yearning mind was yet struggling to shake off the gray-haired winter's despotism. The dark breezes, like evil spirits who feared the approach of sunlight, were huddling around under the eaves of Hidetsugu's tea-house ; within, there was no light. And the silence was complete ; then it was found that its old rhythm (Oh, what a melody) was now and then broken, no, emphasized, by the silver voice of the boiling tea-kettle. No one among the guests ever spoke as the human tongue was thought to be out of place. The host, Kwanpaku Hidetsugu, was slow to appear on the scene ; what stepped in most informally, with no heralding, was the Ariake no Tsuki, the faint shadow of the falling moon at early dawn, who came a thousand miles, through the perplexity of a thousand leaves, just enough to light a

little hanging by the *tokonomà*, the *shikishi* paper tablet on which the following *uta* poem was written :

"Where a cuckoo a-singing swayed,
I raised my face, alas, to see
The Ariake no Tsuki only remaining."

All the guests were taken at once with admiration of the poem and the art of the calligrapher, famous Toika, who wrote it, and then of the art of the host, this feudal lord, whose aesthetic mind was minute and most fastidious in creating a particular atmosphere ; and they soon agreed but in silence that the tea-party was especially held to introduce the poem or the calligrapher's art to them. And I should like to know where is a sweeter, more beautiful way than that to introduce the poem or picture to others ; again, I should like to know where is a more beautiful, sweeter way than that to see or read the picture or poem. Great is the art of those old tea-masters who were the real poets of action.

There is the garden path called *roji*, so to say, the passage into self-illumination, leading from the without to the within, that is to say, the tea-house under the world-wearied grayness of age-unknown trees, by the solitary granite lanterns, solitary like a saint or a philosopher with the beacon light in heart ; it is here that you have to forget the tumultuous seas of the world on which you must ride and play at moral equilibrium, and slowly enter into the teaism or the joy of aestheticism. Now I should like to know if our lives are not one long *roji* where, if you are wiser, you will attempt to create the effects or atmosphere of serenity or poetry by the mystery of silence. There are many great tea-masters who have left us words of suggestion how to beguile and lead our minds from the dusts and ruin of life into the real "*roji* mood" that is the blessing of

shadowy dreams and mellow sweet unconsciousness of soul's freedom ; I agree at once with Rikiu who found his own secret in the following old song :

"I turned my face not to see
Flowers or leaves.
'Tis the autumn eve
With the falling light :
How solitary the cottage stands
By the sea!"

Oh, vastness of solitariness, blessing of silence ! Let me, like that Rikiu, step into the sanctuary of idealism by the twilight of loneliness, the highest of all poetry !

This same Rikiu left us another story which pleases my mind greatly. Shoan, his son was once told by his father to sweep or clean the garden path as Rikiu, the greatest aestheticist with the tea-bowl, doubtless expected some guest on that day ; Shoan finished in due course his work of sweeping and washing the stepping stones with water. "Try again," Rikiu commanded when he has seen what he had done. Shoan again swept the ground and again washed the stones with water. Rikiu exclaimed again : "Try once more." His son, though he did not really understand what his father meant, obeyed and once more swept the ground and once more washed the stepping stones with water. "You stupid fool," Rukiū cried almost mad, "sweeping and watering are not true cleaning. I will show you what is to be done with the garden path." He shook the maple trees to make the leaves fall, and decorate the ground with the gold brocade. "This is the real way of cleaning," Rikiu exclaimed in satisfaction. This little story always makes me pause and think. Indeed, to approach the subject through the reverse side is more interesting, often the truest. Let me learn of death to truly live ; let me be silent to truly sing.

IN AMERICA WITH MY MASTER, III

CHICAGO.

CHICAGO considers itself the most up-to-date city in the world, and boasts of the biggest achievements that had

ever been attempted anywhere. It is the greatest railway centre, the greatest grain market, the greatest lumber market, the greatest manufacturing centre of agricultural implements, and the largest live-

stock market in the world. It holds an unique record in its astounding meat-packing industry. Hundreds of thousands of herds graze on the distant prairie land, and by a feat of railway transport, which is almost automatic, an endless procession of live-stock is delivered at an inclined platform near Chicago. Here the force of gravity and pressure from behind urges the victims onward. At a certain point they are in the grip of relentless machinery, and before the animal can realise its doom, it is killed, skinned, and cut to pieces and passed on rolling platform till at the other end in an incredibly short time it is canned, stamped and delivered to the waiting van ready for the market. Nothing is lost, hair, skin, hoof or horn, every particle is utilised. It is a mechanical age and the climax of its perfection, it is claimed, can only be seen in Chicago. Even in the most perfect cycle of transformation of energy there is an inevitable loss. But the Chicagoans assert that they have out-paced the laws of Nature. There is occasionally a slump in the meat industry and over-production means fall in price. At such a crisis the meat-packers simply reverse their machinery, and the erstwhile canned meat walk out at the other end as horned and hoofed beasts to roam once more in the prairie land at the distant plains of Illinois! The only change noticeable is said to be in the greater liveliness of the resuscitated animals resulting from their enforced period of previous rest!

Even in the matter of disaster Chicago claims the greatest to its credit. Only the other day many thousands of pleasure-seekers were drowned by the upsetting of a large excursion steamer within a few yards of the quay; this gave the unique opportunity to the Cinema operators to film the most genuine and unrivalled catastrophe! Again the great fire of 1871 destroyed two-thirds of the city, even the wood-paved roads caught fire. The rebuilding of the city was accomplished with wonderful rapidity; the work began before the cinders were cold and a new Chicago sprang up, larger, finer and wealthier. The Californians, however, dispute the superior claims of Chicago. They point out to their bigger fire of 1906, the greatest in the world's history, which was a by-product of another disaster, the earthquake! The citizens of Chicago meet the

claims of their rivals with the most withering contempt.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

In the matter of education, however, the University of Chicago has won for itself a very high status. The princely munificence of Rockefeller the multi-millionaire of the Oil Trust has enabled it to scour the world and obtain for it the most distinguished professors to organise its different departments. Of these eminent men I shall only describe two, who have by their researches won eminent place in the world of science.

A. A. MICHELSON.

Professor Michelson is at the head of the Department of Physics. By his remarkable contributions in Physics he has won the Nobel prize. He has measured the wave-length of light with an accuracy which is unsurpassed and has used it as the cosmic standard for measurement of length. The scientific unit of length, the metre, was determined with the object of making it a natural instead of an artificial standard, having a fixed relation to the arc of the earth itself, being the ten-millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian passing through Paris. The determination of this standard has a wonderful history. The French Academy of Science undertook to measure accurately the quadrant of the earth at a time when the greatest convulsion threatened the fabric of the French nation. But the French Academy went on with its labours unruffled by the destructive forces that were let loose during those terrible days of the Revolution. One after another the members of the Academy were dragged and put on the death-cart and marched off to the place of execution. Thus fell Lavoisier, the greatest scientist of the age, under the knife of the guillotine. To the demand that the deliberations of the august scientific body should be postponed to a time less perilous, the answer was that the Academy sat perpetually. Of the work that has been carried out during those troublous days the world has hardly seen a parallel. Subsequent measurements showed that the standard that was adopted at this time did not possess the highest possible accuracy. Even if it had possessed absolute accuracy, its value would have been conditioned by the age of the earth; a few thousand years

hence the earth would have shrunk, and the derived unit would have changed in an unknown manner. A standard to be universal should not be conditioned by time or space. Its measuring wand should be invariable even when its sphere of operation was shifted to worlds other than ours. What could be more eternal than Light which springing suddenly from darkness will remain persistent and unchanged unless the universe is again plunged into darkness. The wavelet in the ether which we call red light will beat with an unchanging rhythm and the size of each wavelet, the distance between one crest and the next in free ether, will ever remain unchanged. Michelson hied back to this measure, and from the transient tremor of intangible ether, was able to construct a material scale which could be reconstructed in any part of the universe even if this earth of ours were destroyed by the impact of a wandering comet.

R. A. MILLIKAN.

Turning from the ultra-microscopic immaterial ether waves we come to another limit in the world of atomic structure. Hitherto the chemists stood paralysed before the impossible task of measuring the size or the mass of an atom, the last and indivisible particle of matter. Now even this ultimate atom is found to be a built-up structure of still minuter fragments. This is no longer a question of theory, but the atoms are made to break into fragments under disruptive forces and the trajectory of the exploded atomic bombs rendered visible. These fragments have even been weighed and the electric charge carried by the discarnate matter has been measured. This unimaginable feat has been carried to an extreme degree of accuracy by Millikan, who by means of measured electrical forces was able to balance the falling droplets in a mist caused by condensation of vapour round each fragment of disrupted atom.

In a previous article I have mentioned how Prof. Millikan was diverted from his attempt to pursue researches on Electric Waves; how Prof. Werburg of the Berlin University to whom he had gone for this purpose had assured him that Bose had left very little for others to attempt in this field and how this led to his taking up researches on Electrons. Prof. Millikan

therefore had a very high regard for my Master as a physicist and on our visit to Chicago he wished that my Master should give a Discourse on Ether Waves.

INVITATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY.

But there were other claimants from the Biological Department. In 1906, when my Master for the first time published his *Plant Response*, it caused much excitement amongst physiologists, to whom he was a total stranger and who were quite bewildered by the new theories enunciated and the novel method of inquiry by which they were demonstrated. It was with an astonished surprise that they watched the incursion of a physicist into a new domain, and by one who belonged to a race, more credited for the imaginative faculty than aptitude for contributions to exact sciences. The following review of my Master's work on *Plant Response* appeared in the leading scientific journal, the *Botanical Gazette*, published by the University of Chicago:

"No subject is more fascinating than the response of plants to stimuli but no subject is more difficult for experimental investigation. One feels surprised at seeing a large volume of new researches on *Plant Response* dealing with the matter in the most fundamental manner. The surprise is increased when it is seen that the author is one whose name is new in the literature of plant physiology and whose nation is fond rather of speculative philosophy than of scientific observations. He has, however, employed new methods and has devised new and most ingenious apparatus for automatically recording response. No one could, however, justify himself in accepting as established all the deductions from the vast number of experiments detailed in the book; they must be verified sooner or later by other observers. To our knowledge some have already been repeated at the University of Wisconsin, with concordant results. But whatever the future may show, the book may be acclaimed as a path-breaking one; for it shows a method of attack and refinement of instrumentation for the study of the phenomenon of irritable reactions in plant that are sure to be of the utmost service."

During my Master's scientific deputation to America in 1908 he lectured before the University, giving the first results of his Biological researches. During his present visit he received the following invitation from Dr. John M. Coulter, the Editor of the *Botanical Gazette* and the Head of the Department of Biology:

"I wish to offer an urgent invitation from the Biologists of the University of Chicago that you include this University in your visit and favour us with some lectures in the more recent development of your work.

"You visited us a number of years ago and we are

very anxious to become acquainted with what you have done since in developing the remarkable instruments for observing new phenomena in plants."

When we reached Chicago we found that there had been some controversy as regards which scientific body should claim my Master's work. A compromise was at last reached when the Sigma Psi Society composed of all the advanced scientific workers of the University organised a dinner in honour of my Master after which he was to address the Society representing the different branches of science. Prof. Millikan was in the chair and said that he had the pleasure of meeting the lecturer in the Paris International Congress in 1900 as a great physicist and he has now the honour of introducing a still greater physicist. Those who claimed him as a great biologist should realise that he had simply annexed a new domain to the Imperial Realm of Physics. The address was regarded as one of the most brilliant that had ever been delivered and every member of the assembly came forward to express their high appreciation.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The next engagement was to lecture before the University of Wisconsin. This University makes a great speciality of Physiological Botany and its application in practical agriculture. This State has done much to enrich its resources by introducing improved methods of scientific agriculture. It has also very well equipped departments in Physics and Biology.

Prof. Jones sent the following invitation:—

"On behalf of my colleagues of the Department of Botany and others interested in questions of Physiology and Biology I extend from the University of Wisconsin a most cordial invitation to you that you may again favour us with a visit to give lectures and demonstrations. We still remember with great pleasure and high admiration the results presented at the time of your former visit and through you we beg to assure the Government of India that we shall esteem it a great privilege to see you and hear you again."

We arrived at Wisconsin at the end of January, the coldest time of the year. The State of Wisconsin is one of the coldest regions of the United States. The

temperature varies from 110 degrees in summer to 56 degrees below freezing point in winter. Europe was cold enough but it was nothing compared to what we experienced here. The rivers and lakes were frozen solid and one had to put on layer over layer of warm clothes and a fur overcoat. But the wind found out the unprotected nose and ears and you were warned that unless you took proper precautions you might lose from frost bite those highly ornamental members!

After trains and motor cars it was a novel experience to ride on sleighs, where the two curved pieces of wood take the place of wheels and the sleigh slides over the glossy surface of ice. Ice boats have a similar contrivance and under sail attain an incredible speed which exceeds that of the fastest train. We were taken to see another striking feat, the Ski Tournament. The skis are made of thin pieces of wood about 7 ft. long 5 inches wide and about an inch thick. They are curved and turned up about a foot at the toe. They are strapped to the shoes. It was a jumping competition. On the side of a precipitous hill the take-off for the jumping contest is erected. The jumper descends from some distance up the hill covered with ice to gather momentum and stoops as he nears the take-off and launches himself in the air. No staff is allowed and no jump is counted if the jumper falls in alighting. The distance covered is enormous; the record at the contest was 145ft.

There was a very large gathering at my Master's lecture, which created a very keen interest not only among Biologists but others who were interested in the bearing of these new researches on practical agriculture.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

The next lecture was before the University of Michigan. Here at Ann Arbor not only the Botanists but also the Physicists were greatly interested in my Master's work. So far back as twenty years ago an attempt was made at this University to continue my Master's researches on Electric Waves. They tried without success to construct an apparatus from the description published by the Royal Society. During his previous visit to this University he lectured on Electric Waves, illustrated

by his apparatus. They begged permission to dismantle every part of it so that expert mechanics of the University could duplicate the apparatus. But even after these years the physicists regretted that they had not been able to repeat those experiments which they had seen carried out before them with such unerring certainty. They confessed that it was the individual delicacy of manipulation which was essential for success in advanced experimentation. This could not be learnt from description or watching the experiments. It can only be secured under the personal training of the teacher. It was the realisation of this fact that led to the request from certain American Universities for permission to post-graduate scholars to work under my Master in his Calcutta Laboratory.

My Master's lecture drew a very large audience many of whom came from great distances. Their interest and enthusiasm was as great as was evinced during his previous visit. Some of the audience from Detroit invited us to visit their city, which is the greatest centre of automobile manufacture. The famous Ford Motor Car factory is unique for its organization and efficiency. The total length of the belting used for the machinery is 80 miles! Every part of the car is produced in hundreds of thousands. All the machinery employed are automatic in their action. At one end they are feeding steel bars; at the other end they are given out as finished screws, nuts and gear. The different parts are assembled in the shortest possible time. This is done by the chain system. As the frame proceeds along the endless chain it is fitted up with the different parts. At the last stage a man drives the new car just finished to the shipping yards, whence they are sent to the different parts of the globe. A finished car is thus produced at the rate of one in ten minutes. Even the common labourers are paid here at the rate of fifteen rupees a day or over four hundred rupees a month.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The next invitation which my Master accepted was from the University of Illinois. Dr. Trelease, Professor of Botany, sent him the following invitation:—

"It will be a rare privilege to us at the University of Illinois if we may be favour-

ed with a course of lectures. To those who have heard you and have seen your wonderful experiments, the privilege is doubly great; but for those who will now hear you for the first time, the opportunity is likely to be one for a life time. I can assure you that you will meet with a very enthusiastic reception which will be all the more pleasing to you that the University of Illinois is one of the American Institutions to which students in large numbers come from India."

The last appeal deeply touched my Master. For some mysterious reason or other the position of Indian students in foreign countries has in recent times been rendered extremely difficult. In the English Universities there is great uncertainty in their obtaining admission; there are greater obstacles in the way of their obtaining facilities to work in the London Hospitals. In America also very great difficulties have been raised even as regards permission to land in the country.

In the English Universities it is well known that the average success of an Indian student has been by no means inferior to that of his English fellow-students. Indeed the late Master of Christ College declared that he wished the students at home were as well behaved and as earnest as the Indian students who had entered his college. Indian students have won signal honours, such as the senior wranglership and the Smith's Prize. At Oxford too Prof. Vines spoke in very high terms as regards devotion to studies shown by his Indian pupils. Out of a very large number of young men that go on a visit to foreign countries there must occasionally be some who would make mistakes but it can not be said that the proportion of these is greater than in the student body of England, where they have all the advantages of home and friends.

There has evidently been some misunderstanding, which was at the root of this unreasonable prejudice, and my Master welcomed the opportunity, which the invitations from the different Universities and the Royal Society of Medicine gave him to remove it.

In answer to the congratulations offered to him by the Universities and scientific societies for bringing the message of science from India he spoke of the growing solidarity and progress of the world

having their foundation on mutual dependence amongst nations; how a constant surging backwards and forwards of thought and ideals, now from the East and then from the West, had moulded and enriched the world's civilisation; how the intellectual isolation of a community or a nation ultimately ended in its destruction. He also spoke of the ideals that animated the ancient Universities of his own country two thousands years ago: how pilgrims from different lands flocked to these centres of learning to be welcomed as guests of the nation. It is by hospitality so whole-hearted as this that the barriers which kept peoples apart are wiped out and it is by means such as these that the future unity among nations will be realised.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

A very striking feature of American life is the opportunity it affords to poor students to earn by their own labour means for maintenance during their college life. No work is regarded as menial and the students who maintain themselves by work do not fall in social estimation. This undoubtedly encourages true manhood. Some of the Indian students have maintained themselves in this way and the fortitude and determination they have displayed under appalling difficulties are worthy of the highest praise. But there are several drawbacks in their case which are not applicable to their American fellow-students. First among these is the severe strain on their strength and the interruption in their studies which manual labour entails. The second is the politico-economic force that is arrayed against them.

THE TWO AMERICAS.

I have previously alluded to a relatively small section of American citizens striving to maintain high principles in national dealings, liberty and fair play. But to a larger proportion of the American people worldly success is the sole aim of life. Hence the evolution of a complex political system which exerts a determining influence on the Senate and the House of Representatives. Among the dominating influences are Wall Street, the Trust, and the demagogues who control labour. It is feared that Indian labourers who had fewer vices and lived simpler lives, would

prove formidable rivals to American workmen. Fictitious reasons had, however, to be given out to justify their exclusion, and mysterious allusions were made about the undesirability of the introduction of oriental vice. There is humour in the idea of Indian workmen tainting the moral atmosphere of an American slum! It is a variation of the old story of the wolf and the lamb. The Asiatic exclusion law has hitherto been applied universally, its provisions are likely to be relaxed in the case of the Japanese. This is a parable.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ILLINOIS.

At the Illinois University, more than at any other place, the Indian students have found something like a home. Their gentle manners have won for them many friends. Unlike busy New York or Chicago this is a University town, mainly composed of the University professors and their pupils. Among the Professors here there are many who fulfil the ideal which we associate with the teacher, the head of the family of whom the pupils are the members. Of several such I may mention Professor Morgan Brooks, to whom Indian students come as to their friend and counsellor. To my Master he extended the hospitality of his home during his stay at Urbana. Professor Seymour, in charge of foreign students, is also a sincere friend of the Indian students.

The University itself has its various departments well equipped with the most up-to-date appliances. The Physical laboratory alone cost more than half a million dollars. No University in America offers greater facilities to Indian students than the University of Illinois.

My Master's address before the University was crowded with a highly enthusiastic audience. I give the following extract from the *Scientific American* in which Prof. J. Kunz of this University gave a summary of my Master's work.

"Prof. J. C. Bose's work is intimately connected with two wide syntheses, namely, the electromagnetic nature of light, and the unity of all life on earth. The electric waves predicted by Maxwell with all their properties were discovered by Hertz. These waves were still about ten million times longer than the beams of visible light. Prof. Bose has thrown a bridge over this gulf by creating and studying electric waves of a length of six mm., the longest heat wave known at present being about 0.6 mm. In order to produce the short electric oscillations, to detect them and study their optical properties.

he had to construct a large number of new apparatus and instruments and he has enriched physics by a number of apparatus, distinguished by simplicity, directness and ingenuity. Dr. Bose found further that the change of the metallic contact resistance when acted upon by electric waves is a function of the atomic weight. These phenomena led to a new theory of metallic coherers. Before these discoveries it was assumed that the particles of two metallic pieces in contact are as it were fused together, so that the resistance decreases. But the increasing resistance, appearing for some elements, led to the theory that electric forces in the waves produce a peculiar molecular action or rearrangement of the molecules which may either decrease or increase the contact resistance. Self-recovery and fatigue-effects remind us of the phenomenon of living organisms. Here we find indeed the natural bridge between the two fields of investigations of Prof. Bose between Physics and Physiology.

"With the advance of various sciences it became more and more difficult for a single investigator to make contributions to different fields of knowledge. The special theories and the methods of each science increase every year, and the definitions of the concepts are so different that a scientific man rarely finds himself at home in a science outside his own field. Prof. Bose is one of the very rare exceptions. And as in physics, we find his investigations in the physiology of plants and animals cluster round one fundamental idea, the idea of unity of the all that lives. Again as in physics, Prof. Bose made contributions to physiology by the construction of new instruments in investigation, characterised by marvelous simplicity, ingenuity and sensitiveness. The uniformity of responses by animals and plants and metals are recorded by diagrams so identical that one could not tell which belongs to the animal kingdom or to the plant or to the dead metal. The laws of nature hold uniformly throughout the whole material world."

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

From Illinois my Master went to the State University of Iowa, not only because the President of the University was a leading Botanist and had sent him a pressing invitation but also because at this University one of our countrymen, solely by his merit, has secured for himself the important position of a lecturer in the University,—I refer to Dr. Sudhindra Bose. He has not only secured a high place in the estimation of his colleagues, but has laboured unremittingly for the welfare of the Indian Students and other Indians now in America. As a teacher he has also been able to attract a large number of University students to his lectures. During my Master's short stay of two days he was besieged by the different Departments to give lectures on Physics, on certain problems on Biology and on Physiological Botany. To convey an idea of what strain the acceptance of invitations to the Universities entailed

I reproduce here the programme that was drawn up for him by the President of Iowa University. The social functions mentioned here did not mean simple attendance at dinners and lunches given in his honour; they meant a continuous animated talk in response to questions asked by different groups of brilliant men of the University, who took this opportunity of meeting him and obtaining suggestions for the solution of various problems that had perplexed them in their work.

We started from Illinois on Sunday the 7th February and expected to reach Iowa City the same evening at 11 P. M. The train was however snow-bound and it was not till 1 o'clock on Monday morning that we arrived at Iowa and were received by the University officials.

"Memorandum Re Visit of Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose.

Monday, February, 8th—

9.30 A. M.—Professor Shimek, Professor Stewart, and the Chairman of the Lecture Committee will meet Professor Bose and escort him to the President's Office. Introduction to the President and instructional staff of the University.

10 to 12 A. M.—Will join the Faculty in attending Convocation of the University in Academic Costume. Will be introduced by President Macbride and address the Convocation.

12.30 to 3 P. M.—Will take luncheon at the home of Professor Shambaugh and meet Professors of the Department of Psychology.

4 to 5.30 P. M.—Will address the Seminar in Physics in the Physics Buildings.

6 to 8 P. M.—Will be entertained at dinner by the members of the staff of the Department of Botany.

8.30 to 10 P. M.—Reception by the Hindu Students.

Tuesday, February 8th.

12 to 2 P. M.—Will take luncheon with President Macbride and the Faculty.

4 to 5.30 P. M.—Address the Seminar in Botany in the Science Building.

6 to 7.30 P. M.—Will take dinner with Prof. Shimek and members of the Department of Physiology.

8 to 10 P. M.—Will deliver lecture before the University in the Natural Science Auditorium.

The above is typical of the hard work that had to be gone through at each University.

The distance to be travelled from one place to another often exceeded a thousand miles and we had many sleepless nights on the train; there was besides the added anxiety for our delicate instruments and plants, to be carried personally. At the end of the journey we had to face the sudden transition from the over-heated train to the freezing cold outside. To these were added the anxiety of arranging the diffi-

cult experiments in a short time and in a new place where facilities for our special experiments were often wanting. Such strain had been endured more or less continuously for a year during our journey in different parts of Europe and America. All this had been gradually telling on my Master's health. For our next two important engagements we had a thousand miles' journey before us from Iowa. When we arrived at Boston my Master was laid up with an acute attack of influenza. We arrived at Boston on the 15th and the first engagement was to lecture before the Clarke University, at Worcester.

THE CLARKE UNIVERSITY.

This University is open only to post-graduate students. After they have taken degrees elsewhere they enter this University to continue advanced work in Philosophy and Psychology. The President of the University, Dr. Stanley Hall, is not only one of the greatest psychologists of the day but is also a great educationalist. He had addressed the following letter to my Master.

"My dear Sir,

There are several of us here who have been intensely interested in your work (I myself being among the number) from the date of its first publication. I should like very much if we could secure you to make a presentation of it.

I am with great respect,

Very truly yours,

G. Stanley Hall."

The lecture had been announced to be given the day after our arrival at Boston. We had twenty miles' drive before us and my Master was ill with fever. But he was determined to keep his engagement. On our arrival we found a very large audience composed of advanced students and professors, and the Address was followed with the keenest interest. At the conclusion of the lecture President Stanley Hall spoke how Prof. Bosc had by the aid of his remarkable instruments opened out a new field which had hitherto been beyond our conception, problems which have the deepest significance in psychology. They had at the Clarke University realised their importance from the date of their publication and he had himself given a special course of lectures on the results discovered by Prof. Bosc which served as

the starting point of a scientific study of psychology.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The next engagement was at Harvard University. My Master received the following invitation from the Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology :—

"The Department of Philosophy and Psychology has learnt that you are in this country and we hope that we may induce you to give a lecture, preferably on a Psychological topic, at the University. Many of us are interested in your experiments on Plant Response and there will be many eager listeners. Let me assure you of a very hearty welcome and of our sincere appreciation of your willingness to promote our research by telling us of your own work."

The Department of Philosophy at Harvard has won for itself a very high place in the world. It counts amongst its members philosophers as distinguished as James, Royce and Munsterburg. My Master's work has greatly stimulated the study of Comparative Psychology and Plant Behaviour in this University. There were also heads of other Departments of Science who were keenly interested in my Master's novel investigations. Among these may be mentioned Dr. Osterhaut, Professor of Plant Physiology, and Professor Richards, the celebrated chemist who by his re-determination of the atomic weight of elements has won for himself a world-wide reputation. It is Prof. Richards who by his extraordinarily accurate method of determination has discovered two varieties of atoms of Lead.

The lecture at Harvard University was announced to take place on the 17th February, the day following the lecture at the Clarke University. We had hoped that the exertion of the lecture at this University would not aggravate my Master's illness. But it happened otherwise; he was laid up with high fever and it appeared that it would be impossible for him to deliver his address in the afternoon. In this strait he insisted that the doctor should give him some medicine that would allay the fever just to enable him to keep his engagement. It was not till much later that we realised what penalty had

to be paid for recourse to this heroic measure.

The Emerson Hall at Harvard was crowded with the most distinguished audience, amongst whom were Munsterburg and other distinguished Psychologists. In his Discourse my Master traced that nervous impulse which is the basis of all sensations even in the plant kingdom. He described the different methods which he has discovered for detecting and recording the speed of these impulses. He showed, how under identical circumstances these impulses became exalted and intensified, retarded or arrested, both in plants and animals; how an impressed habit canalised new nervous channels, and how passivity, on the other hand, blocked it. He visualised the molecular wave by which the sensiferous impulse is propagated and the possibility of impressing molecular predisposition by which the impulse could be accelerated or retarded; how forces which might bring about these predispositions might be internal or external. In support of his theory he described the directive forces he had successfully employed in exalting or depressing at will the nervous impulse in plant. His prediction that similar methods would be found equally effective in controlling the nervous impulse in the animal has been fully substantiated. He is thus able to make the experimental animal perceive stimulus which had hitherto remained below its threshold of perception. By reversing the directive force he has, on the other hand, been able to modify the intensity of the transmitted effect of the super-maximal stimulus and how the convulsive response of the animal suddenly disappeared though the abnormally intense stimulus was still playing on the peripheral end of the nervous channel. Nothing showed the unity of life so conclusively as this demonstration of the identity of nervous impulse in plant and animal.

We thought that we had now come to the end of our journey in America, and was preparing to start for home by way of England. But insistent messages came from California that the Universities there should not be omitted from our programme. And we started on our long journey to cross the entire breadth of the American Continent from the furthest East

to the extreme West. The distance to be traversed was over three thousand miles and it took us four days' and four nights' journey to reach our destination. Diverse were the physical characteristics of the different regions we had to pass through. We left the Eastern coast of America under the grip of ice; the Mid-West was still more frigid. When we neared the Pacific Coast the scenery suddenly changed. A green verdure covered the plains of California, and the sight of the old familiar date palm and other tropical vegetation brought memories of the homeland. We reached San Francisco on the 12th of March, and spent the next two days in going over the wonderful Panama Pacific International Exposition. Limits of space forbid an attempt to describe the architectural triumphs of this Exhibition and its innumerable exhibits.

Our first lecture was before the State University of California at Berkeley, one of the largest and most important State Universities of America. The lecture evoked a very keen appreciation from the audience and we had a very cordial and enthusiastic reception from the members of the University.

THE LELAND STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

The Taj, the most beautiful mausoleum in the world, is a memorial which affliction erected in memory of the Beloved. In the West a Temple of Learning has been erected by sorrowing parents in memory of their only son. Leland Stanford was attending a meeting of the Senate when the news of the death of his only child reached him. "Henceforth California is to be the eternal and living emblem of my son," was the vow taken by the stricken Senator. He travelled through many lands so that he might be able to erect a temple worthy of the knowledge that is to be enshrined within. For this he made an endowment of all his fortune for the new University. The mother parted with all her jewels, which realised five millions! They wished that "Education here is to be made entirely free, an education which is to promote the public welfare by exercising an influence on behalf of humanity and civilisation, teaching the blessings of liberty regulated by law, and inculcating love and reverence for the great principles of government as derived from the in-

alienable rights of a man to life and liberty."

At my Master's lecture before the University President Starr Jordon, one of the most celebrated men of the age, was in the chair. In the most eloquent terms he welcomed the Eastern Scientist. My Master's lecture evoked the keenest interest and enthusiasm among the audience which is found expressed in the following letter from Dr. J. Peirce, Professor of Plant Physiology:—

"May I attempt to express the grateful appreciation of the Members of this Department and of the President and other Members of this University of your kindness in coming to us and in delivering such an illuminating Address as the one you gave us last Tuesday afternoon? You

had a very thoroughly interested audience, composed largely of students in the different departments of Biology, and to each you gave something which will never be forgotten. Can there be any more satisfying reward for a teacher? And can there be any more satisfying reward for an investigator than the feeling that his researches have pushed our ignorance a little further back and brought human betterment a little nearer?"

We had come to the farthest point of the earth from the homeland and we had yet to complete the other half of the circuit round the world. We sailed on the 20th of March, 1915, by s.s. Nippon Maru, bound homeward.

BASISWAR SEN.

WEEP IF YOUR EYES HAVE TEARS

Weep if your eyes have tears,
While bearers go with heavy eyes
Across charred plains, neath unknown skies
To save the maimed before sunrise
From further fears !

Weep though you long for play ;
And think to-night that while you sleep,
A thousand men through red blood deep,
Will bring their comrades home to reap
A bed of clay !

Weep though your hearts be gay !
A lad of tender years this night
Lies silent in the pale moonlight—
The bearers sicken at the sight—
And turn away.

Weep though you dare not tell :
For as dawn hastens, men rush fast ;
The full-orbed moon looks down aghast
And seems to ask : "How long will't last,
This reign of hell ?"

Weep though you see the light ;
For those red rays of smiling sun
Announce a battle new begun—
Whence blood of brothers fresh will run
To foul the night !

Weep though the bugle calls,
And men go forth in bright array,
To beat their foes and come away—
But then it comes their turn one day ;
For each one falls !

Weep though your tears are spent—
Yes, weep that men who fight each other,
Can't in a foe detect a brother,
And see that race has but one mother,
One common bent !

WILFRED WELLOCK.

GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

IN America deep, intense, passionate patriotism is as universal as it is uniform.

Indeed patriotism is the one dominant religious creed in American life. "The Americans are filled," observes Emil Reich in his *Success Among the Nations*, "with such an implicit and absolute confidence in their Union and their future success that any remark other than laudatory is unacceptable to the majority of them. We have had many opportunities of hearing public speakers in America cast doubts upon the very existence of God and of Providence, question the historic nature of veracity of the whole fabric of Christianity; but never has it been our fortune to catch the slightest whisper of doubt, the slightest want of faith, in the chief God of America—unlimited belief in the future of America." It is to the study of the government of such a nation that I wish to invite your attention. In my previous paper* I have discussed the Federal or National government; I shall now proceed to examine the governments of the States which constitute the American Union.

There are forty-eight States in the Union, and broadly speaking they fall into these five groups:

The Pacific States—Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah.

The North-Western States—Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan.

The Middle States—Indiana, Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York.

The New England States—Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine.

The Southern or old Slave States—West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, (the last two came into the

Union long after the abolition of slavery).

These forty-eight States are not of uniform size. The largest State, Texas, is approximately three times as big as Kashmir or thirty-three times as large as Baroda State. The smallest, Rhode Island, is a trifle smaller than Vrissa. Again, these States vary greatly in their population. New York, with over eight million souls, is the most populous State, having less than one-sixth the population of Bengal or one-half of Ceylon. Nevada, with eighty-one thousand inhabitants, is the least populous, having about the same number of people as are found in Sikkim State or one-fourth the population of Assam (Manipur).

At the very outset, it is important to understand the relation between the Federal government and the State governments. The former has no right to interfere in the local affairs of the State. Each State has its own government and orders all local matters to suit itself. The United States Congress cannot dictate to a State whether its legislature should be composed of fifty or a hundred members; whether it should have annual or bi-annual sessions; whether the State Governor should serve for three years or five. The voters of each State set up their own government, which can do within the State that which is not expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution. The State government by attending to the business of the community leaves the Federal government free to deal with the big problems of national and international importance. Such an arrangement of taking smaller matters away from the National congress adds enormously to the efficiency of the National legislature. Over in England the number of local matters to be settled by Parliament are too numerous; petty local questions consume so much valuable time that important measures are held up for lack of time, that the Indian budget, generally introduced on the last day of the Parliament, has to go through the farce of a hurried and pertunctorious discussion.

Under the American system of govern-

* See author's article on "American Government" in the *Modern Review*, Vol. XVI, October, 1914, pp. 385-390.

ment the State is supreme within its own boundaries; but the Nation ranks first. There are many anecdotes illustrating this point. Let me mention just one as illustrative of this point. When that stately and picturesque figure of American history, John Hancock, was Governor of the State of Massachusetts, immediately following the War for Independence, President Washington came to the city of Boston, Massachusetts. A question arose as to the etiquette of formal visits between the head of the nation, Washington, and the head of the State, Hancock. He insisted that as the chief executive of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, it was not for him to go and pay his respects to Washington on a visit in Massachusetts. On the contrary, it was the duty of Washington to come to him first. Washington, with equal firmness, maintained that he was the chief magistrate of the whole United States, including Massachusetts, and that Hancock must pay his official respects to the President. Finally, Hancock was made to see his mistake and he yielded; but he called upon Washington with the utmost reluctance. Hancock bundled himself up most elaborately and explained to Washington that he was late in coming because he had a spell of gout! The point of the story lies in the fact that had Washington given away before Hancock he would have practically admitted the superiority of the Governor to the President. The State is only a part of the nation, and since the head of the nation is the chief executive of the whole country, the head of the State government must make the first call.

The form of government in all the forty-eight States is the same in general outline. The organic law of the State, which is its constitution, is usually a lengthy document containing the fundamental principles of State government. All other laws enacted by the State must conform to the provisions of the constitution. The contents of a State constitution may be arranged in three groups. The first group deals with the Bill of Rights. By these provisions the citizens are guaranteed the enjoyment of all their civil rights, such as liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of religious worship, trial by jury, exemption from unjust seizures and searches, the right of petition, and "the right freely to assemble together to counsel for the common good." The second group has to do with the

framework of the State government: it tells of the organization of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and of the manner in which they should exercise their powers. In the last group is found the amending clause, which provides for future alterations in the constitution.

Each State has three branches or departments of government: a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary. A brief consideration of these three departments is necessary to an understanding of the workings of the machinery of State government.

The official title of the legislative branch is generally Legislature or General Assembly. The State legislatures are always made up of two houses—a lower house and an upper house. The upper house is called the Senate, and the lower house is usually designated the House of Representatives. The legislatures do not have the same number of members in every State. The lower house on an average consists of from one hundred to two hundred members, while the upper house has about fifty.

The members of the legislature are everywhere elected by popular suffrage; and both the senators and representatives are elected by the same voters. The general qualifications for voters are that they shall be twenty-one years of age, meet certain educational tests in a number of States, and pay a small poll tax in the Southern States. The purpose of this tax, which is from three to six rupees, is to exclude the poor negroes from voting.

In the first period of constitutional development the elective franchise was extremely limited. Not only were there rigid property qualifications, but there were also many religious qualifications. For instance, no one could be a member of the legislative body in Pennsylvania, Vermont, or Delaware unless he believed in the divine inspiration of the Bible. In several of the States, Governors were required to be protestants. Catholics and "unbelievers" were not regarded as proper persons to hold office. Happily the days of religious fanaticism in politics seem to be at an end. At present the restrictions on suffrage are comparatively few and simple. With the exception of paupers, criminals, lunatics, and negroes in certain sections of the country, practically all men can vote; and nearly one-half of the women have (or

will have in the near future) the right to participate to a certain extent in the election of public officers and the decision of public questions.

The legislators receive salaries, the largest annual amount being 4,500 rupees in New York, and the smallest 450 rupees in Maine. Many States follow the per diem system, ranging in California from twenty-four rupees a day for each day the legislature is in session to nine rupees in several States.

The Senate is usually presided over by the Lieutenant Governor, if there is any; and the lower house is organized under a Speaker, chosen from among its own members.

Although the senators are generally older than the members of the lower house, yet the powers of the two chambers are co-ordinate. In other countries, such as in Canada, France, and England, the upper house is weaker than the lower. In America notwithstanding that the Senate enjoys a few special functions, such as passing on appointments and sitting on impeachments, the two houses have about the same power.

Most of the work in the State legislatures, as in Congress, is done through committees. A proposed law is called a bill. When a bill is introduced either in the upper house or in the lower, the bill is referred to one of the Standing Committees. A committee can amend the bill, substitute a new one in its place, or kill it outright. A committee has almost absolute power over the bills placed in its charge. In reporting a bill, the committee either recommends for or against it, advising its passage or urging its defeat. And the legislature as a rule follows the recommendations of the committee. When a bill has passed one house then it is sent to the other, where it goes through the same process. After passing both houses, the bill goes to the Governor for his approval. He may, if he choose, veto the measure. It can, however, be passed over his veto. If the vetoed bill passes each house again by a larger majority—usually two-thirds—it is enacted into law.

The legislators spare no pains to keep in vital touch with their constituents. This is true of the members of Congress as well as of the State legislatures. As soon as important bills are up for consideration, legislators keep their ears close to the

ground that they may readily detect rumblings of public sentiments. Moreover, representatives of various interested clubs and societies call on the legislators, and give their views on questions at issue. Should the legislature hold back a measure which is supported by public opinion the letter-writing brigade—always a very busy, always a very powerful force in the direction of American public affairs—gets immediately into action. Each member of the legislature is at once besieged and bombarded by a fusillade of private letters and telegrams demanding instant action. And woe to that lawmaker who dares to be heedless of these warnings! For as sure as he is living he will be adequately punished for his recreancy at the next election!

The legislature meets every year or once in every two years at the State capital. The biennial sessions have grown out of the desire to restrict legislature output, to keep the legislators from doing more harm than absolutely necessary. Too much legislation, they say naively, hinders business. The activities of the legislators do at times assume alarming proportions. "The annual output of all the legislatures," in the words of Bryce in his *American Commonwealth*, "has been estimated at 15,000 statutes. From 1899 to 1904, the number passed was 45,552. In 1909 there were passed in Maryland 741 acts, in California 729, in Pennsylvania 650, in New York 596, and in North Carolina 1319." It is the dearest ambition of every legislator to have at least one law to his credit, and thus make for himself a name to be remembered by posterity. That may not be particularly open to objection; but to an "outlander," as the Germans would say, many of his laws seem to be altogether unnecessary, if not positively foolish. There is a report that a bill was introduced into the Texas Legislature a few years ago the preamble of which contained these words: "Resolved, that the sky of Texas is bluer than that of Italy." Again, in the Legislature of New York it was decided that thirteen oysters make a dozen! Is it surprising that the administration has gained while the legislature has lost in popular confidence? Every year the press of the country roundly denounces the meeting of a State legislature as somewhat of a public calamity, and hails its adjournment with sighs of profound relief.

The head of the executive department is called Governor. He is elected by popular vote—although in some States the legislature may make the choice if there is no majority. The age requirement for Governor is usually thirty or thirty-five years. Moreover he must be an American citizen, and must have been a resident within the State for a period of from five to seven years.

The office of Governor is of considerable dignity, being second to that of the President of the Republic. Presidents and Governors are now and then inaugurated, but seldom with the semi-barbaric pomp and ceremony that still greet the European monarchs of lingering medievalism. Here in America, neither the President nor the Governor is hedged about by the ceremonials and formalities of royalty. The Presidents of the United States as well as the Governors of the commonwealths are, after all, of the plain people.

The term of office of a Governor varies in different States. In a few instances he serves only one year; in about half the States he is chosen for two years; and in the others he holds office for four years. The Governor is usually eligible to re-election. He can be removed from office by impeachment; this method of removal being much the same as in the Federal government.

The Governor receives a salary which, again, is not uniform in every commonwealth. One State pays its chief executive as high as thirty-six thousand rupees a year. This is the highest compensation for a Governor in America; while two others pay only nine thousand rupees a year to their chief executive. The office of the governors of Indian provinces may be said to correspond to that of the Governors of American States. It is therefore interesting to know that our governors in India, where the cost of living is infinitely less than in America, get immensely larger salaries. For instance, the governors of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, who are the most important officials after the viceroy, each carry, I believe, a salary of over one hundred and twenty thousand rupees per annum—being no little drain on the depleted treasury of India.

In the early days of the Republic such was the popular distrust of the executive that he was little more than a passive

speculator of the law-making process. He could not demand a reconsideration of laws; he had no veto power. Now he enjoys a more extensive range of powers. He can call the legislature to special session. In nearly all States a bill cannot become law without his signature. He can defeat or delay the passage of a bill by interposing his veto. The Governor is also invested with the power of pardoning or of reducing the sentence of criminals. Finally, the Governor appoints some minor State officers, and not infrequently the members of various department boards and commissions. In addition to these specific duties, the Governor is charged with the general enforcement of law and order throughout the State.

The Governor, as has already been stated, is the head of the executive department; but there are other important executive officers in the State government. Some of these are: the Secretary of State, who has charge of the records of the State and countersigns all proclamations and commissions issued by the Governor; the Treasurer, who receives and disburses the public moneys of the State; the Comptroller or Auditor, who is the book-keeper and accountant of the State; the Attorney General, who gives legal advice to the government and is responsible for the prosecution of criminal suits; the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who is the head of the public school system; and the Adjutant General, who is directly in charge of the State militia. In this list, the office of the Lieutenant Governor is not included because some of the Southern States do not have that office. In the States where there is a Lieutenant Governor he ranks next below the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor usually presides over the deliberations of the upper house, and fulfils the duties of the Governor when he is out of the State.

We come now to the consideration of the third department of the State, namely, the judiciary. Every State of the Union has an elaborate system of courts for the administration of justice. Indeed, every State has its own laws, courts, and judges. To be sure the power of a State does not extend beyond its boundaries; nevertheless the acts of a State are recognized as valid in all parts of the Union. "Thus, judgments of the courts of one State cannot be questioned in any other, and records of the

title of property are conclusive in every State. If this were not so, and if questions once determined could be re-opened to litigation in other States, the greatest confusion and injustice would result from the difficulty of presenting evidence to courts."

At the head of the State judicial system is a Supreme Court, which sits at the capital of the State. In a sense the Supreme Court exercises a supervisory control over all the lower courts in the State. "Its chief function is the correction of errors at law. Only in rare instances are cases started in first instance or begun in the Supreme Court." Most of its work consists in hearing appeals of cases tried in the inferior courts. The decisions of the Supreme Court are final, except in cases where they involve points over which it has no jurisdiction. In such cases appeals may be had to the Federal Courts.

Below the Supreme Court are district courts—that is courts of general jurisdiction. All actions, civil as well as criminal, may be started in these tribunals.

At the bottom of this system of judicial tribunals are the justice courts presided over by the Justices of the Peace. They hear minor cases in city, town, or village. They have only original jurisdiction. Save a few cases of very minor importance, appeals may be taken from justice courts to the district court.

When the State governments were first organized, judges were, for the most part, either appointed by the Governors or elected by the legislatures, and they held their offices for life or during good behaviour. At present in a large majority of the States, as a consequence of the growing democratic desire to control all government officials by the electorate, judges are elected by the people themselves and for comparatively short terms. While there is no general agreement as to tenure, in most States the judges of the inferior courts serve for from four to ten years. The Supreme Court tenure ranges from twenty-one years in Pennsylvania to two years in Vermont.

Persons who are not in sympathy with progressive democracy are prone to criticize the elective judiciary as being unwise and unsafe. But does the popular election of judges tend to lower the standard of judicial efficiency? Does the principle of popular

election impair the integrity of judges or impede the course of justice? The consensus of best thought among the leading American jurists seems to be that "appointment of judges and life tenure are undemocratic; that present methods are necessary to secure complete popular government." Further, they advance the argument that "the judicial, no less than other branches of government, should, through elections, be brought into frequent contact with the popular will."

For conviction of crimes, there are in the United States three forms of punishment, namely: fine, imprisonment, and punishing the body. Fines are usually moderate. Terms of imprisonment vary from one hour to a life sentence. The convicts are given some opportunity to reform. Their sentences are frequently shortened if they behave well. "All sentences for terms of years," writes Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University in his volume on *Actual Government*, "are subject to a deduction of about one-fifth for good conduct while in prison; and the average long sentence is much brought down by the frequent use of the pardoning power, so that prisoners who are under life sentence are said actually to average ten years in prison."

The prisoners are taught many useful trades and industries. They usually get good food, and have regular hours of recreation. They are not ruled by blows and curses. They are treated with consideration, and are helped to regain that self-respect which is a necessary basis for reform. The idea back of their treatment is that convicts are human even though they have transgressed the law, and they are entitled to human consideration. In many of the jails I visited I found rooms of the prisoners well fitted up with chairs, reading tables, and pink shaded electric lamps. Their floors were furnished with rugs, doors with lace curtains, and walls decorated with pictures. These rooms, in spite of their steel bars, looked to me more like a Turkish "harem room" than a prison cell.

Criminals are social delinquents suffering from physical or moral disease. The working motive in inflicting punishment upon such persons, in all enlightened countries, is to remove his error and set him right. Punishment is not an act of blind vengeance; punishment in itself is

not the main end sought. The chief object is to correct the fault, to redeem the man to society. Hence certain of the criminals are awarded indeterminate sentences. Under such a sentence the prisoner is released on parole. The paroled man is aided to get employment with some one who will not discriminate against him because of his prison experience. He is required not to change the place of his employment without the knowledge of the prison authorities, to save as much as he can, to shun evil company, and to report to the prison at stated times. Although he enjoys complete personal liberty, yet he receives "friendly and helpful supervision" from parole officers especially appointed for that purpose. As soon as the man succeeds in convincing the prison authorities that he has reformed and is able to live a law-abiding life, he is given an unconditional discharge. This usually comes after one has served a probationary period of six months to a year.

It will be easy to find reactionaries in Hindusthan who will hysterically leap to the conclusion that if prisoners were paroled in India, the country would be submerged beneath a crime wave. Listen to the expert testimony of the *Journal of the American Institute of Law and Criminology* on the success of the parole system! The *Journal* in its current issue remarks

"that the parole system, wherever adopted (in more than thirty-two States and other nations besides), has never been set aside. The mean average number who have made good on parole is eighty-four per cent. of the total number. Most of those failed were shortcoming on minor points."

Is not that a remarkable tribute to the efficiency of the parole system? Is not the best way to repress crime to amend the criminal?

Cruel, inhuman punishments are no longer patiently tolerated in America. With the exception of a single small State, Delaware, whipping as a legal penalty for crime is as much a thing of the past in the United States as thumb screws, and racks, and "collars of torture" in Europe. In some States the gibbet has been displaced by electric chairs where criminals are "electrocuted" instead of being hanged.

Capital sentences are very infrequently inflicted. The number of legal executions during the year 1915 was 119, and in 1914, only 74. The value of a man as an economic asset and the sacredness of his

life as a human being have exerted such an influence upon some of the best thinkers of America that already five States have abolished the death penalty.

In taking even a cursory glance at the State government no one can fail to be seriously impressed by its increasing democratic tendencies, which are especially noticeable in the use of such political devices as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. By the initiative the people themselves reserve the right to initiate, to propose laws, and to submit them directly to the voters for their adoption or rejection. Through the referendum the people exercise their power to approve or reject laws already passed by the legislature. The initiative and referendum are used for constitutional and statutory laws, as well as for local ordinances. The advantages of the initiative and referendum are that they act as a brake upon the vagaries and the errors of judgment on the part of the legislature. They exert a wholesome educative influence upon the people. In order to vote intelligently upon a proposed law, the voters must study it in all its bearings. The result is that it awakens in them patriotic interest in public affairs, and makes them better fitted for the onerous duties and responsibilities of a free government.

Since 1908 the initiative and referendum are further supplemented in a few instances by the recall. This is a process by which the voters may dismiss "every elective officer" or "every public officer"—not even excluding the judiciary—before the expiration of the term for which he was chosen on any ground whatsoever which seems satisfactory to the electorate. The chief merit of the recall is that it enables the people to keep the government officials under their control. "The theories of recall," declares a recent writer, "are based upon the notion that in the people rests the authority to discharge public servants at any time by popular vote without proof of misconduct or maladministration in office. In other words, the relation of employer and employee should exist between the people and their agents at all times, and the people should have the power to discharge at will."

Space will not permit of the enumeration of all of the details of such an intricate gigantic machinery as State govern-

ment. It may be stated, however, that the most powerful influence which keeps this machinery going is the driving force of public sentiment. If in India some of the bureaucratic officials are as absolute as Jove himself, in America government officers are as humble and as responsive to the people as their humblest servants. In

short, the government of the United States represents the good sense of an independent nation, the highest political instinct of a free people.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

III

BEFORE the Coalition Government was formed, new problems of great importance began to emerge, chief among them being the abuse of the facilities for obtaining drink, the recrudescence of labour troubles, and the supply of munitions. These three questions formed the first grave domestic problem of the War. Mr. Lloyd George, who was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, threw himself heart and soul into the solution of these domestic problem of the war, and specially the drink question. It is said that in dealing with the drink question Mr. Lloyd George exaggerated the effect of drink on the production of munitions. But it is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George that whatever he attacks he attacks with impetuosity, and in this case too his characteristic impetuosity did not leave him. He attributed labour shortcomings in munition works to drink among workmen, in the capacity of the chairman of a Committee appointed to organise the output of munitions, and submitted to the House of Commons proposals for higher taxes on alcohol. These proposals brought Mr. Lloyd George into conflict with the Irish Nationalists who took such a strong line against the proposed taxes on liquor that these proposals had to be dropped. However, two Bills were passed, one restricting the supply and sale of immature spirits, and the other imposing restrictions on drink facilities especially in war-work areas. But while Mr. Lloyd George stated that the drink facilities had to do a great deal with labour shortcomings in munition works, Mr. Asquith at the same time de-

clared that there was no deficiency in the supply of munitions and made no allusion to the drink question in his speech at Newcastle. This singular contrariety of opinion bewildered the country; but it did not seriously disturb its mind. It, however, made it clear that all was not well with the Liberal Government, and prepared the people for the change in the Government, if events were to develop in that direction. And events did develop in the direction of change. Two personal issues came to the fore, the one concerning the army, and the other concerning the navy. The question of an adequate supply of munitions on the one hand, and the acute controversy between Mr. Churchill, the first Lord, and Lord Fisher, the First Sea Lord, resulting in the withdrawal of the latter from the Admiralty, precipitated the crisis. The question of munitions and the controversy at the Admiralty between Mr. Churchill and Lord Fisher resulted in a Coalition Government, formed from Liberal, Unionist and Labour parties. The Coalition Government met Parliament on June 3, 1915. Among other changes, a new Department, the Ministry of Munitions, was created with Mr. Lloyd George as its head.

The appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions was received with satisfaction both by the Press and the public. Liberals and Tories vied with each other in thanking the Government for his appointment as Minister of Munitions. "He knows our needs; he has done more than anyone to meet them already; he has the vision to look ahead and the strength to act," wrote "The Times" on his appointment to the

said post. In his first speech as Minister of Munitions he boldly told the country that the task before them was not a mere walkover but one of tremendous magnitude, and that it would only be by a concentration of every effort, energy and resource that we could win through to the end that we all desired. By painting the immediate future in somewhat sombre tints, he opened the eyes of the public to the tremendous task that was in front of them. He did not mince matters. He did not hide the truth. He did not prevaricate. But with his characteristic courage and boldness he plainly told the country that they could not afford to dwell in the fool's paradise in which they have been "luxuriating" for nearly a year. He struck the same note in a preface written by him to a book entitled "Through Terror to Triumph" containing his war speeches, which was published by Hodder and Stoughton in September, 1915. This preface, which is eloquent in language and impassioned in style, is worth perusal. The picture painted throughout is dark and sombre. "Russian fortresses, deemed impregnable," writes Mr. Lloyd George, are falling like sand castles before the resistless tide of Teutonic invasion." The preface was strongly criticised by the Liberal Press, which described it as "dark as midnight," and pointed out that it was only in July 1915, that Mr. Lloyd George himself had divided the publicists into the Blue story school and Grey story school and had declared that both were wrong, the story being "mottled." But in this preface, they said, there was nothing "mottled" about the story. They further pointed out that in the whole preface there was not a single word about the British Navy. The Tory press, on the contrary, made capital out of this preface, and were so enthusiastic about it that some of them published the same preface two days running. Moreover, they used this preface as a fresh ground for active agitation in favour of compulsion.

Mr. Lloyd George himself has explained as to what made him write this preface in the preface itself thus :—

"That is why I am recalling these unpleasant facts, because I wish to stir my countrymen to put forth their strength to amend the situation. To dwell on such events is the most disagreeable task that can fall to the lot of a public man. For all that, the public man who either shirks these facts himself, or does not do his best to force others to face them until they are redressed, is guilty of high treason to the State which he has sworn to serve."

In the statement which he made in the House of Commons on December 20, 1915, on the work of his department, he did not fail to refer to the policy of being too late. In fact, Mr. Lloyd George has never failed to impress the fact of the seriousness of the situation upon his countrymen. As he is never tired of impressing the said fact upon his countrymen, he is accused of pessimism in certain quarters. "John Bull" in its issue of January 1, 1916, in its open letter to Mr. Lloyd George wrote :—

"I am inclined to rank candour high among the political virtues, but I do wish you would strike a less pessimistic note. For many of your qualities I have a genuine respect, but I cannot forget that almost every time you have set yourself up as a military prophet you have been hopelessly wrong, and am therefore inclined rather to discount your gloomy prognostications. In your last speech you seem to have been in the depths of the doldrums, but I am hoping you may manage to start the New Year with a smile. If not, you will certainly be 'encouraging the enemy' and what will Saint Simon say?"

But to charge Mr. Lloyd George with pessimism because he points out unpleasant facts with a view to remedying them is nothing short of an act of ingratitude. He wants to set right what is wrong, and you cannot set things right unless you know what is wrong. "The Evening News" in its issue of December 21, 1915, hits the nail on the head when it says :

"If pessimism means possessing the courage to face the worst and set right what is wrong, then it is pessimism that is going to win this war, and Mr. Lloyd George is one of the greatest of the pessimists."

Mr. Lloyd George is neither pessimist nor optimist, but he is "factist" (that is one who faces the fact and tells the fact), if I can correctly use the term. Or, he is, what they call a meliorist. The word meliorism was invented by George Eliot, and adopted later on by Professor James Sully, who turned it into a philosophical term. A meliorist is one who takes a middle course, i.e. who believes that the world is, on the whole, towards good, and who believes in the ultimate triumph of liberty over militarism, of justice over injustice, of righteousness over wickedness, of light over darkness, and of good over evil. But this is not optimism, but meliorism. And Mr. Lloyd George is a meliorist. He is not a pessimist, but a patriot. He is, in fact, the torch-bearer of the truth.

Mr. Beriah Evans, a prominent statesman, who has been in close political touch with Mr. Lloyd George,

has remarked that Mr. Lloyd George owed his success to four main causes—"courage, oratory, astute use of the press, and supreme smartness." These four qualities which he possesses to a remarkable degree have, no doubt, helped him materially in building up his political career, but, at the top of all his qualities and gifts, I believe, comes 'action.' "He has the fever of motion in the blood, and is always at the gallop." This is the thing which differentiates him from other politicians. They sometimes fear and falter, and hesitate and waver. But he does not fear. He does not "hum and ha." They fear consequences, and contemplate changes which the step they intend taking might bring about. But regardless of consequences, and without fear of changes, he at once plunges himself into "action" with his characteristic audacity. Mr. A. G. Gardiner says of Mr. Churchill,

"He knows no sanction except his own will, and when he is seized with an idea he pursues it with an intensity that seems unconscious of opposition."

I believe, this is as true of Mr. Lloyd George as of Mr. Churchill. Study his career from boyhood to statesmanship, you will find that the moment he is convinced of the justness of a cause, he cheerfully risks his all on it, and throws himself into it with an impetuosity and audacity which ignores all opposition, however stubborn and tenacious. In the present war, his life-long political friends have attacked him, because he has become a convert to conscription of all varieties. This conscription business has brought him eulogies from the unionists, and attacks from the Radicals. But Mr. Lloyd George is not a man to mind popular judgment. As long as his conscience is clear and he knows that he is in the right, he does not care a straw for public opinion. He is not governed by tradition. His mind does not live on the past. It always wrestles with the present, oblivious of the past, and comes out victorious. The majority of politicians are governed by tradition. Before they take any step, they carefully scan the consequences. But Mr. Lloyd George's mind is not moulded in that cast. It is not for all times, but for the crisis. He has the instinct for the big occasion, and the courage to meet it. From his past record of political life one might suppose that he has always been on the look out for the game—I mean, the great

game. Now, for instance, the public and the press are of opinion that the situation about conscription—I think, compulsion is a better word—would have been different but for Mr. Lloyd George. "The Daily Mail" in its issue of December 28, 1915, while writing about the Cabinet meeting on December 27, 1915, wrote:—"It is understood that before the meeting Mr. Lloyd George made his own position clear in a message to the Prime Minister. He intimated that unless Mr. Asquith's pledge is interpreted in the strictest sense and compulsion applied to the single slackers he could not continue to be a member of the Government." This "Daily Mail" tale of ultimatum from Mr. Lloyd George was denied by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on January 11, 1915. But it shows how the political situation revolves round Mr. Lloyd George's personality during these times. But I do not agree with those who think that but for Mr. Lloyd George the situation would have been different. On the contrary, I agree with Mr. Arnold Bennet "that Mr. Lloyd George might have been very different but for the situation..... Mr. Lloyd George is only a portent."

His oratory is too well known to render any demonstration necessary. Those who have heard him speak cannot deny him his perfect mastery of elocution. He is the most natural orator of his time. By "natural orator" I mean unstudied orator. Unlike the majority of orators, he draws his lessons from life, and that is the reason why he is always giving us life at first hand. He sees things not through books but with his own eyes. He has no formulas, no shibboleths, no theories and speculations to expound. It is this fact that makes him the most popular orator of his time. Mr. Lloyd George comes direct from the people. He "comes out of the great hive itself." All of them were and are, truly speaking, university men. They polished their periods through their books. They drew their lessons and inspiration from books. But Mr. Lloyd George owes nothing to books or to University life. He has had no education worth the name. All the education he has had came direct from life, came straight from experience. That is the reason why he can have his way alike with an audience of peers and peeresses, of shop-girls reluctant to lick stamps, of working-class people reluc-

tant to work with their employers, of commercial people reluctant to give way now and then, and of colliers reluctant to lick creation. It is this human touch which makes him so popular as an orator. He is not only the orator who can settle working-class peoples' strikes so satisfactorily. He is also the orator whom the commercial class consider as their own.

"Mr. Lloyd George's admissions of our past shortcomings", writes "The Times" in its issue of December 21, 1915, "and of our incurable habit of being too late, go far beyond anything said by any newspaper. To some newspapers they will be extremely unpalatable. But they were brave words, and we beg his colleagues to ponder on the fact that he enjoys the confidence of the public more than any of them because he speaks out more than any of them. He is not afraid of the truth or of confessing to mistakes; and his courage inspires confidence. The way to be in time for the future is to recognise that you have been always too late in the past."

As he is a natural orator, he never prepares his speeches. He waits for the occasion which inspires him. He is an improviser in that respect. An idea seizes him, and he dwells upon it with the freshness, frankness and innocence of a child. All his rhetorical qualities,—wit, humour, passion and sympathy—are brought into play at once. These qualities are always at his command. "We will have Home Rule for Ireland and for England and for Scotland and for Wales," he said addressing some Welsh farmers some years ago. "And for hell," interposed a half-drunken voice. "Quite right. I like to hear a man stand up for his own country," at once answered Mr. Lloyd George. It is this dramatic force and play of humour which makes his speeches so incomparable.

As an orator he is not a master of condensation like Mr. Asquith, who uses the least possible words to express his meaning. Unlike Mr. Asquith, he has nothing of sonorous and balanced periods. Unlike Mr.

Churchill, he has no polished periods. Unlike Gladstone or Bright, he has nothing of pomp and long periods. Unlike Burke, he has nothing of his philosophy. Unlike Fox, he has nothing of torrential energy. Unlike Mr. Bonar Law or Viscount Grey, he has nothing of simplicity of style, absolutely free from rhetoric or polished phrases. But he can play upon his audience as a clever musician plays upon a musical instrument. He can do whatever he likes with his audience. He can rouse their passions or freeze their blood. He can be gay as well as grave. He can be tempestuous as well as still. But he is always impressive like a clever musician. Take the case of the Welsh Coal Strike of July, 1915. When all efforts to bring about reconciliation between the employers and the workmen failed, Mr. Lloyd George was asked to deal with the situation. With his alert diplomacy he settled the strike at once. His simple words, said at the right time and in the right way, at once smoothed the whole affair. The reason why people "get right" with him is, as already stated, that no one can understand and read men in a way as Mr. Lloyd George can. It amounts to intuition. He did not appeal to their passions, but to their mind. He treated them with respect, and offered them an argument and not an entertainment. He did not appeal to their emotions. He simply laid bare the truth of the fact before them. He not only understands and reads people mysteriously deep, but he has also a genuine sympathy. It is this human touch which appealed to the strikers and ended the strike, as if by the wand of a magician. The Welsh Coal strikers sang "Lloyd George idd y Gora" meaning "Lloyd George is the best." He is not only a man of action: He is also a tactician.

Mr. Lloyd George's broad shoulders are at present weighted with the greatest and gravest responsibility that a public man ever undertook. He has to work from first thing in the morning till last thing at night.

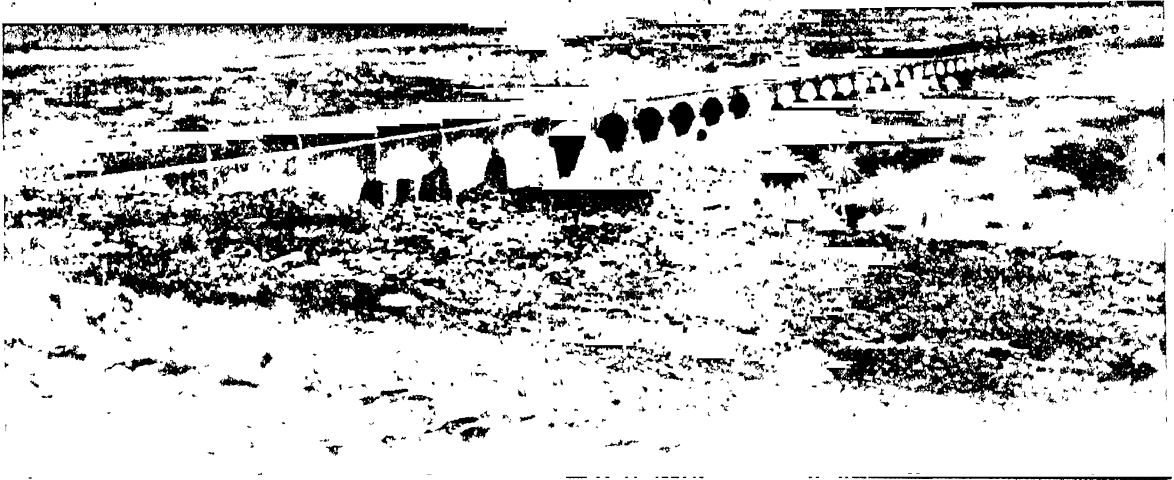
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MARIKANAVE—LARGEST ARTIFICIAL LAKE IN INDIA

By M. T.

THE Government of the Mysore State has always been ready to consider new opportunities for the development of the country, and during the past few years the active policy of the previous dewans has been carried on with even greater zeal. There is room for considerable developments in the industrial life of the people, but the State is essentially an agricultural one. How best to develop

the Mysore Government to meet this need, and it is one of the finest engineering feats in India. To call it a reservoir is a misnomer, for it is really a huge lake, eighteen miles long, governing an area of 30 square miles. There are several other artificial lakes of larger dimensions completed or nearing completion, but this is, up to date, the largest in India. For nearly a century the possibility of damming the Marika-



One of the aqueducts of the largest artificial lake in India.

that branch of work has been the aim of successive dewans, and several schemes have been launched. As in other parts of India the need for water is one of the great problems in many districts, and the great project, known as the Marikanave Reservoir, is perhaps the greatest effort made by

nave gorge was remarked upon, and from time to time various schemes have been suggested, but it was not till 1892 that the subject was taken up seriously. Careful examination of the rocks was made, for it was necessary that a dam, such as they proposed to build, should have a founda-



Building the dam of the largest artificial lake in India.

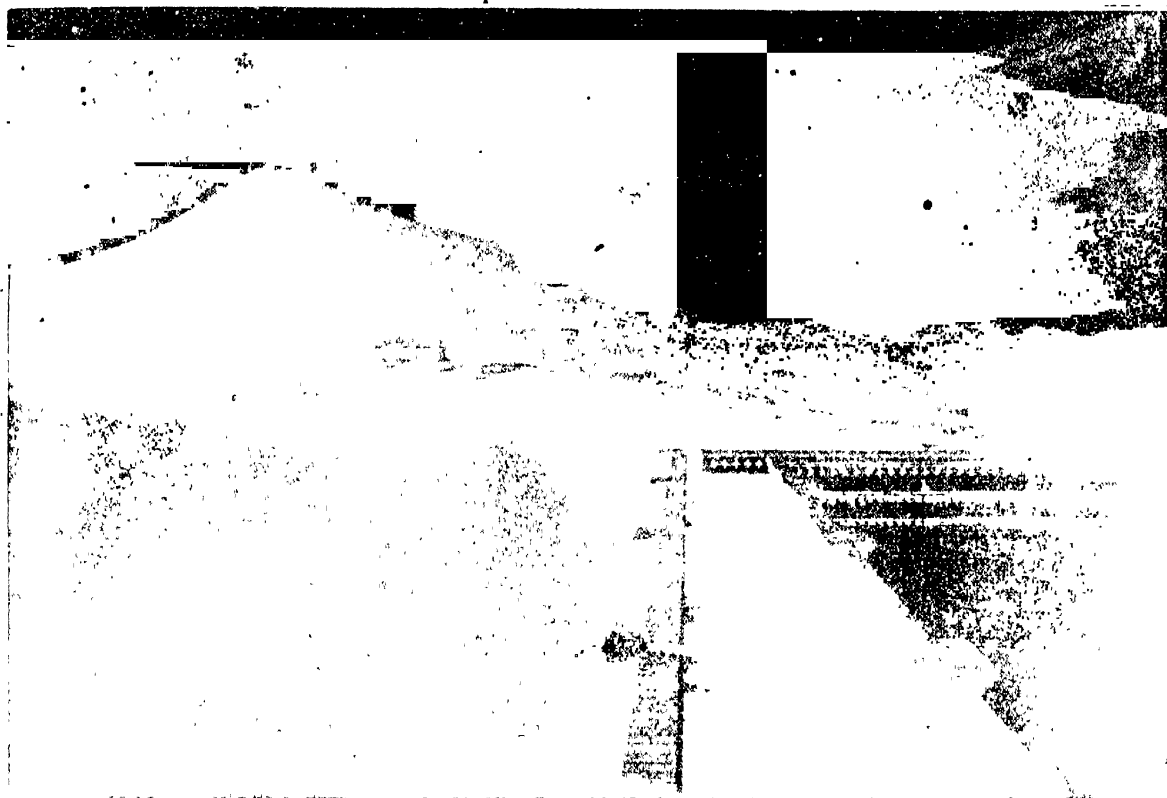
tion of the firmest nature. At first experts condemned, but later and more detailed experiments led the geologists to pronounce it absolutely safe. The work was commenced and a programme of work drawn up by Mr. Dalal, the Superintending Engineer, was followed, with results highly satisfactory, both to the State and to the people employed on the works.

The chief object of the scheme is to irrigate the land round about the town of Hiriyr in the Chitaldrug District—a tract of land, which, compared with other parts of the State, is barren to a degree. The annual rainfall is only fifteen inches, and in poor years as little as 6 or 7. The lake would thus prevent a huge amount of water running to waste and provide an extensive area of land with a regular supply which would thus protect the people during the frequent periods of local scarcity. Though full advantage has not yet been taken of the water available it is almost certain that the ryots will realise the value of this large tract of land which can, by a little labour, be made most fertile. A part of the supply now directed to the

Hiriyr taluq is to be diverted by means of a high level channel to another district.

The engineers decided that a dam, 142 feet high, with 20 feet foundations, was necessary. This meant a total height of 162 feet. The wall was to be built in uncoursed rubble and mortar, the weight of the masonry being 150 lbs per cubic foot, and the dam constructed in such a manner that the maximum pressure should not exceed eight tons per cubic foot. The width of the gorge was 240 feet. The dam which has been constructed is 1330 feet in length and fifteen feet wide. Arrangements have been made whereby any excessive monsoon discharge may be dealt with—a weir 470 feet long being constructed—and it is not likely that the capacity of the weir will ever be tested to the full by any such contingency.

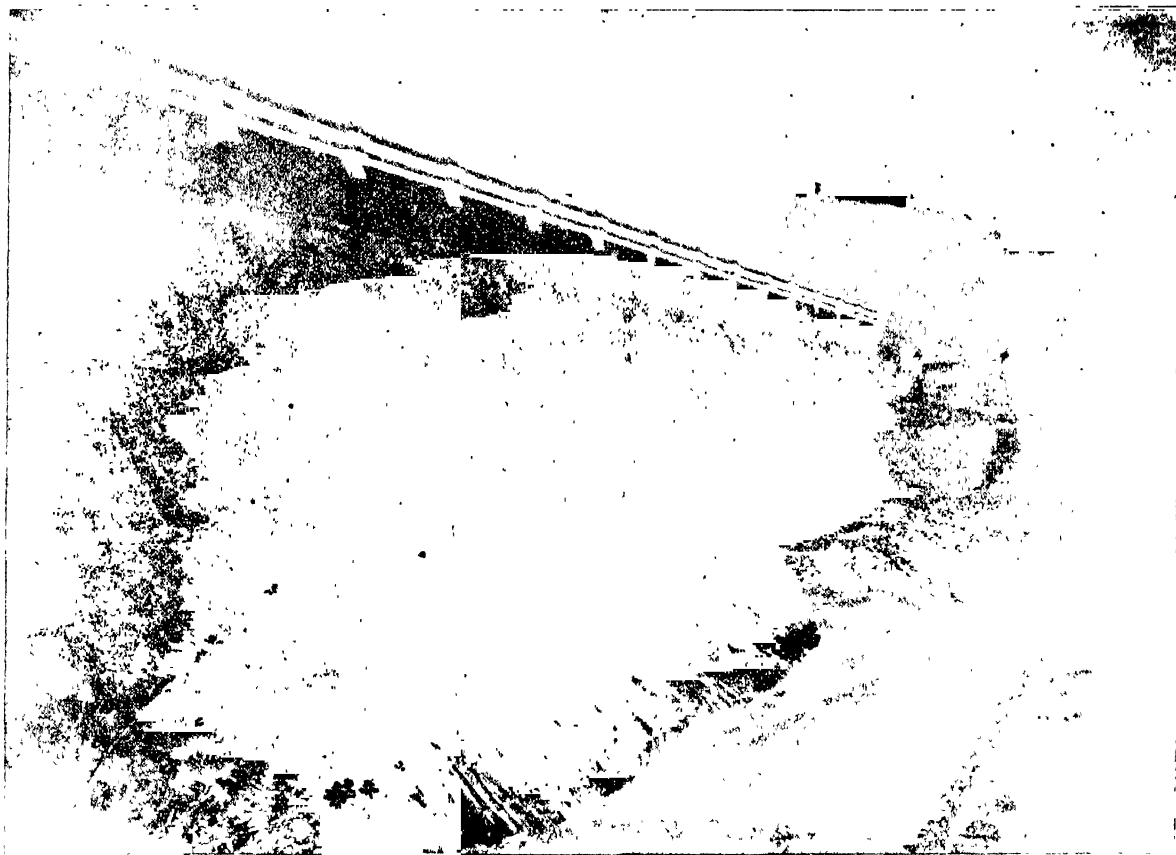
The work was not without its incidents. In 1898 the buildings for the staff were erected and preparations for the foundations of the dam went on apace. In four months the work received a rude check, for cholera broke out, a most serious matter among a community of over five thousand



The completed dam of the largest artificial lake in India.

crowded together in huts. Drastic measures were taken. The sick were isolated ; pure water was provided and the people forbidden to drink of the contaminated stream which was the cause of the trouble; huts were destroyed and wells infected ; in all about 400 people died. Some four thousand workpeople, who had been brought to the place as the result of hard work, decamped, taking with them some Rs. 2000 as advances. This was ultimately recovered. After this the place was free and no pains were spared by the authorities to protect the large number of coolies employed. Before they had completed the dam a heavy flood came, covered the walls and filled the place in which they were working with water. The water and sand were removed and the work of constructing the dam was continued, with little interruption, till the completion. The question of the nature of the stone to be used was decided by searching experiments. It was found that haematite quartite which could be obtained at comparatively little expense from the surrounding hills, would

serve the purpose admirably. Small stones were used, varying from half to eight cubic feet. At first trolley lines were brought into service, but later a cheaper method—by 'noggies' or professional stone-lifters—was in vogue, and answered very well. The work continued steadily for several years and the channels for conveying the water were begun, but scarcity of funds necessitated a delay in the work. It was not till ten years were completed that the dam was finished. The rear face of the dam was covered with cement so as to avoid the growth of small vegetation on the slopes. The sluices for the regulation of the water are known as Stoney's patent gates. Each vent has two gates and are capable of discharging over 1000 cubic feet per second, under a head of six feet. Though each gate weighs almost six tons, only four men are required to lift them by means of powerful winches. The water on passing through the sluices, is carried back into the river below, and later is caught up by an anicut which sends the water along two large irrigation channels. Its flow is



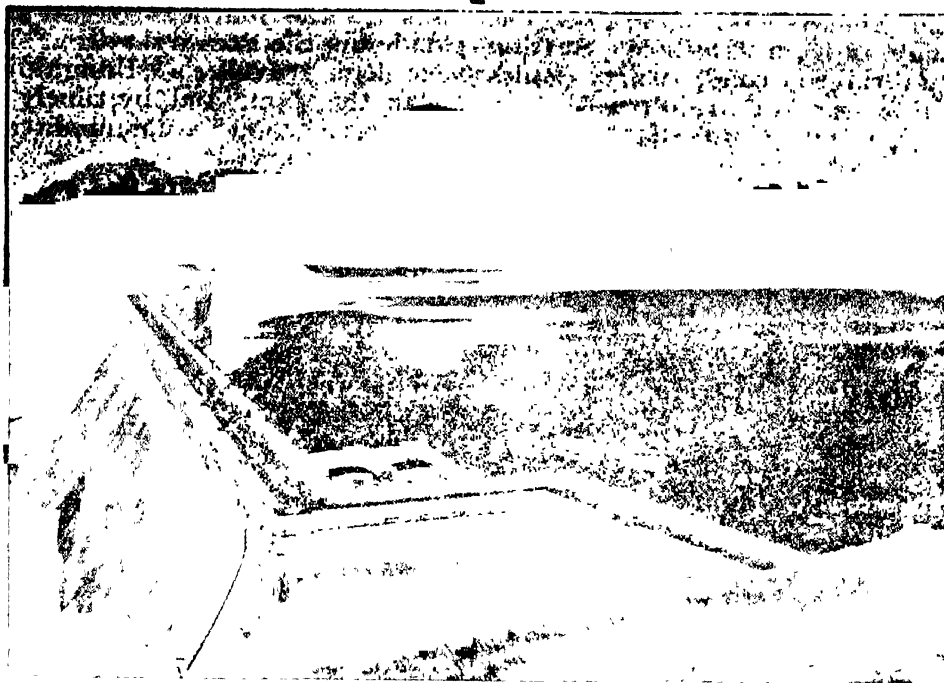
The massive embankment of the largest artificial lake in India.

so arranged that when power is needed a considerable fall of water is available. At the foot of the dam is a small temple, dedicated to the Mari goddess. The inhabitants of the district say that when she discovers how she has been insulted, she will burst the dam and the water, which will rise to the height of the Stambha of the temple at Hiriur, will be swallowed by the Basava on the top.

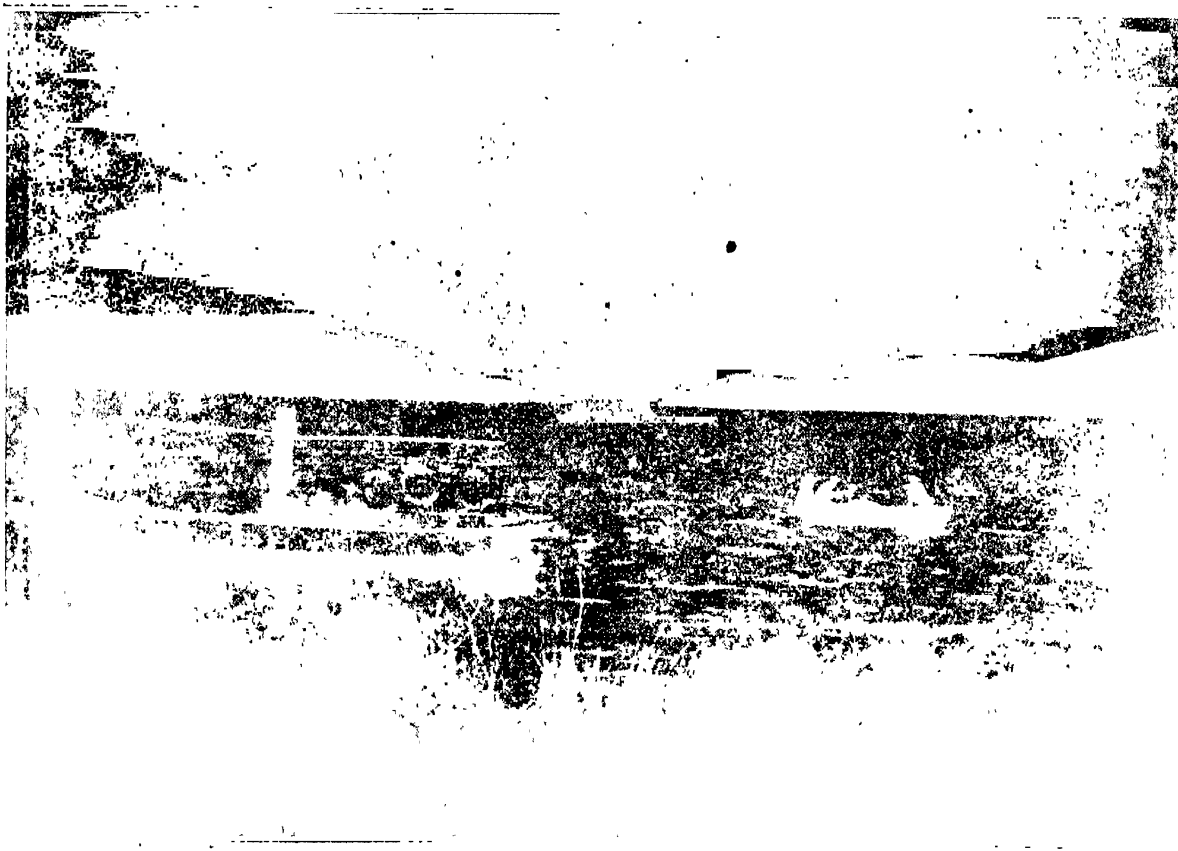
The lake covers a vast area, and the rising waters covered over a large number of villages. Thirty-two were submerged, and compensation had to be paid and other lands given to the people. Though the average yield of the catchment has been below expectation, due to abnormally poor rainy seasons, there is an average supply of about 20,000 units. The total cost of the project was forty five lakhs of rupees. While it was realised from the outset that the scheme was protective rather than remunerative, it is believed that it will ultimately pay at least three per cent. on the outlay. If the power can be used for

the cotton and other industries which may develop here, this rate will be considerably increased.

After this brief account of the history of the construction of this great artificial lake, it is necessary to give some description of its beauties. When the traveller first ascends to the top of the dam, he is delighted with the vast stretch of water before him, with the conical shaped hills on both sides covered with green foliage, the islands dotted here and there, and the inlets resembling closely the scenery of the Scotch lochs. There are two launches on the lake and it is a delightful experience to sail the whole length of the lake and to cruise among the islands. In December, a large number of ducks, teal and geese are to be seen, while the lake abounds in fish of all kinds. As time passes, there is no doubt that the whole scenery will be improved, and the presence of moisture will assist the growth of trees on the slopes of the hills.



View taken of the Marikanave lake from a near hill showing steam launch.



General view of the lake Marikanave.

Marikanave is not easy of access. The shortest way is from Hosdurga Station over an unbridged road, thirty miles distance. For the Maharajah a shorter road has been made so that he may touch the lake at the western end, from

whence the journey to the dam can be made by the steam launch. There is an excellent traveller's Bungalow situated near the dam, and by timely warning in advance, good accommodation can be arranged for visitors.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE YOUNG WOMEN OF INDIA

BY FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH.

THE first semester of my college course I spent in the family of the Dean, giving German lessons to the children and helping Mrs. Gardner in cooking, sewing, and general house-work in return for board and room. An American boy student, and later a Japanese boy student, did the heavy work around the house and

my fellow students. In fact, despite the experience with the little freshman girl, I rather shrank at first from close association with the girls. Before I was quite capable to freely give and take everywhere in friendship and comradeship, I had to overcome within myself considerable remnants of false pride and of European



Marine Laboratories of the Stanford University at Pacific Grove, California.

took care of the garden. On Saturdays I gave my services most of the day in order to reach the required aggregate of four hours work per day. This system left me time enough for study and lectures, but none for recreation or association with

estimation concerning "degrading manual labor," which made me oversensitive and often caused me to repel frank and friendly overtures, misjudging them for flattery, which my foreign pride resented.

After I conquered sensitiveness and this

false valuation in my own mind, I found I was really not meeting it anywhere else. I discovered that everyone was sincerely willing to take me for just what I was, and not for what I *did*, in fact, that "working my way through" was cordially appreciated. I mention this because of my knowledge of the false valuation of manual work existing in India as in Europe, and because I desire to aid all girls, coming over to this country, and possibly resorting to some work which they would consider below their own caste at home, to arrive at a truer valuation of such activity.

During my first semester, under the impetus of the radiant treasures revealed to me in literature, an old vague dream of becoming a writer sprang full into life: I started to write in poetic form, in the German language. At this period the Dean drew my attention to the Scholarships obtainable at all universities. Some of these are devoted to specialized purposes and work, some are obtainable through competition or achievement in some field, and some are granted to deserving, indigent students to make their acquisition of education easier. In consequence I applied to the Joseph Bonheim Junior Scholarship Fund. This Fund claimed to make no distinction of race, creed, or color, and made no very specialized, ultimate requirements. When asked by the scholarship committee to substantiate my claim to a free education on the grounds of wanting to devote myself to literature, I, in desperation and having nothing else, sent in that collection of lately written, lyric poems. The Scholarship Committee declared itself "incompetent to criticise" and sent them on to the Head of the German Department of the University of California. There the matter pended awaiting the report.

Meanwhile, majoring* in the German Department, I fortunately obtained an assistantship in it for the second semester, spring 1908. My task was to correct the students' compositions and grammar exercises. My use and knowledge of the

spoken and written German language was correct but the Department did not know that my technical knowledge of it was incomplete. I did not know its grammar beyond the elementary and half-forgotten instruction received in the Swiss Public Schools. I knew what the terms "subject, object, verb, noun, adjective" meant, but could not have recognized nor defined an "adverbial object" or the use of a "subjunctive in a subordinate clause." I had no one at all with whom I ventured to discuss such problems. The gaining of an accredited educational standing had been so hard and had eluded me for so many years, that even after I had gained full entrance standing I was troubled by the fear of losing my advantages if it were known how deficient and hap-hazard my former training had been. I decided therefore to correct my deficiency privately by individual study at home, even while carrying on the actual work of correcting others' mistakes. It was a hard but very much worth-while task, and mentioned here as one instance of how it is possible to gain all the intermediary knowledge which one may lack in any subject, even while acquiring higher instruction in it.

All this restricted me in a measure and, although I did well in my college work, did not leave me enough time nor energy to prove deeply into just what special line of study, occupation, or profession I was fundamentally fitted for.

The assistantship promised to net me about twenty dollars a month and I decided to give up the time-consuming housework. I had become acquainted with a professor in the German Department, who, like his wife, belonged to my nationality. Although not rich and having seven children of their own, they generously opened their home to me, accepting nothing but the meagre sum of fifteen dollars a month, barely enough to cover expenses. I spent some very happy months in their midst.

Aside from my studies and assistant work, I commenced to spend Saturdays and term-vacations sewing for various families. My Swiss sewing-school training having well prepared me for this, I received twenty-five cents an hour for such work, or two dollars and meals for an eight hour day. But even so, with the most careful managing, after paying the

* The work in American Universities is divided into Departments, according to subjects, e.g. Engineering Department, English Department, History Department, etc. The Department, in which a student expects to take his degree, is his "major" Department; other Departments constitute for him "minor" Departments.

tuition of fifteen dollars a semester, required of all foreigners and non-Californians, and after buying books and incidentals, the end of the semester found me some twenty-five dollars in debt.

Feeling certain of the continuance of my assistantship for the following year, the problem facing me upon the close of the college year was that of immediate summer employment. With the taste of the failure of the previous summer still bitter in my mouth, I refrained from troubling the Dean again. As I had not had time to associate much with other students, I knew little of the great variety of work offered and accepted, and still less of the means of obtaining it, least of all of the various students' associations which further such attempts. Therefore one week of vacation passed without my having found anything. Then a chance occurrence brought to me the position as "companion" to an elderly invalid, Mrs. S. This companionship developed to imply the most varied and unexpected round of duties: personal service, the lacing of shoes, the tidying of her bedroom, building open fires, picking faded roses from the beautiful bushes in the garden, feeding the cat, reading aloud, entertaining Mrs. S. and her company, attending to her correspondence, running errands, etc.

I found Mrs. S. very exacting indeed at first and the secluded country home with its invalid atmosphere, where for days at a time I saw no one but the old lady, the cook, the gardener and the grocery-man (none of whom was company), was appallingly depressing. The urgent need of a position and of money kept me quiet however, but many were the times I crept off weakly to my room to hide the tears of hurt and lonesomeness. As the weeks went by, they brought to me the realization of Mrs. S.'s own loneliness, mental illness, and complete nervous breakdown, and therefore of her helplessness in irritability; but they also brought moments of generous motherly warmth-heartedness and loveliness. These grew more and more frequent as the summer wore on and her health improved, and I found an added joy and recreation in the wonderful garden surrounding the home, as watching beautiful flowers grow has always been one of my intensest pleasures.

Towards the end of summer, Mrs. S.

began to take interest in my studies and ambition and let me spend much time in special study in German literature. I was planning to take special examinations to obtain advanced credits, which would hasten my final graduation.

From the university came word that I was reappointed assistant in the German Department, and from the Bonnheim Fund (whose President, Mr. Bonnheim, I had met personally) I received the glad tidings that, upon recommendation of the professor of the University of California, a scholarship of twenty dollars a month was awarded me. How joyously thankful I was for the letter that assured me of the boon of financial aid. I went back to college radiant in body, spirit, and hopes.

The assistantship brought me in from ten to fifteen dollars a month that winter; in all my spare and vacation time I kept on adding to my income by sewing for others. The demand for this was always three times greater than I could supply. The first semester of that new year I lived alone in an attic room, cooking my own breakfast and supper on a little alcohol stove and only dining out. This left me quite independent and with time to spare for longed-for, special reading and for meeting my fellow students. I found that I even could afford to buy materials to sew for myself pretty things and dresses, which I, like most girls, liked and coveted. I may even have been guilty of skimping at times on breakfast and supper expenses for the sake of a prettier shade or texture. I began to take greater part in social activities, though, self-centered as I was, I continued to underestimate the importance of coming in close touch with student and community life on every plane. The previous semester I had joined the German Club of the university, a club devoted to both study and sociability; now they elected me President, as unsuspecting of the fact that I knew nothing about organization or executive duties as the German Department had been about my deficiency in grammar.

In October 1908, at the beginning of my second year, I took my special examinations in the German Department and obtained 18 advanced credits*; this meant

* One university "credit" or "unit" in any subject stands for one hour's work a week during one semester or half year.

that I already possessed forty credits, or one third the amount required for graduation from the university. At this time I still desired, for literary reasons largely, to return to Europe as soon as possible ; therefore I wished to obtain as good a knowledge as possible of English and English literature. In consequence I changed my Major, and, leaving the German Department, entered the English Department. This brought me in contact with a new group of students and I somewhat lost interest in the German Club.

When Christmas vacation came, I started sewing again. Christmas night I sewed until two o'clock A. M. in the employ of a belated gift-sender, and then hastened to take the earliest train to spend Christmas day with my now recovered Mrs. S., happy in my task of garlanding the rooms before the arrival of the other Christmas guests.

For the remaining days of the vacation, Mr. Bonnheim, Founder and President of the Scholarship fund, invited me with others of his students to Sacramento, the Capital of California. He was a man of great kindness and deep human sympathies, taking a truly fatherly interest in us. He provided theater parties, launch rides on the river, dinners, and gave us a royally good time.

Upon return to college came another epoch : I went to live with new-found associates, fellow students. Six of us rented rooms in one house. Two were sisters and occupied the same room ; two were old friends and did the same ; another girl and I each had a separate room, as I never felt willing to share my room. For my heated room and the privilege of the use of the kitchen and laundry, I paid nine dollars a month. We all did our own cooking and found that the cost of food never exceeded eleven dollars a month, and even went as low as seven, though we never stinted on food. On Saturdays we washed and ironed our own clothing. Instead of sewing, I now started to coach backward students in German at fifty cents an hour. But somehow I did not find among my housemates any with whom to discuss what I considered deep interests and problems. We were home, but not intellectual companions.

Two girls in the house were entirely self-supporting. One of them typewrote for hours each day for students, professors,

and University Departments ; work which is paid but fairly well. She was a frail little thing with a will of iron, but no special promise or brilliance of intellect. Her main need and purpose in working for the bachelor's degree was to be able to obtain well-paid positions upon graduation. Her college career spelled to her largely drudgery and repression.

The other self-supporting student was a strong, healthy, common-sense, and commercially-inclined girl. She worked only in summertime to provide for the expenses of the whole college year. For two months each summer she rented a horse and buggy from livery stables and travelled thus alone from district to district in the country, from town to town, selling the wares of a school-supply firm to the trustees of public schools, —books, chalk, maps, paper, blackboards, anything and everything needed in a well-equipped school. She cleared in various summer vacations from two-hundred and fifty to over five hundred dollars each time, and no financial cares disturbed her devotion to the social activities of college life. Hers is the only case of such splendid success I personally know of, but I cite it to show that the achievement is possible to personalities suited to such work.

I always stood in awe before the work of these two fellow students, feeling myself incapable of either the sacrificing self-abnegation of the little plodder, or the resolute business-capability and absolute undauntedness of the other.

The next summer vacation I received a call to go again as companion to my white-haired friend with the flower garden. She had almost become a California mother to me and I was as gladly willing to go and render her the personal services as I would have rendered them to my own mother. I went, and what do you think ! Only to find still more astounding "duties" of a companion awaiting me than those revealed to me by the preceding summer. She knew that in order to graduate the following spring, as I earnestly hoped to, I needed the extra credits obtainable through attending a summer-school course. Though old and not strong, she took a long, four-hour trainride with me to the Marine Laboratories of the Stanford University, situated at Pacific Grove, chose for me a pleasant room near by, paid the tuition of twenty-five dollars, and left me

to enjoy a splendid six weeks' course of marine botany under excellent instruction and in one of the loveliest spots on the whole Pacific Coast.

This was my first work in science, and though I had undertaken it with the sole and not very commendable object of gaining additional credits, it left me with a deep appreciation and love of science, scientific methods, and the wonderful, hidden workings of nature.

Returned from my summer school to my friend's country home, another surprise awaited me: friends of hers were ready to visit the wonderful "Yosemite National Park" in the heart of the High Sierra Mountains. One among this group was a Stanford girl and friend of mine, and Mrs. S. had planned for me to join them, though she herself could not accompany us on the strenuous trip. Thus I saw and lived for one whole week in the very heart of that most precious scenic jewel of California. It was the first time that I had been in the high mountains since I left my native Alps and the experience was one continuous inward song. It was there that I for the first time in my life slept out under the open starry sky, at the foot of giant Sequoias where we had placed our cots, scorning to sleep in our tents. These Sequoias clustered under a sheer cliff three thousand feet in height. There was a curiously broadening joy in the discovery of another spot on earth as beautiful as my cherished Alps. Yosemite Park, aside from its grand beauty, had a special fascination for me: wild deer and bears still roamed through it, and the last remaining members of the tribe of Indians originally inhabiting that section lived there.

For the remaining weeks of the summer vacation I returned to my wonted duties by the side of my white-haired friend.

The following semester my scholarship was increased to thirty dollars a month. I gave up all other work, except a few hours of coaching, in order to be able to call all my time my own, because I was expecting to graduate next spring. My special examinations and the summer course now assured the completion of my college course in three instead of the usual four years.

At the beginning of this semester, I was elected to the English Club. This Club had a decidedly literary tinge, and is more pretentious than the German Club. A few

of its members were also organized into Round Tables, one for the men, one for the women students. Each Round Table met separately once a week, combinedly about once a month, or in open meetings of the Club, in order to submit, read, and mutually criticise original literary productions. These meetings were attended by some members of the faculty. I considered it quite an honor to have been asked, but whatever the fault, the work and the sociability of these clubs never satisfied me. I had still failed to acquire the social ease which makes gatherings enjoyable. These clubs served, however, to bring into my college life a few most admirable and stimulating friendships. Not until these came to me had I found anyone with whom I could share my thoughts on a thousand subjects, with whom I could discuss and compare conclusions I had drawn. With these new friends, all of my own impetuous age, started a period of endless, eager arguments and criticisms, ranging anywhere from intolerant discussions about the faculty to social wrongs, economic determination, nebular theories and thought-transference. I took the keenest joy in such thought-contact. It was at this period that I first came in contact with Hindusthanes and Indian philosophic and religious thought, which opened up new and bright vistas to me.

I was becoming more and more absorbingly, although theoretically, interested in labor and women's problems, in the struggle of the unfortunate classes, in economic and social science. The many technical requirements of my Major Department, which consumed my time, began to grow irksome. I begrudged spending hours and hours studying Spenser's "Fairy Queen," when I longed to read Spargo's "The Bitter Cry of the Children." My literary training became too narrow; my university work seemed so little related to actual life; the consciousness of my woeful ignorance of the most vital moving powers underlying society grew painful. I was only just beginning to experience the real thirst for concrete knowledge of the Why and How of human and social interrelations, muddles, and miseries. I began to wish I had studied more economics, history, science, education, and hygiene, instead of so much language, literature and art. I began to deplore that my University had no Domestic Science De-

partment, no courses specialized to answer the needs of women. Not until this last year of college, and hardly even then, did it become clear to me what my (and what I considered other women's) educational needs really consisted of; not until it was almost too late to saddle another mount and I seemed compelled to have to turn away from the spring of learning when most thirsting.

I felt others, specially the Scholarship Trustees, expected me to graduate. I was using money given me for special purpose claimed by myself, that of preparing myself for literature, a purpose on the fulfillment of which they had a right to count. The practical, experienced mind of Mr. Bonnheim, a business-man, had given this ambition of mine a certain bend to which I had tacitly agreed though I never relished it: Whatever developed afterward, I was first to teach literature and language in High-School classes. To "just teach" (in a state already overcrowded with teachers) according to an established system, the soundness of which I questioned from my woman's point of view, for the sole sake of my financial independence, seemed condemnation to me at a time when I longed to discover "the wherefore of the why." The more the existence of the still wider fields of knowledge and my ignorance of them dawned on my mind, the more I felt "unfinished."

But I graduated, received my Bachelor's Degree in May 1910.

My Scholarship was to continue for another year after graduation, until I obtained my Master's and High-School Teacher's Degree in English. But convincing (perhaps hypnotizing) myself more and more that the essential life interests of those whose money I used, were diagonally opposed to mine, and that my vague ideas of what I ultimately wished to *become*, conflicted with their definite ideas of what I ought to *do*, I intended to forge ahead along new lines, this time entirely on my own resource. I wanted to prepare for broader, constructive service to humanity, especially the down-trodden suffering masses. Eager and hot-headed as I was, I never stopped to consider that I really knew nothing about the social convictions of my benefactors, but simply because they possessed the power of being "benefactors," adjudged them "capitalists" and "class-enemies."

I relinquished my Scholarship; it seemed the only honest thing to do.

As a temporary means to an end, I turned to the selling of books during the following summer vacation. From my fellow student I had learned that in selling things lay great promise of quick financial returns. The Book Company assigned the district of Sacramento to me, the domicile of Mr. Bonnheim. I found that Mr. Bonnheim still took the same kindly interest in me, and I was asked to come before a committee meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Scholarship Fund. Here I faced the group of gentlemen seated around their long table, and questioning me about my reasons for giving up the Scholarship and about my future plans. I do not remember much of what I said, nor do I know what they really thought of my attitude; but the interview ended with my persistence in my determination to do without further aid, and their kindly suggestion that I should still think it over. A little later I received a letter from them informing me that a certain sum would not be disposed of before the beginning of the next semester, and that I could still call for it should I change my mind. Most generous treatment of a rebel, was it not?

In Sacramento, for my book-selling work, I gathered the names of prominent people, catalogued them, and approached these first, systematically opening my field of work. Armed with the references of a few of these people, I gradually widened my circle of "prospects," a term applied to possible buyers. There were times when, ringing the doorbells from house to house, I did not succeed in selling anything; on my "best" day I cleared thirty-two dollars. I averaged six dollars a day, but expenses were heavy. I could have earned far more had it not been for remnants of false pride and an inherent dislike of approaching strangers with the request to buy which hampered me and soon made my work fitful and many days a torture to me. On the whole, I received courteous treatment, and even made friends of total strangers, but sympathy and politeness may not be expected from all who are urged to buy and part with money when they are busily bent upon other things and feel no need for the proffered ware. But certainly for anyone with business taste and suited to approach strangers on gainful, personal

interests, this line of students' activity offers rare opportunity for self-support, and both American and Hindustanee students have succeeded in it,

As for my educational and life plans, I decided not to bind myself for the time being to anyone or anything, either personality or profession or position. I intended to continue studying, determined to keep on seeking and acquiring until social institutions and human problems should become clear enough to me to convince me unmistakably of *what* and *where* my true place was in this scheme of things entire. It did not occur to me that I might possibly find my answers and my true place sooner, and could judge systems more quickly and correctly, by taking, even if only temporarily, a definite place in one of them, a wheel among wheels, and thus acquiring an inside working knowledge by which to sift or change or strengthen my untested theories. As it was, I had no idea of whether I would ultimately be nurse or wife or labor leader, would work in America or Europe or India. But work, useful true work I hungered for. I craved a field into which I could throw all the hot enthusiasm of my soul and the loneliness of my heart.

Had I at this period had close family or national ties, these would probably have drawn me back and naturally swung me into some satisfying, definite work and action. But life had surrounded me with weak family ties and death had meanwhile broken most of these; moreover leaving Switzerland with the conviction (right or wrong as it may have been) that my family, country, and nation had no place for me nor need of me, added a further strongly detaching and denationalizing factor.

Had some great American problem cried out to me in the concrete shape of related human hands stretched towards me for collaboration and help,—I would have answered the call with a fierce joy. But the concrete human contact, which wholesomely links theory and practice, was missing in my life, as (or perhaps because) it was missing to a great degree between academic education and domestic and public life. I was too close in time, place, thought, and emotions to this problem to be able to even perceive, much less handle, it clearly in its practical

solution. One thing I knew: I dreaded to work just for the sake of a living. As no personal responsibilities forced me to compromise, I chose unconsciously what Sister Nivedita since consciously expressed: "Let us ordain ourselves free of the means of living: let us give our whole mind to the developing of life itself."

Had I been an Indian girl, I am certain that the call of my family and the need of my nation would have drawn me back home after graduation, and this "developing of life itself" would have gone hand in hand and been quickened and simplified by immediate educational work for my people.

I have portrayed the maze of inward conflicts and uncertainties, into which I was thrown at the end of my college career, to emphasize strongly some values which the young mind, under the inrush of new ideas and individual development in a foreign land, may easily overlook and minimize: the value of home-, community-, and national ties!

Young women of India, you need not, like myself, search blindly after knowledge and fulfilment, search far and wide for the true work of your life, for your place. Your home and your Motherland drives you forth with bitter cries of Her need for more education, ever more education, for a redemption of Her darkened glory.

Girls of India,—the joy of life lies in service, the true fruits of education in learning how to serve WELL. Wherever you go, tenderly preserve the memories of your home and community and nation. If they point to conditions which your mind tells you are detrimental to social progress and individual happiness, be big enough to be glad of your contact with these conditions just because of, not despite, their defects! Be glad,—for they point out to you steadily the road to your life's work; they form the very center around which and for which you shall sift the fruits of your learning and education and power of adaptation.

Yours is the task of learning how to teach in the home and in schools, of judging and combating the true causes of ignorance, poverty, disease, inequality *in your country*. Wherever you are, whatever you do, whoever may influence you,—keep your mind steadily centered on this. Be slow to let personal desire or

individual development interfere with this, your national Dharma.

Some such turning point, some such imperative need for personal choice, as the one described in my college career, comes into the life of most ardent students. When it comes to you, let it not confuse your central aim. Never forget that need, motive, and purpose of your life's fulfilment hang waiting over your cradle, crouch in your path.

The need I have mentioned: your Mother's poverty. The motive: every true Indian woman's joyous desire to do all in her power to relieve this need. Let this be your purpose: to train yourself to select wisely and retain firmly only the best in and of all countries for the sake of enabling yourself to help establish in India a great system of woman's education; to see to it that this system will not be unwisely patterned after a system which answers only another country's needs or the needs of men; to see to it that the system will be so closely interwoven with life's real needs and daily purposes, as to prevent the break between academic training and domestic and social activities, which is so painfully apparent in a great deal of western women's training, which defeats its own ends, and causes untold waste of youthful energies through ruptures and difficult readjustments.

Therefore, Sisters of India, go wandering about in other lands where you know grows the herb to relieve your Mother's pain. But ever as you wander, let the stinging sorrow of Her cry ring in your ears until such time as your powers are quickened, your fount of knowledge rises to the surface, your courage is mated to wisdom and self-sacrifice. Then let it draw you back! For that bitter cry will change into your Mother's hopeful, longing call for dawning redress, as your feet will hasten in glad response to retouch Her shores, to lay youth, service, and triumphant life into Her empty outstretched hands!

Sisters of India,—your task is clear!

We stand on common ground: the choosing of our work;—you, the work of preparation; I, the work of fulfilment!

I think I am ready; I trust you are!

And my love to you!

May the frank revelation of my own experience contribute a grain of helpfulness, of freer courage to some sister somewhere in India. May it induce her to strike out hopefully. America's institutions are open to her, and America certainly has not lavished all its generosity and hospitality on me; there is ample left for such as approach it with clear eyes and a raised head.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA

STATE VERSUS COMPANY CONTROL.

THE Secretary to the Railway Board, in a Circular-Letter dated Simla, the 27th June, 1916, addressed to the several Indian Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and other bodies in India, whose interests are "specially affected" by the Railway policy of the Government of India, draws attention to, and invites opinion, on the question of the comparative advantages of the management of Railways in this country,—touched upon in an article which appeared in the *Modern Review* for January, 1914, headed

the "Nationalisation of Indian Railways"—by Companies and directly by the State, which has since the appearance of that article attracted much attention, and drawn considerable public discussion. It has since then twice been discussed in the Viceregal Legislative Council and the question has also been discussed in the columns of newspapers and pages of periodicals every now and then, for the last two years, from the time when the ball was first set rolling. In March, 1914, i. e., within three months after the appearance of the article

in *The Modern Review*, the Hon'ble Viraraghavachariar, from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, moved for an enquiry into the matter, but his Resolution, reasonable though it was, fell through owing to some inexplicable reasons, possibly owing to a strenuous official opposition to it. Not discouraged by this, however, the question, which is of more than ordinary interest to the Indian tax-payer, was revived last year by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, who demanded an enquiry into the matter from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council. In this second debate in the Council Chamber of the Empire, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Railway Department of the Government of India said, that the Railway Board were carrying out a departmental investigation of the question. This investigation, we are now given to understand in the Circular-letter mentioned above, has since been completed. The Railway Board's enquiry has, however, been mainly directed to an examination into the value of statistics, but owing to divergent conditions which prevail in the different systems of Railways in this country, the Railway Board, we are told, have been forced to the conclusion that it is not possible to arrive at any definite finding upon the statistical results obtained, and they have, accordingly, decided to pursue the matter by an enquiry into the practical side of Railway working founded upon the every-day experience of those commercially interested in railways in order to determine whether State or Company-managed lines have rendered the better service to the public, and they will, accordingly be glad to be favoured with replies by the public bodies aforesaid, to the following questions:—

(1) What particular railway or railways do your members most frequently have dealings with?

(2) If with both State and Company-managed lines, does the experience of your Association lead to the belief that the public are better served by one than by the other in—

- (a) promptitude of despatch and delivery,
- (b) in rates,
- (c) in the manner of dealing with complaints,
- (d) in the care and handling of goods,
- (e) in the matter of passenger traffic?

(3) If dealings are with one system of railway only, have you complaints to make under any of the sub-heads to the question (2)?

2. I am at the same time to enclose a short note in which the Railway Board have attempted to bring together the main arguments which have been put forward on the general question. It is thought well that you should have a statement of this kind before

you, but it is not the intention that you should necessarily discuss it in your reply. Your Association may prefer to confine their observations to those aspects of the case of which they have direct experience or special knowledge. The Board desire, therefore, to make it plain that they do not ask for more than replies to the specific questions set out at the end of the first paragraph of this letter, but they will of course welcome any remarks your Association may wish to make on the more general considerations involved in the case.

3. I am to add that this question of general policy with regard to the management of railways is of immediate interest in connection with the East Indian Railway contract which is terminable in the near future (if you think that any special considerations apply to this case I am to ask you to state them) and, since the time that is left before the expiry of the contract is not too long for a settlement of the numerous points that will arise, the Board will be greatly obliged if they are favoured with an early reply to this reference.

The following appendix is attached to the Railway Board's Circular letter:—

(1) The case for State-management, or, in countries where railways are at present private property, for nationalisation, may briefly be stated as follows. It is represented that the results of railway history all over the world are in favour of the State taking a larger share in the administration of railways. It is perhaps alleged, though this does not appear to be a point on which stress is laid, that State management is more efficient or economical than management by private companies. And, it is certainly urged that State-management achieves objects which it is not reasonable to expect from private enterprise.

(2) The criticisms that have been brought against this view are, first, as regards the appeal to experience that as a matter of fact by much the greater part of the railway mileage of the world is still held by companies, and further that the existence of State-management or ownership in other countries could be relied on as an argument only if it had been adopted as justified on its merits whereas the fact is that the adoption of a State system has seldom been the result of a definite policy; precisely as happened in India so in the great majority of cases elsewhere the system has been largely moulded by financial necessities. Secondly, as regards efficiency, it is said that this necessarily varies, and good and bad examples of working can be quoted under both systems but that a general survey affords no ground for holding that a State system has the advantage. It is added as a definite disadvantage of a State system that its working is liable to be affected in many ways by political influence, and experience shows that the consequences may be very serious.

(3) The main point, however, is one of principle—what should be the objects of railway administrations and how are these best attained. The opposing views on this point are, first, that railways should be administered as part of the machinery for the general development of a country whether this is remunerative from the point of view of the railway account or not, that this task clearly cannot be demanded from private enterprise which must have an eye to profits and that consequently railways fall of necessity within the domain of State industries. On the other hand, it is urged against this view that it is based on the assumption that railway profits are vicious and are secured only at the expense

of the general public; that this assumption is incorrect and that there is not in fact an antagonism between the commercial principle of railway working and the general interests of a country; that however frequently it may be overlooked the fact remains that there is a definite and strong community of interest between railways and trade, neither of which can prosper without the other; that consequently railways will do what they can to foster trade by all means which, either immediately or in their ultimate result, they can make remunerative to themselves; that concessions in rates which will not even in the long run prove remunerative amount to a subsidy; that subventions in this form are open to obvious objections, and that they are certain to affect very seriously the revenue from railways. Doubts are expressed further whether in the working of rates for the development of its country, State would be as efficient as private companies and experience is said to show that State control invariably produces a rigidity in the rate system which interferes with the attainment of the maximum economic advantage to be derived from the interchange of commodities and prevent the full development of trade which is secured by the freer and more elastic treatment of rates by independent railway administrations.

(4) In India the system which has grown up is a composite one, the great majority of the railways are owned by the State, but all except three of these State lines are managed by companies, who have a small share—about a tenth—in the properties they administer. In the railway history of India there are three main periods. To begin with, as was natural, since they were the creation of an English Government, private enterprise was favoured for the construction and administration of railways. It was found, however, that private enterprise stood in need of Government assistance and this led to the formation of guaranteed companies. The particular system adopted was found to be defective, and for a time State agency exclusively was favoured; this was the second stage. The transition to the third stage was a slow one—it occupied the years from 1879 to 1892; during which two committees of the House of Commons in 1879 and 1884, considered the subject and a very large volume of correspondence passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The final conclusion, however, was that there is room both for State agency and for companies and generally, though there have been examples both of companies lines being taken over by Government and of State lines being leased to companies, and each case has been treated on its merits and with due regard to the circumstances of the time, the preference has been for company-management. The Mackay Committee said in 1907, "the consistent policy of the Government of India for many years has been to arrange for the railways in India, while remaining State property, to be leased to companies which work them on behalf of Government on a profit-sharing basis. There is no disposition on the part of Government to depart from this policy which has worked satisfactorily," and the Government of India at that time accepted their views. The question now is whether a change of policy is desirable.

(5) The company system as it exists in India has been criticised from two points of view. On the one hand, it is said that the companies have so limited an interest both in respect of the amount of their capital and of the period for which the rail-

ways are entrusted to them, that the real benefits of private enterprise are not obtained from their employment in railway administration. This argument, however, is defective; since if there is an advantage in private enterprise the remedy would be not to abolish the companies but to increase their stake in the business, and it is seldom advanced.

(6) The more common criticism is that the control of Government over the companies in spite of its preponderating share in the property is inadequate and that this defect is accentuated by the fact that the Boards of these companies are in London.

(7) The reply of those who support the company system is first that some misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of Government control, the provisions for which as contained in the various contracts with companies appear to them ample. (An extract from the Railway Board's Administration Report for 1914-15 summarising these provisions, is attached for reference.) Secondly, they say, it does not follow that because Government own by far the larger share, they should retain in their own hands the direct management of railways. There appears, it is added, to be no opposition to branch line companies in this country, though these are private concerns, owning and in some cases managing railways, and the objection taken to the administration by companies of the trunk lines of the country may be due therefore, not so much to a dislike of the principle of private enterprise as to their *English domicile*. If so, however, the opposition to main line companies seems to exalt into a governing factor what is a secondary, though no doubt a very important, consideration. Finally, the feature of the existing system to which objection is taken may prove to be temporary. In the past, that is to say, the Boards of companies have necessarily been located in London because practically the whole of the capital of these companies was held in England, but it is urged by those who favour company-management that a change in these conditions will gradually be brought about through a greater proportion of capital being held in this country. If so, the objection will be met by a natural process in the course of time, and it would be a mistake if private enterprise on other grounds to be preferred, to bring all lines under the direct management of the State in order to remove it.

(8) In addition upholders of the existing system claim that it has positive advantages. They say that the present allocation of different parts of the Indian system of railways to semi-independent administrations produces a healthy competition and spirit of emulation which would be lost if all were brought under State-management. They claim that the financial burden of maintaining and extending the whole railway system of India is clearly too great for the Government to bear alone; that the main line companies can give material financial assistance, and that if Government were to buy them out, it would not change the proportion of State and private contributions to the railway property of the country; the State, while increasing its holding in the main lines, would have less to invest in extensions and the result would be merely to shift the field of private enterprise.

(9) Finally, they say that very much the same considerations apply in the matter of administration as of finance. A policy of State-management for all the railways in India would inevitably tend to centralisation; in this respect again the Government would be overburdened, and it would be well advised

according to this view to be content as at present with a general control and for the direct management of railway affairs to retain the services of the companies.

The extract from the Administration Report on the Railways in India for the year 1914-15 referred to in para 7 of the appendix to the Railway Board's letter quoted above is as follows:—

The administrative control exercised by the Government over the Companies is as follows:—

The Company is bound to keep the line in good repair, in good working condition, and fully supplied with rolling stock, plant, and machinery; to keep the rolling stock in good repair and in good working condition; and to maintain a sufficient staff for the purposes of the line;—all to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State may require the Company to carry out any alteration or improvement in the line, or in the working, that he may think necessary for the safety of the public or for the effectual working of the line.

The Secretary of State may require the Company to enter into agreements, on reasonable terms and conditions, with the administrations, of adjoining railways for the exercise of running powers, for the supply to one another, of surplus rolling-stock, for the interchange of traffic and rolling stock and the settlement of through rates, and for additions and alterations to or the redistribution of existing accommodation in junctions or other stations in view to their convenient mutual use.

The train service is to be such as the Secretary of State may require. In order to secure a general control over the rates quoted by Companies the Secretary of State has retained power to settle the classification of goods and to authorise maximum and minimum rates within which the Companies shall be entitled to charge the public for the conveyance of passengers and goods of each class.

The Company has to keep such accounts as the Secretary of State may require, and these are subject to audit by the Secretary of State.

In all other matters relating to the line, the Company is made subject to the supervision and control of the Secretary of State, who may appoint such persons as he may think proper for the purpose of inspecting the line, auditing the accounts or otherwise exercising the power of supervision and control reserved to him. In particular the Secretary of State has the right to appoint a Government Director to the Board of the Company, with a power of veto on all proceedings of the Board. All the moneys received by the Company in respect of the undertaking, whether on capital or revenue account, have to be paid over to the Secretary of State.

All expenditure by the Company has to be stated and submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State.

It affords us sincere pleasure that the Government of India have at last thought it fit to move in the matter, which is unquestionably a very important one in the interests of the Empire. We are, however, afraid, the views given in the appendix *pro* and *con*, the existing arrangement have been set forth in a manner which is not

likely to be very clear to the ordinary man in the street who is none the less interested in the question of the State *versus* Company Control of our Railways than "the commercial" concerns for whose opinions the Government appears to be so solicitous. The appendix, which we have taken special care to study minutely, though professing to be an impartial document showing both sides of the case for and against State *versus* Company Control of Indian Railways, is far from a fair representation of the case, which is unquestionably one that under the present circumstances the State should, as far as possible, take over the management of the Railways, as opportunities present themselves. Mr. Vijiaraghachariar while moving his Resolution the year before last drew pointed attention to the grave defects of the guarantee system obtaining in this country in the case of not very remunerative railways, the indifference on the part of the Companies to the convenience of the 3rd Class passengers who contribute largely to the earnings of Railways, and various other matters connected with the Railway Administration in this country. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah who had given his staunch support to the previous year's Resolution, but without avail, in moving his own Resolution last year expressed his regret that the State should forego a large share of profits arising from the Railways and relinquish the same in favour of Private Companies who had but little stake—these companies owning about 7 per cent. only of the Capital invested in Railway building in this country—to deserve it and that instead of the Railways being worked direct by the State they should be controlled by Boards of Directors of these Companies living 6,000 miles away from the seat of the operation. We are really sorry that the Railway Board's letter almost wholly ignores these points while giving prominence to matters going in favour of Company-management. The Railway Board appears to us to be anxious to somehow shut out any proper discussion of the contents of the appendix attached to their own letter inasmuch as they state that it is not their intention that the "associations" whose interests are "specially affected" whom the Board have thought fit to consult, should express their views only upon the summary of arguments as given in their letter and the

public bodies consulted by them are not asked or expected anything other than replies to the points specified in the letter in question and while the letter in question devotes more than seven paragraphs to set out the alleged defects of the State-management of Indian Railways and in support of the superiority of the Company-management and in favour of Company-Control, it disposes of rather in a few curt lines all that may be said in favour of the State management. This attitude of the Board, we are constrained to say, appears to be somewhat one-sided, and we feel it, therefore, a duty incumbent upon us to state more fully, or rather repeat what we said a couple of years ago, in these pages the principles which should guide the Government in the matter of the construction and management of the railways in a country like India where the interests not of this or that clique or concern, but the interests and welfare of all should form the main motive of the Administration.

Railway building and railway working are, as we have tried to show in our previous article on the subject referred to above, is clearly among the primary functions of the State, for making and maintaining highways is unquestionably a Governmental duty; and Railways are nothing but the high roads in an improved form which has, in course of time, come into the vogue since George Stephenson's epoch-making invention, with two additions of carrying freight and passengers. The same reasons which render it necessary for the State to make and maintain ordinary roads hold good equally in railway building and railway making. Ruskin is very explicit on the subject. He says:—

Neither the Roads nor the Rail-roads of any nation should belong to any private person. All means of public transit should be provided at public expense by public determination where such means are needed, and the public should be its own 'shareholder.' Neither road, nor railroad, nor canal should ever pay dividends to anybody, they should pay their working expenses and no more. All dividends are simply a tax on the travellers and the goods, levied by the person to whom the road or canal belongs, for the right of passing over his property. And this right should at once be purchased by the nation, and the original cost of the road-way, be it of gravel, iron, adamant, at once defrayed by the nation, and then the whole work of the carriage of persons or goods done for ascertained prices by salaried officers, as the carriage of letters done now.

The principles laid down in the above are unimpeachably sound according to a large majority of modern writers on politi-

cal economy and it is in complete accord with the commonsense point of view, and this is why there is an unmistakable drift towards Government ownership and Nationalisation of Railways in France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries in Europe; and in the States of the American Union as well as in Great Britain itself there are signs of the adoption of this principle in no remote future.

But whatever may be the arguments in favour of the continuance of private enterprise in the opening and working of Railways in the self-governing countries of the West, the State-control of their working in India, considering its peculiar political situation, should be the only right policy of railway management in this country where all capital is imported from abroad and all the profits arising from their working find their way abroad. Private enterprise in Railway building in India means employment of European capital.

There is besides another phase of railway management in this country where the existing Railway Companies are all foreign: and if, besides the railways already owned and worked by them all the State lines pass into their hands, they will not only have a lion's share of the profits arising therefrom, the Indian taxpayers for whose benefit and in whose interest the country should primarily be ruled, will not only be deprived of the profits but they will be precluded from holding any appointment in the railway administration. At present a considerable number of Indians find employment in the Superior Ranks on State Railways. In the event of the working of these Railways passing into private hands our countrymen will be deprived of all these appointments. To prove this we have not to go very far. For instance, out of 140 superior appointments on the Eastern Bengal Railway no less than 27 are held by the Indians—12 Engineers, 9 in the State Railway Superior Revenue Establishment in the Traffic Department, 1 in the Medical Department, 5 in the Audit and Accounts Department and 1 in the Store Department. Two holders of these 27 being the heads of very important departments, namely the Engineer-in-Chief, and the Chief Examiner of Accounts. As a contrast to this there is not a single officer of the higher rank employed on the East Indian Railway. The Railway Companies who work for

their own profits and not certainly in the interests of the people are not supposed to see any good in employing the natives of this country in their service, and no one can force them to do so.

They often talk of inefficiency of the Government Departments and we are not unaware of Mr. Herbert Spencer's sneering reference to it in his "Study of Sociology" which is laid so much stress upon by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press headed by *The Statesman* of this city. Spencer says:—

"The State should purchase the Railways, is confidently asserted by those who every morning read of chaos at the Admiralty, or cross-purposes in the dockyards or diplomatic bungling that endangers peace or frustration of justice by technicalities and costs and delays,—all without having their confidence in officialism shaken."

But does Spencer, or those who are of the same mind with him, go the length of suggesting that for these various "chaos," "cross purposes" and "diplomatic bungling," "frustration of justice," etc., that contracts for working the Navy, the Army, the Diplomatic functions and the Courts of Justice be given to some firms of private enterprise to secure better results? No one claims infallibility for the Government machineries; but whereas these machineries are subject to public criticism and national control, the private syndicates which are run in the interests of the Shareholders are immune from such criticism and such control.

The appendix attached to the Circular-letter issued upon which we make these remarks appears to have put the public in a wrong scent inasmuch as it has not laid stress upon the primary principles of ownership and working of the Railways which should be run in the interests of the Nation. Even if there be any inefficiency in the State Control this may be removed, but to us it appears in bare justice to the people of this country that the Railways should be in the hands of the Government. Surely the Post Office and Telegraphs which are worked direct by the State agency are among the most efficiently managed departments of the State.

The history of the introduction of the Railways in this country may be given in a nut-shell. The railways were first built in India between the year 1850 and 1869 by Companies under contracts with the State which guaranteed to them a fixed interest on

their capital; and they were also given their land free of charge. Under all these contracts the Government reserved the right to purchase the lines at the end of 25 or 50 years. In 1869 the State intervened more directly and undertook the construction of railways by Government officers and for the next ten years all new lines were constructed in this manner. In 1879, however, Companies were again allowed to enter the field and from that year till now the construction of Railways has been carried on, partly by Government and partly by Companies, with capital raised partly by Government and partly through the agency of Companies. A great majority of these railways taken over by the State in terms of the contracts, were, however, leased to the then existing Companies and have continued to be worked by them, except the three lines, the Sind-Punjab and Delhi, which has since developed into the North-Western, the Oudh and Rohilkhand and the Eastern Bengal, are worked directly by the State. The lines which are not owned by Government are the Southern Punjab and the Bengal and North-Western, but of these three the Government holds the right of purchase at certain dates. The actual position then is that Government either owns or can become owners of all the Railways in India; and that of those which it does own, it works three itself, representing about 7,000 miles and has leased the remainder to Companies representing a mileage of some 18,000 miles. But its responsibility does not end here. Under the contract with the Companies the State undertakes to supply the Companies with the requisite capital. The raising of capital by these Companies is also provided for, but the amount so furnished represents relatively a small proportion of the whole. The relationship, thus, between the State and the Companies aforesaid is, in fact, that of a partnership, and this partnership in the interests of the people of India we wish to put an end to.

In the very beginnings of Railway development in this country, in the year 1853, Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General of India, recorded a minute embodying this governing principle of the maintenance of control in the hands of the State. He wrote:—

"I heartily trust that the East India Company and the Government of India may hold by the prin-

ple on which they have acted in the present case. I trust they will ever avoid the error of viewing railways merely as private undertakings, and will regard them as national over which the Government may justly exercise, and is called upon to exercise a stringent and salutary control. ... for the interests of the State and for the protection of the public."

And for "the protection of the public"

and in their interests it is high time that all railways leased to Companies should pass into the hands of the State is what we demand in the name of the Indian taxpayers, for reasons set forth in this and in our previous article on the subject.

RAI CHARAN MUKERJEE.

THE KUTASTHAVADA OF SANKARACHARYA

versus

THE AGNOSTICISM OF HERBERT SPENCER

III

VIII. II. SPENCER'S 'FIRST PRINCIPLES' ON THE UNKNOWABLE.

WE should be doing a grave injustice to H. Spencer, if we omit to mention what he said later in life on the 'Unknowable' in his First Principles (I-iv); for, there he seems to have somewhat outgrown his former agnosticism, at least in the sense in which his overzealous followers of to-day understand him. His views as expressed there, almost touch or at least follow close at the heels of those of Sankara. Having noticed the views of Hamilton and Mansel—"The absolute is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability" (Hamilton), "The Absolute and the Infinite are like the *Incôceivable* and the *Imperceptible*, names indicating not an object of thought, or of consciousness at all, but the mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible" (Mansel),—Spencer goes on to say:—

"The answer of pure logic is held to be that by the limits of our intelligence we are rigorously confined within the relative; and that anything transcending the relative can be thought of only as a pure negation, or as a non-existence."

He then proceeds:

"Unavoidable as this conclusion seems, it involves, I think a grave error. The premiss in the form presented is not strictly true. There remains to be stated a qualification which saves us from that scepticism otherwise necessitated. Besides that definite consciousness of which logic formulates the laws, there is also an *indefinite consciousness* which cannot be formulated. To say that we cannot know the Absolute, is by implication to affirm that there is an Absolute. The *Noumenon* everywhere named

as the antithesis of the *Phenomenon* is throughout necessarily thought of as an actuality. The Relative is itself conceivable as such, only by opposition to the Relative or Absolute. The *relativity of knowledge* postulates the *positive existence* of something beyond the relative. If the non-relative or Absolute is present in thought, only as a mere negative, then is the Relative itself unthinkable for want of its antithesis. Whence results the disappearance of all thought whatever. Though philosophy proves to us that *the Absolute is not this, nor that, nor that*—though in obedience to it we negative one after another each idea as it arises, yet, there ever remains behind an element which passes into new shapes. The continual negation of each particular form and limit simply results in the more or less complete abstraction of all forms and limits; and so ends in an *indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited*."

He goes on to say:

"An ever-present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence. By the laws of thought we are rigorously prevented from forming a conception of absolute existence; we are by the laws of thought equally prevented from ridding ourselves of the consciousness of absolute existence,—this consciousness being the obverse of our self-consciousness. And since the only possible measure of relative validity among our beliefs, is the degree of their persistence in opposition to the efforts made to change them, it follows that this which persists at all times, under all circumstances, and cannot cease until consciousness ceases, has the *highest validity of any*." (II—iv.)

IX. COMPARISON.

You see how closely, and yet knowing nothing about *Sankara*, Spencer follows him. *Sankara* following his master, the great seer *Yagnavalkya*, speaks of *Brahma* as "सत्यस्य सत्य"—the Essence of Essences—"सत् सत्यस्य सत्यं तदेवावशिष्यते।" Spencer almost paraphrasing that expression,—says that "the Absolute has the highest validity of

any." Commenting on Yagnavalkya's description of Brahma by negatives :—"अखल-मनः" &c., Sankara says that it means that the "अक्षरब्रह्म" is "सर्व-विशेषणरहितं," or what is elsewhere called "नेति नेति"—'अथ अत्र आदेशो नेति-नेति' or not this, not that. (P. 433). Says Sankara—"ननु कथं नेति नेतीति शब्दाभ्यां सत्यस्य सत्त्वं निर्दिष्टं"—"How, by the words 'not this, not that,' is it intended to explain the सत्यस्य सत्त्वं or the Truest of the true? By the elimination of all particularity due to separable accidents (सर्वोपाधिविशेषापादेन)." Spencer may almost be said to translate literally the Vedantic 'नेति नेति'—when he says that "the Absolute is not this, nor that, nor that." Not having received the necessary training in निदिध्यासन or Self-isolation and Self-realization, Spencer could not indeed realize that the Absolute is Prajnana-Ghana, or Vijnana-Ghana, or Self-consciousness—pure and undiluted,—“इदं महद्भूतं अनन्तं अगारं विज्ञानघन एव” (p. 462)—which Sankara thus explains :—"This is that mighty Being called *Paramatma* from whom by *Avidya* you are defined and limited off, because of your connection with the accidents of effects and instruments, and thus individualised, you are also thereby made liable to death, and all the ills of life. That individual form is seated deep in the *Paramatma* which stands to it in the relation of a great ocean (to a drop of water), and which is pure, and of one kind of taste like a lump of salt, which is Consciousness pure and unmixed."* It must be said to the credit of H. Spencer that without the exercise of the Vedantic Self-isolation and Self-realization "निदिध्यासन,"—he has been able to discover that besides that definite consciousness of which logic formulates the laws, there is also an indefinite consciousness which cannot be formulated; and that he should be able to teach almost in the

style of the Vedantic seers of old that the continual negation of each particular form and limit, simply results in the more or less complete abstraction of all forms and limits, and so ends in an indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited." His idea of the Absolute as "an indefinite consciousness of the unformed and unlimited"—indeed falls far short of Yagnavalkya's "विज्ञानघन", or of Sankara's "कूटस्थनित्यात्मजोतिः". Be that as it may, for a mere philosopher like Spencer to have apprehended so much was indeed a marvellous achievement. The "सच्चिदानन्दघन" of the Vedanta,—he could realise as 'सत्त्वन', or as "having the highest validity of any." He could almost touch the 'ब्रह्मन,' as an "indefinite consciousness of the formless and unlimited." The "आनन्दघन", the 'All-blissful' he could not be expected to realise without the necessary progress in that Self-realization called निदिध्यासन or Samadhi. It was only in their Samadhi or "Vision Beatific" that our *rishis* themselves could realise that "All things come from that Blissful, in that Blissful they live, into that Blissful they pass away, and disappear,—“आनन्दाद्देव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते । आनन्देन जातानि जीवन्ति ॥ आनन्दं प्रयत्याभिसंविशन्ति ।”

Notice Spencer's expression "unclassable and therefore unknowable," by which he identifies knowing with classifying. If that be all, if the Absolute or the substance of mind be said to be unknowable merely in the sense that it is unclassable, Sankara would unhesitatingly say 'Ditto to Spencer.' The Absolute or कूटस्थ, according to Sankara too, is inaccessible to the "लौकिको दृष्टिः" or the phenomenal seeing connected with the eye (बहुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः), to which alone, definition, classification, and generalization refer. Sankara would even fully endorse Hamilton's proposition so far as this लौकिकोदृष्टिः or phenomenal seeing is concerned :—"The absolute is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability"—and would fully support the doctrine of the Relativity of all knowledge, so far as that लौकिको दृष्टिः is concerned, for in his उपदेशसाहस्री Sankara says :—“प्रदृष्टं द्रष्टृविज्ञातं दम्भमित्यादिशासनात् । नैव

* “इदं परमात्मस्थं महद्भूतं यस्मात् अविशया परि-
क्लिप्ता सती कार्य-करणोपाधिरन्वयात् मित्रा-पातमापन्नानि,
सत्ता संसारधर्मवती अभि, स खल्विभावः महासमुद्रस्यानीये
परमात्मनि शुद्धे मैत्र्यवचनात् एकरमे प्रज्ञानघने प्रवेशितः ।
घन शब्दो जात्यन्तरप्रतिषेधार्थः । नात्यन्तं जात्यन्तरं अन्तराले
विद्यते” ।

ज्ञेयं मया ध्यातुं परं ब्रह्म कथञ्चन"—(२९) - 'The seer who is not seen,' 'the knower who is not known,' and "thou little knowest the nature of Brahma if thou thinkest that thou knowest well"—यदि मन्यते सुतदिति दम्भेन विननं त्वं तस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं,—from these teachings it follows that *Parabrahma* cannot be said to be the *Jneya* or object known either by myself or by anybody else, meaning of course so far as the *लौकिको दृष्टिः* goes. In that sense and in that sense only *Sankara* would have nothing to object to the agnostic position. But that would not be really true or the whole truth, for *Sankara's Kutastha Self* is a *Nityatmajyotih*—or an everknown light of Self-consciousness, and immediately and directly perceived—(साक्षात् अपेराक्षात्). Says *Sankara* :—
 "स्वरूपाव्यवधानाभ्यां ज्ञानालोकस्वभावतः । अन्यज्ञानानपेक्षत्वात् ज्ञातं ब्रह्म सदा मया ॥" "Being my own essence, there being nothing else intervening between me and Brahma, being of the very nature of a self-luminous Consciousness, and not depending for the proof of its existence on any other knowledge, Brahma is always known to me"—of course implicitly, and that knowledge has to be made explicit *Sadhana* or training.

I should also note here that what *Sankara* calls the *Kutasthanityatma-Jyotih*, is also the Personal or better still, the Super-personal Ruler within all,—"*Antaryami Purushah*," or if Emerson's expression should be preferred, the "Over-soul" in all ("परमात्मा सर्वान्तरः"), but not indeed, what some Neo-Hegelians would call, "a colony of selves"—resembling a "foot-ball team." Says *Sankara* in the *Antaryami Vidya-Bhashya* :—"Under the rule of this *Akshara* or Indestructible One, who pervades all, under the rule of this Brahma immediately related to us and not remote from us, the Self in all (*Sarvantarah*),—just as under the rule of the king, his kingdom suffers no harm, but goes on as usual, so also under the rule of this *Akshara Brahma*,—the sun and moon like lamps adapted for the world for day and for night, and designed and made according to His design by that Great Ruler, for that very purpose, with the full knowledge of the services they would render to the

worlds,—stand well-supported." * (*Jivanda*, p. 629).

X. THE TRINITY.

Sankara, I should add, even goes so far as to evolve an apparent, though not real,† Trinity or 'Three in One and One in Three out of that One (अक्षर) Brahma or *Kutasthanityatma jyotih* :—यमन्तर्धामिनं न विदुः, ये च न विदुः, यच्च तदक्षरं दर्शनादिक्रिया-कर्तृत्वेन सर्व्वेषां चेतनाधातुः" (p. 627);—(1) "The Ruler within all, or *Isvara*, whom His creatures do not know or the *Superpersonal* Relative Self, or God, commonly called *Saguna Brahma*; (2) the *Kshetrajna*, or subordinate self of the creature who does not know that Ruler within, or the *personal* relative self of the creature, commonly called *Jiva*, and (3) that changeless One (अक्षर) who as the Active agent in all actions—such as seeing, etc., stands as the Conscious Substratum underlying all, or the Impersonal Absolute Self or Brahma, commonly called *Nirguna Brahma*." The Trinity thus propounded by *Sankara* might well bear comparison with the Hegelian Trinity or the common Christian Trinity of (1) the Father or the absolute eternal Idea or God before creation, (2) the Son or Being-for-other,—Nature and Spirit, and (3) the Holy Spirit which brings about the unity of the Father and the Son. What *Sankaracharya* calls "the Self-conscious Substratum of all"—"*Sarvesam chetana-dhatuh*," and "described as 'not this' 'not that,' being the One without particularity"—"*nirviseshatvat-ekatvat cha neti neti Vyapadesobhava*ti," i.e., the impersonal Brahma, corresponds, to what Hegel calls the Father—"the absolute, eternal Idea in its essential existence, in-and-for-itself, God in His eternity before the creation of the world, and outside of the world." (With this compare the *Purushasukta* "त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि" "Three-fourths of whom is the eternal in Heaven"). What *Sankara* calls *Kshetrajna* or *Jiva*, the sub-

* यदेतदधिगतं अक्षरं सर्व्वान्तरं साक्षादपरोक्षात् ब्रह्म, एतस्य वै अक्षरस्य प्रभासने यथा राजःप्रभासने राज्ञः अस्फुटितं नियतं वर्तते एवं, एतस्य प्रभासने सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसौ अक्षो रात्रयोः लोकप्रदीपौ, तादस्योऽन, प्रभासिषा ताभ्यां निर्व्वर्त्यमाने लोकप्रयोजनविज्ञानवतां निश्चितौ, विष्टौ स्यातां ।

† 'भेद एषां प्रउपाधिकृतः, न खत एषां भेदोऽभेदो वा सैव्यवचनवत् प्रज्ञान चनेकरस साभाष्यात् ।' (P. 638).

ordinate creature-self having the particular forms of effects and instruments relating to individual desires and acts, and all due to *avidya*,"* would correspond to what Hegel calls "the Son" or 'the Other,' or 'Being-for-another' in "the form of manifestation or appearance." "What is thus differentiated is Nature, the world in general and spirit." Christ according to Hegel is Sonship *explicit*, the Notion, or the Son as he ought to be. In all other men Sonship is *implicit*, and has to be made explicit by training. What Sankara calls the "The Ruler within"—"*nityaniratisaya Jnanasaktyupadhiratmantaryamisvarah*"—"God, the Ruler within, having eternally infinite intelligence and power, as His attributes" (p. 639),—"Svena svabhavenaksharam para uchvate,"—"Who in His own nature is called the Unchangeable and Supreme"—"*tatha Hiranyagarbhavyakritadevata bhavati*"—"Who likewise also becomes the Hiranyagarbha, or the golden germ) the presiding god of the world-germ,"—would also seem to correspond to Hegel's conception of the Holy Spirit; for says Hegel "God thought of simply as the Father is not yet the True." "God eternally begets His Son, distinguishes Himself from Himself, and being in the other, He is simply with Himself, and this is the form of love. This love is spirit, the Holy Spirit." "Spirit is infinite return into Self, infinite subjectivity, not Godhead conceived of in ideas, but the real present Godhead, and thus it is not the substantial potentiality of the Father, not the True in the objective or antithetical form of the Son, but the subjective Present and Real. This is the Spirit of God, or God as present real spirit, God dwelling in His Church." (Phil. Rel. V. iii, p. 107).

It should be remembered that Hegel was not altogether unenlightened with regard to the Indian religion,—though it would have been better for the latter if he were,—for his enlightenment gave him just light enough "to make darkness visible." Apart from the striking family-likeness between Hegel's Trinity, and what he calls our "*Trimurti*," Hegel himself observes: "The most striking and the greatest feature in Indian mythology is unquestionably this Trinity in Unity." (Phil. Rel. V. ii. p. 14). From this one is inclined to presume that

in propounding his dialectic method, and his Subjective Idealism, Hegel must have taken the hint from the Vedantic *Sarvamavada*—or Self-in-all, in whatever crude form it may have reached him in his day.

X. AVIDYA AND THE RELATIVITY OF ALL KNOWLEDGE.

I have placed before you the case for Sankara's Kutasthavada, as well as that for Spencer's Agnosticism; and would leave you to decide whether you would not consider it childish to call the Absolute as "unknown and unknowable," and thus shelve away, the problem of problems of life, burying the eyes, as it were, ostrich-like in the sands of Relativity, and to console yourself with saying, you 'cannot know,' what your whole human nature impels you, even whips you on to seek and know. Now a word about this Relatively and its connection with the vedantic *Avidya*. II. Spencer refers to 'the Relativity of knowledge' of Hamilton and Mansel, by which they try to prove that "by the limits of our intelligence we are rigorously confined within the relative; and that anything transcending the relative can be thought of only as a pure negative, or as non-existence." In the course of this discourse I have also had to speak of the *avidya* of the vedantic philosophers of the schools of Sankara or Ramanuja:—"अविद्या परिच्छिन्ना सती"—"Defined and determined off by *avidya*." What is this *avidya*? What is its relation to "the Relativity of all knowledge" of Hamilton?

Briefly speaking by *avidya* is meant the losing sight of the Absolute in our natural craving for the Relative. Hegel may be said almost to describe the Vedantic *avidya* when he says: "The true knowledge of God begins when we know that things, as they immediately are, have no truth." (Logic—112). I will however present you with my translation of a part of Sankara's preface to his Sutrashashya in which Sankara himself explains in detail what is meant by *Avidya*:—"The object or *विषय* represented by the perception of the not-self, and the subject or *विषयी* represented by the perception of Self are by their very nature opposed to each other as darkness is opposed to light." I should notice here that Spencer almost reproduces

* "अविद्याकायकर्मविशिष्टकार्यकरणोपाधिरात्मा संसारो जौव उच्यते" (Jiva, p. 639).

this conclusion of Sankara, when he says :— "In brief a thing cannot at the same instant be both subject and object of thought." Then Sankara goes on :—"It is quite apparent that the subject cannot be the object, or *vice versa*, the object cannot be the subject, and necessarily the properties of the one cannot be the properties of the other. From this it follows that to see the subject (विषयौ) which is all-consciousness, and apprehended only by the perception of Self,—to see that subject as the object which is (unconscious and) apprehended by the perception of not-self, and to ascribe the properties of the subject to the object, or likewise to reverse the process, and see the (unconscious) object as the all-conscious subject, and to see the properties of the object in the subject, ought to be regarded as an *illusion*. And it is from such seeing of the one in the other, and seeing the properties of the one in the other,—without discriminating the one from the other, although the two entities as well as their properties are quite different from each other,—there results an illusory perception in which truth and untruth unite in wedlock as it were, and produce, as their offspring, the natural course of practical life,—as saying 'I am this,' 'this is mine' etc. What is this confounding of the one with the other (अध्यास) ? It is of the nature of an act of memory, being an act of seeing in what follows, that which was seen before it (कृतिरूपः परम पूर्वदृष्टावभासः)." You will thus see the connection of the Vedantic *Adhyasa*, which is but another name for *avidya*, with what has been called by Mill and others as "the Association of ideas." Sankara goes on :—"How is it possible to see the properties of the object of perception to be those of the all-penetrating Self (प्रत्यगात्मा), when that Self cannot be an object of perception (अविषये) ? Do you mean that the all-perceiving subject though it cannot be perceived as a 'you'—(युष्मत्प्रत्ययापेक्षया), it can still be an object of perception ? I will tell you. Considering the question more deeply, the all-penetrating Self (प्रत्यगात्मा) is not altogether not an object (अविषय) of perception, for it is the object of perception of Self. Being also immediately perceived, it is quite apparent to all as the perceiving Self of all (प्रत्यगात्मप्रसिद्धेः). This *Adhyasa* or illusion of subject and object (विष-विषयौ) as describ-

ed above, is what the learned understand by *avidya*. "त मेतं एवंलक्षणं अध्यासं परिहृता अविद्या इति मन्यन्ते" By the clear discrimination of the one from the other, to know the reality as it is, is *vidya*—"तद्विकेन च वस्तु-स्वरूपावधारणं विद्यामाहुः।"

Now to show the full scope of *avidya*—as covering the whole field of practical life, or what is implied by Hamilton's doctrine of 'the Relativity of all knowledge'—Sankara says that "all the uses of the terms,— 'proof' and 'thing to be proved'—in practical life—"सर्वे प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहारा लोकिनाः" have reference to this intermingling by illusory association of self and not-self called *avidya*—"तमेतमविद्याख्य मात्मानात्मनो रितरेतराध्यासं परमकृत्य सर्वं प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहाराः प्रवृत्ताः"। "How do the proofs, such as knowing by direct perception and the rest,—प्रत्यक्षादीनि प्रमाणानि—relate to persons subject to *avidya* (अविद्यावद्विषयानि) ? I will tell you: So long as one does not feel with reference to his body and organs &c., that it is me, or that it is mine, one is not in a position to be a knower of anything through the body and the organs,—for in reference to such a one the very desire for such kind of proof is out of place, "प्रमाणप्रवृत्त्यनुपपत्तेः"। So long as the organs of sense are not included in one's Self,—as being one's own, the use of sensuous perception can not take place. The organs of sense too on the other hand are not in a position to perform their functions unless they have a Self to them for their support. What is true for the organs, is true for the body also;—one can not be said to do anything with the body, unless and until he has connected with the body the idea of Self. The Self too which is by nature free from the bonds of the unreal (*i.e.*, the phenomenal world), can not also in that case be said to be a knower in relation to all this (*i.e.* the phenomenal world). The very desire for (sensuous) proof is not possible, unless there is a knower (connected with the senses). It thus follows as a necessary corollary, that the uses of sensuous perception, and such other means of right knowing, all relate to the objects of *avidya*." This is but another form of stating the proposition of "the Relativity of all knowledge."

Sankara draws the same inference by pointing out the similarity between men's uses of their sensuous perceptions and inferences, and those of the beasts, which are admittedly subject to *avidya*. Says Sankara: "The above conclusion (regarding the connection between *avidya* (or अविवेक), and men's use of sensuous perceptions and inferences (प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहारः) also follows from the fact that there is no difference between men and brutes in this respect. Beasts etc., when their ears, etc., come into relation with sound, etc., and they perceive a hostile sound etc., fly from them. On the other hand when they perceive a sound, etc., favourable to them, they turn towards them. For example, when they see a man with a raised stick approach, they think 'he wishes to kill me,' and begin to fly. When they see another man with hands full of green grass advance, they turn towards him. Just in the same way men, —even men of a well-developed understanding, when they see strong fierce-looking men approach with uplifted sword, threatening aloud,—retreat from them; and when they see those of an opposite description approach, turn towards them. It follows then that as regards the use of proof and things to be proved (प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहारः),—the position of men is similar to that of the brutes. In the case of the brutes, the use of sensuous proof and things to be proved, is well-known to have, for an "invariable and unconditional antecedent" their want of discrimination (अविवेक). The inference necessarily follows from this general rule, that men's use of sensuous proof, and things to be proved,—even of men of a well-developed understanding, also follows as a necessary consequence of, and is co-extensive with their want of discrimination:—"अतः समानः पश्यादिभिः पुरुषाणां प्रमाण-प्रमेय-व्यवहारः । पश्यादीनाञ्च प्रसिद्ध एव अविवेकपूर्वकः प्रत्यक्षादिव्यवहारः तत्सामान्यदर्शनात् । वातपक्षिमतमपि पुरुषाणां प्रत्यक्षादिव्यवहारः तत्काण्डसमानः इति निश्चीयते ।" It was Schlegel who said:—"Nature sleeps in the plant, dreams in the animal, and wakes in man." The Vedantic *avidya*, *adhyasa*, or *aviveka* or—whatever else it is called, seems also to carry with it something like the idea of a sleep or trance — (बीज-निद्रा). If the state of the brute could be called a "dream", —that of the common unawakened man is no

better:—as Raja Rammohan Ray sang "महामाया निद्रावशे देखिह स्वप्न." This charm-like soporific effect of *Avidya* not only makes one to forget the "प्रज्ञान-चन", or "all-conscious" nature of the Self, which Yajñavalkya took so much pains to impress upon his wife, and not only leads the Self to attach to and associate with the ever-changing "कार्यकरणसङ्घातः," sum or lump of effects and instruments, e.g., the body and the organs, but leads also to the creation of an altogether false or empirical Self, which Sankara thus describes:—"We have said that *Adhyasa* is the perceiving of a thing to be what it is not,—"*अतस्मिंस्तद्विद्मः*". By way of *Adhyasa* when people see their wives and children maimed or whole of limb, they feel as though they themselves were maimed or whole of limb, thus seeing in the Self the qualities of things external to it. Likewise also they see the qualities of the body in the Self, when they say, 'I am fat or lean,' or 'I stand or go, or jump.' In the same way they see in the Self the qualities of the organs (sensory or motor), when they say 'I am dumb, unsexed, deaf, one-eyed, or blind.' Similarly also they see in the Self the qualities of the internal organs (अन्तःकरण),—such as desire or will, doubt or determination. In this way they see an individual perceiver of the Self (अहम्स्वयं) in the Seer of all wherever the individual self shows itself (अशेषस्य प्रचारसाक्षिणि) in the Self that penetrates all (प्रत्यगात्मनि). Likewise also by reversing the process, they see that Universal (प्रत्यगात्मानं) and All-seeing Self (सर्वसाक्षिणं) in the internal organs, &c. Such then is the nature of that *Adhyasa* inherent in all things (नैसर्गिकः), without beginning, without end, having the form of an illusory perception (मिथ्याप्रत्ययरूपः) which is apparent to all (सर्वत्रात्मप्रत्ययः), as prompting their determination to do and to suffer (कर्तृत्व-भोक्तृत्वप्रवर्तकः). I may myself add here that that this illusion called *Adhyasa* or *Avidya* may show itself in a mistaken identification of the प्रज्ञान-चन or All-conscious Self with the most trivial of things. Think how in a game of whist even when played for love and not for money, the unexpected trumping of an important card upsets the young player who loses, or

fills with joy the young player who wins. My little son was once playing the game called *Dak*, and happened to forfeit all his trumps. O, how it cut him to the quick. He began to beat his brow, and almost went mad, as if he had lost a son, or a Zemindari,—till a slap on the cheek from his mother, roused him from that hysterical fit of *avidya*. Indeed you might look upon Hume's doctrine that “we know only mental states,” or that “we are ourselves but the particularized sums of mental states,” or upon Hamilton's “of the Relativity of all knowledge” that “our mental states are ours only, or have reality only in relation to ourselves,”—or for the matter of that upon the agnostic position itself as glaring instances of the bewitching effect of what Sankara calls *avidya*. This *avidya* you will also see, while including all that can be covered by those doctrines of Hume, Hamilton, or Spencer, goes much deeper, in as much as it also reveals their common blunder, called in the Vedanta the illusion “of the tenth” (दशम त्वायेन),—that of excluding from the calculation the knowledge of the all-seeing Self, the self-conscious substance of Mind, or the Absolute subject, the knowledge of which, as Sankara has shewn, underlies, though *implicitly* all particular knowledge whatever. That implicit knowledge can always be made *explicit* by training, or *sadhana*. Spencer's agnosticism only reduces the position of Hume and his school to an absurdity. With Sankara on the other hand though *avidya* is the illusion of subjectivizing the object as much as the objectivizing of the subject,—neither the subject nor the object is like the X of an insoluble equation, as Spencer puts it, for the subject is always known immediately, as well as directly (साक्षात् अपरोक्षात्), and the object known at times when associated with a mental state connected with the eye (चक्षुःसंयुक्तान्तःकरणवृत्तिः). Lastly I should also note here that Sankara's *Adhyasa* or, *Avidya* is the antinomy of *apavada*, *Vidya*, or *Vireka* i.e., discrimination of the subject and its attributes, from the object and its attributes, so as to prevent their merging together, and thus to rectify the blunder of our hedonistic practical life, which we share in common with the brutes, by the

cultivation of *Vidya** or the making explicit by the proper exercise of reasoning (मनन), and of deep meditation (निदिध्यासन), that perception of one-ness of the Self or सत्त्वात्मभावः— which exists inherent though implicit in all men, and distinguishes the man from his brother, the brute. Thus Sankara's *avidya* and *vidya* both based upon unimpeachable facts of self-observation, self-analysis, and experience, might be taken as the Vedantic contribution to Kant's list of the “antinomies of cosmology” which might help to reconcile the irreconcilable in his ‘Practical Reason’, and his ‘Pure Reason.’

XI. THE CONCLUSION.

Now a word of explanation. Why, do you think, I selected this rather abstruse subject to tire your patience with? My sole object is to create in you an interest in the study of India's philosophy, by showing how much deeper it is than the deepest of the systems of European philosophy. As Indians, we owe a duty to the world, to ourselves,—and above all to our Pitri-loka, a duty that none can discharge so well as we can. We are the natural custodians of the treasured wisdom of our ancestors, and it is a sacred duty that we owe to God, and to our ancestors, to transmit it to the world in all its original vigor and purity. The world to-day stands badly—very badly indeed,—in need of it. The hollowness of a mere egoistic or hedonistic civilization is now apparent to all. Now, more than ever, does the world look up with hope to the treasured wisdom of our *rishis* or seers for an *altruistic* civilization, either based on the self-renunciation of the great Buddha and his immediate successors, or to a civilization

* Compare the Yoga-Vasishtha:

“अविद्या, सम्परिज्ञातं, इदमेव सद्योषधं ।

अविद्यावित्तनयापेक्षिभिरस्यैव दीपकं ॥ १२ ॥

अविद्या सम्परिज्ञाना यदैव हि तदैव हि ।

सा परिच्छीयो भूयः स्वप्ने नैनवहि भोगम् ॥ १३ ॥

उपशम—६४ ॥

“Perception of the *Jagat* or objective world as different from the Self, is a diseased vision due to *avidya* alone, and thus fully understood is the sovereign remedy for the disease of *Avidya*, spread far and wide, even as the lamp is the remedy in regard to darkness. No sooner is this *avidya* fully understood, she dies away, even as the enjoyments of a dream die away as soon as it is realised to be a dream.”

based on the ideal of "One-Self in all"—**सर्वान्मात्रः**—of the Vedānta, as championed by Sankara, which was, and is, and ever will be the true "salt of the earth,"—which you hold in trust as the only key for the realization of the dream of ages,—of the "coming of the Kingdom of Heaven," or "the return of the Golden age," or "of the Satya Yuga",—which in some form or other has warmed the hearts of men in all countries, and times.

Are you not aware that the late Prof. Max Müller gave our nation the greatest compliment, when he called us "a nation of philosophers?" I had the rare honour of knowing the late Professor personally. He was not a man to indulge in hollow compliments. Where then is our philosophy gone now? Has she fallen under the curse of Kumbhakarna and gone to sleep? Worse still, like Rip Van Winkle of the western fable, will she sleep on without a break for a whole cycle of years? Shall we not rather do all we can to wake her up now from that death-like sleep, when a groaning world invokes her help, and set her about her Divine mission,—the redemption of a brutal humanity? Do you need to be shewn how backward we Indians are today in philosophical studies and researches? Do you need to be told that the very best of us are but doing the "चिष्टवेष्टन,"—or as they say, "chewing the cud" of the ill-drawn and ill-digested conclusions and generalizations of a Mill or Spencer, or of a Kant or Hegel? Do you need to be shewn that the very best of us are but wasting their God-given energies, like Samson in the service of the Philistines, in gathering only the aftermath of European systems of philosophy, in barren criticisms merely for students' examination-purposes,—panting after the good luck of a European fame even "as the hart panteth after the water-brooks." Physical and chemical studies and researches require a free access to well-equipped and expensive laboratories, which in our present condition is not easy to get even for the best Indian D. Sc's of the London University,—and yet India has produced a physicist and a chemist to whom physicists and chemists now look up for new light. But where shall we look for a worthy representative of India's philosophy,—a worthy representative of this nation of philosophers? And yet it is philosophy which least of all requires the fitting up of expensive labora-

tories,—for which every man is for himself a living laboratory for research-work. Raja Rammohan Ray was the first among us moderns—to revive the study of Sankara's philosophy. But, alas, after him the flower of our youth have been fruitlessly grinding at philosophizing, without as yet producing any tangible result. Do you know, why? Have you ever tried to discover the cause, why this "nation of philosophers" should stand to-day without a single true philosopher, worthy to be named by the side of Spencer or Kant, Hume or Hegel? Let me tell you, why it has been so, why it must be so, unless our present methods are radically improved.

'Mere imitation,' as Emerson has said, 'is suicide of the soul'—as much for a nation as for an individual,—and nowhere is its suicidal effect more marked than in the domain of India's original research in philosophy. Nations like individuals have special aptitudes,—or, what they call, genius. The aping methods and lessons by rote in philosophical study, under which our students have been brought up for the last half of a century or longer, has dealt a sort of death blow to the philosophical genius of our nation. What might have been a great source of strength to a healthy growing intellect, by opening new vistas of thought, has been our bane. If our young men are well grounded at least by a course of training in the vernacular, —in our own six systems of philosophy, before they are called upon to wrestle with the philosophical genius of Europe, it would, like Jacob's wrestling with the angel, secure a valuable accession of strength to their growing intellects. As it is, they are made to go—unfledged and raw,—a-begging for light, to a class of "blind leaders of the blind" of the West, who have converted the very name of Hegel, —who more than any other, closely approaches our Vedantic ideal in philosophy, and who may be said to occupy a rung of the Vedantic ladder of 'One Self in all' (**सर्वान्मात्रः**)—into a sort of Tower of Babel, justifying the complaint of Wallace that the so-called "interpreters of the Hegelian philosophy have contradicted each other almost as variously as the several commentators of the Bible." It is much to be deplored that those of us who dabble in Hegelian philosophy, instead of trying to illuminate its dark places by directing on it

the search-light of the Vedanta, do but swell the chorus of that confusion of tongues of Hegel's so-called disciples, and "find no end, in wandering mazes lost."

As a people we are born and brought up in systems of philosophy not inferior to any now in command of the world's market,—which we sucked almost with our mother's milk, the light of which flows into us almost as readily as the running down of water. These our indigenous systems of philosophy—the Vedanta, the Sankhya, or the Nyaya, or the Buddhistic, —Madhyamika, Yogachara, Baibhashika, and Sautrantika (of which we now know little more than the mere names), must be revived, by the infusion of new blood,—either by the light of new truths, or of new methods of investigation,—if they are to live,—and not remain, as they do now, the mere mummies of long dead systems of philosophy; they must be made to recover their old vigor so as to be fit to serve as the stock on which the philosophies of a Spencer or Kant may be safely grafted, to the advantage of both the stock and the graft.

All true growth is organic or by assimilation from within outwards. Our indigenous systems of philosophy,—like the Vedanta, or Sankhya, are organic growths from within us. If any foreign system of philosophy is to obtain a footing among us, and do anything more profitable than merely earn bread for our hungry stomachs, they must, like all exotic plants in the hands of the skilful gardener, be carefully and judiciously grafted on to one of our old indigenous stocks,—Vedanta, Sankhya, or Nyaya, so that a living organic union of parts may take place, as much for the benefit of the stock, as

for that of the graft, much like the union that has taken place between the Greek and Indian astronomies. Through succeeding generations of neglect, the thread of life of our systems of philosophy have almost been snapped asunder, so that they are fast losing vitality, and their pulse is fast sinking. Through hard and toilsome study on the part of our youth alone can that thread be fully restored and reinvigorated, and their organic powers of digestion, assimilation, and ejection of excreta, be stimulated. Instead of placing the cart before the horse, and thereby wasting the energies of our youth in the abnormal course of first mastering alien philosophies, we should follow the normal course of nature by first serving to them, at least as a vernacular course in philosophy,—our indigenous systems—as the staple food—the Dal-Bhat—to their raw growing intellects, and on their attaining maturity, serve to them the *Pulao* and *Korma* of foreign philosophy, having recourse to such laboratory methods for appetising sauces, or as stomachic condiments and *chutnies*, as our modern psycho-physiology, or psycho-physics will permit. To reverse that normal course is to kill true philosophic life in our nation. Restore that normal course of healthy growth, and you shall have among us, at no distant date, the suitable soil and conditions for the growth of genuine philosophy, and shall produce genuine philosophers fit to rub shoulders with a Spencer or Kant, a Hume or Hegel,—stalwart champions worthy to stand up before the world as the representatives of a "nation of philosophers."

(Concluded.)

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE WIFE OF HIS YOUTH

BY LILIAN TWIGG, AUTHOR OF "OUT OF FOCUS," "THE MIRACLE," "TO-MORROW," &c.

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"A good man wasted. In the hands of a nice woman there's no knowing what John Andrews might have risen to. As it is, he's just where his father left him, and that's the price he's paid for being a bachelor."

The rich woman who spoke gathered her furs about her and stepped into the latest model of luxurious landaulettes, followed by a deferential companion; while the poor woman who listened lingered shivering on the pavement.

"She's not right," murmured the poor woman. "A man with that mouth would never have risen to big things. Perhaps she didn't know him when he was clean shaven. I've not had her advantages, but I had sense enough to advise him to grow a moustache."

The February blizzard, with its choking dust, caught the speaker in its grip, and her frail figure shook with a hacking cough.

"These winds will carry me off, Jacky," she said aloud to the little lad at her side, and he manfully tried to place himself between her and the bitter wind, clinging tightly to her skirt as if he thought she would be literally swept away.

For half an hour she had been walking up and down the street irresolutely, pausing each time she passed a massive, dignified door on which was a brass plate bearing the inscription, "John Andrews, Solicitor."

Suddenly, summoning all her courage, she grasped the child by the hand and, boldly entering, ascended the broad staircase. She tapped bravely on the door at the head of the stairs. Unfortunately it was opened by an old confidential clerk, who, recognising her, hesitated, but when she said with an authority she had never asserted before, "I must see Mr. Andrews, Collins, it's urgent," he meekly approached an inner door.

"Mrs. Dauncey, sir. She says she must see you," he said.

A voice within resignedly replied, "All right, show her in." The lack of enthusiasm in the tone might have chilled the timid soul of the little woman under ordinary circumstances, but to-day she had made up her mind that nothing should daunt her, and still holding Jacky firmly, she let herself be ushered into the sacred precincts of the successful lawyer's private office.

"He's having a bad afternoon," muttered the confidential clerk, as he resumed his seat at his desk. "That old tartar of a Mrs. Delaney just gone, and now this young woman turned up again to worry his life out of him."

John Andrews rose uneasily.

"Rose," he began, "you ought not to have come here; you know every time you set foot in this office—in fact, in this town—you impair my position—" He stopped,

shocked by the sight of her emaciated face and form.

"Your position!" she said with a scorn that was new to her. "Your position! It's too late now to think of paltry things like that. I've been sacrificed all along for your position. I've kept quiet, I've eaten my heart out in solitude for your position, but I'm beyond all that now." Her excitement brought on a fresh spasm of coughing distressing to witness.

John Andrews came and stood over her. Her suffering aroused in him a tenderness that her weakness had awakened ten years before.

At last she sank back exhausted but quiet.

"If only you had let me know, Rose, that things were like this with you, something could have been done."

"You remember I wrote asking you to see me, but you took no notice. You just sent that grey-faced man," pointing to the outer office inhabited by the confidential clerk, "with the usual money."

The words went home. "I'll try to make up for it now," Andrews said, eagerly and kindly.

"It's no use now—too late. I got an order for a sanatorium, but when they saw me they said I was a case for the hospital."

She spoke with a quietness that carried conviction; all that was manly in John Andrews' naturally weak nature responded. With strong, unhesitating arms, he raised her from the chair into which she had sunk, and, unmindful of the astonished gaze of the little lad, held her firmly to his breast.

"A case for a hospital! My wife a case for a hospital," he muttered. "Good Heavens! Why was I ever weak enough to be persuaded into a position like this?"

She yielded to his embrace. Her love for him had always been the only strong, determined thing about her. Directly she felt he belonged to her again her womanliness longed to comfort him.

"You were only young, John, and it was quite true that I wasn't suitable. And, as your mother said, I hadn't it in me to rise."

"You were my choice—you were the wife of my youth. Why did I listen to what anyone said about you?"

"We were both young and easily led. I know now I didn't even look ladylike. Your mother thought she was right. I felt bitter at the time, but now it doesn't seem worth while to be bitter about any-

thing or with anyone." She turned to the child with a yearning look. "It's him that give me the pluck to come; he's so like you and yours that even your mother couldn't object to him. You'll take care of him John?"

"I'll take care of both of you," answered Andrews with determination, and as for the first time he let his eyes rest on his nine-year-old son latent paternal instinct stirred in his breast. In that moment he realised what he had sacrificed to his mother's pride.

"What is your name?" he asked, as he placed his hand under the lad's chin. In the little upturned face he saw the portraits of his own ancestors reflected.

"Jacky is what I'm called, but my name is John, after my father," said the child proudly. "It's your name, too, isn't it?" he added innocently.

The man's lips trembled as he said, "That was good of you, Rose; I didn't deserve the child should bear my name."

"It seemed the only name," she replied so simply and prettily that all the old easiness of the courting days came back to them once more, and as twilight fell they sat hand in hand upbraiding themselves, excusing each other, he promising as of yore, she falling under his spell in the old happy way, while the child flattened his nose against the window-pane absorbed in the traffic of the busy street below.

"Rose," said Andrew earnestly, "you must let me take the matter into my own hands—you must let me make amends in my own way. I'll think about the best course, and to-morrow I'll come for you and the child. Now for a taxi. No, not to the station; you are not going to be jolted by any train; it will take you right home. Tell your landlady to do everything she knows how to do for your comfort. Tomorrow I shall come and fetch you."

She shook her head sadly. "No, John, I'm too ill to try to be a lady now. I don't want to come to you now; I used to want to dreadfully, but that has passed. I'm only thinking of Jacky."

"Leave everything to me." Drawing her hand through his arm he patted it soothingly.

So arm in arm they passed through the outer office, oblivious of the scrutiny of the confidential clerk. It took all John Andrews' moral courage to appear in the

street, where he was so well known, escorting a frail, shabby woman, and permitting the demonstrative Jacky to tug at his free hand. It was disconcerting that the desired taxi did not appear with promptitude, but as Rose Dauncey emerged into the chill outside air another spasm of coughing overtook her, and the natural embarrassment of the man of the world gave place to an overwhelming anxiety.

"Expect me early to-morrow, and take care of yourself," were his last words as they slid silently away.

He ascended the staircase, went straight to his own room, and, shutting the door, sat down to think.

He saw her as she had first walked into that office more than ten years ago—a young and very inefficient typist, with pretty, dependent ways that made a strong appeal to him. He had soon realised it would be better to dismiss her and temptation at the same time, but the intercourse was pleasant. It was the first time he had indulged in flirtation, and the novelty held him. The thing glided, he found himself compromised, he found also that she regarded the matter seriously, so seriously indeed that it flattered him.

They had been married secretly in London, where they had spent a short, blissful honeymoon. Then had followed his confession to his haughty, widowed mother, her contemptuous denunciation, and the promise wrung from him to leave his helpless young wife. He remembered the girl's fear as she cowered before the elder woman's anger, making no stand, dumbly accepting her fate, eager only to miss the cruel epithets hurled at her. Then his mind travelled over the intervening years, until lately lived under oppressive regime of his mother, so that independent thought withered, and natural affectionate impulses had to be stifled. Each quarter Collins had borne the allowance agreed upon to a town, some sixteen miles distant, where, according to another stipulation of her mother-in-law, the young wife lived under her maiden name as Mrs. Dauncey.

He recalled how, on a certain morning after his third visit, Collins had nervously entered the private office and announced the birth of a son. For a few days after that news John had wavered in his adherence to his mother. Perhaps her keen wits divined this, for she suddenly determined on an immediate visit to Egypt, a

journey demanding her son's attendance. Six month's travel restored the young man to his naturally submissive state of mind.

* * * * *

The substantial mansion, on the outskirts of the town of Bradfield, inhabited by the Andrews for three generations, was now presided over by John's elder sister, a middle-aged spinster who had inherited in no small measure her late mother's austerity, though in the daughter's case it was tempered by a sense of justice. Still, the thought of his sister's caustic tongue caused John to slacken his speed as he walked up the trim, gravelled drive by which his home was approached.

"I must break it carefully to Agnes," he kept on repeating to himself. When first he started on his homeward journey he said it quite cheerfully, but with the house in full view, and with the thought of his prim sister, sitting rigidly in a straight-backed chair, looking just as his mother had always looked, his heart failed him. The moment his wife became acknowledged he knew everything in the old home would be changed; still, he had made up his mind.

Dinner was silent, restrained; Agnes Andrews was too self-centred a woman to have much general conversation, and to-night John, who usually made an attempt at talking, sat engrossed in his own thoughts.

The parlourmaid withdrew; his tongue was loosened.

"Mrs. Delaney called this afternoon. What a wearying woman!"

"What did she come for?"

"Ostensibly to talk over a mortgage, but really to ask me to dinner."

"She has a widowed daughter returned home to live," said the sister significantly.

"Ah!" ejaculated John. "She reminded me I'd been a bachelor long enough." He leaned across the table and lowered his voice. "Agnes—my—my wife, has been to see me to-day."

His sister started. "She promised mamma she would never come," she answered severely. "I suppose she heard mamma was dead, and so considered the promise not binding. Those sort of people have no nice sense of honour."

"Hush, Agnes!" commanded her brother. "Whatever my wife's faults—and God knows her little faults were so slight that they should only have endeared her to us—

lack of nice feeling was never one of them. In real refinement she is equal to the highest in the land."

"Then why didn't you assert yourself before?" ejaculated Miss Andrews with more common-sense than he had expected her to show.

"Because I was a dull fool and a coward," he answered bluntly.

His sister's next remark surprised him still more.

"I've never agreed with what's been done. I've always felt it was wrong, only while mamma lived I dare not say it; no, even though I was a woman turned forty I hadn't it in me to disagree with mamma in anything. Of course, I think your marriage was foolish, but it was a marriage, and I've hated telling all the lies that the secrecy imposed meant I had to tell."

"And I've hated going about the world a living lie. I've felt a cad every time old Collins has looked me in the face."

"You'll bring her here, of course?" Agnes Andrews' voice faltered. Her short reign had been sweet; moreover, she was heartily attached to the only home she had ever known, and the thought of quitting it hurt her heart as well as her head.

"But you need not go, Agnes. There'll be room for all of us," said her brother, divining her thoughts.

"I shall go," she jerked out in a voice that could trust itself to say no more. Andrews accepted her decision, for he knew her presence would intimidate a girl of her own rank, much more the submissive little creature who had lain helplessly in his arms but three hours ago. Besides, new feelings surged within him; he became conscious that he had been a very lonely man, the joys of a wife and child were suddenly going to be his. He wanted them to himself. He would take them away from the searching winds of Bradfield to a warm South Coast watering-place he had in his mind; the sun should woo back colour to those wan cheeks; his tenderness should coax back the once ready smile; hope would again look out from her loving eyes. Perhaps in a few weeks she would be sitting opposite him at that very table. How the choice flowers, and shimmer, and glitter would please her childlike mind! He leaned back dreaming luxuriously. But there was still her health to be reckoned with; the fairy castles he was building

wobbled as the incessant cough echoed in his ears.

"She's very ill," he said slowly; "very ill."

"What of?" said the practical sister.

"I'm afraid to think what it may be—what it is in fact—a nasty cough—"

"Doctors are very clever, and you can afford the best," said the practical sister.

Andrew took out his watch uneasily.

"It's only half-past eight. I might go to-night and see that she is really well looked after," he murmured apologetically.

"Now, don't be foolish, rushing from one extreme to the other," said the practical sister decisively. "Go and smoke and quieten your nerves."

He was so used to the stern rule of the women of his family that even to-night he was powerless to resist, and walked obediently towards his own particular den.

Half way across the hall he turned back. His sister still stood on the dining-room hearth in deep reverie.

"I forget to tell you, Agnes," he said, with boyish bashfulness, "that there's a child—a boy—just like us." And having made this startling announcement he disappeared again.

"Oh, I'm so glad!" The words were spoken from a lonely woman's heart. She had just been summoning the strength to face a life shorn of all that, to her, made it worth while, and her usually hard face softened at the thought of the new interest a child would bring.

"If they grow absorbed in each other I shall come to see the child," she thought wistfully.

* * * *

The allowance arranged by John Andrews' mother had been in accordance with Rose's position as a typist, and not on the

scale that the wife of a well-to-do man might have expected and demanded; hence the locality that John found himself in the next morning was drab to the point of depression. As he turned into a narrow street flanked by two long rows of houses of dismal similarity, his conscience smote him that his son had been reared in those surroundings, and that the sad malady that gripped poor Rose had had these conditions to aid its progress. The self-condemning thoughts spurred him on, as if he were anxious to end the evil he had wrought.

A capable, cheery woman answered his impatient knock with commendable promptitude. He was glad to realise Rose had been in kindly hands.

"Come in, sir," she spoke as if she expected him. "You'll be the gentleman she mentioned. My husband's just gone to your office, sir."

A great fear took hold of Andrews.

"Isn't she here? Where is she?" he gasped.

"She died at six o'clock this morning, sir. She'd been bad for months, but yesterday, feeling a bit better, she would go out. She came back in a taxicab; she hadn't strength to get out; death had set its seal on her even then. We did everything we could for her, sir."

The words smote him.

"Yes; but I didn't," he said hoarsely.

He stood with clenched lips; the weak mouth seemed suddenly to have grown firm.

"I want to see her," he said.

The woman hesitated as if about to ask his right to intrude into the death chamber, but he brushed past her.

"She was my wife," he said.

FORMS AND TYPES OF STATES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., *Premchand Roychand Scholar.*

I.

HOW FAR THE ANCIENT HINDUS WERE A
POLITICAL PEOPLE.

THE question as to how far the ancient Hindus were a political people and evolved political constitutions of their own presents an interesting line of investiga-

tion. The subject is indeed one of the many dark spaces in our early history requiring to be illumined, one of the many forgotten chapters awaiting restoration at the hands of painstaking and sympathetic research.¹

1. The sources have been duly acknowledged in their proper places. As regards the Vedic evidence, I am

EVIDENCE ON THE SUBJECT : ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that the ancient Hindus knew of both small and large states, kingdoms and empires, and acquired the necessary political experience in the administration thereof. There is besides a large literature extant, treating of political topics, which has been handed down from generation to generation.¹

LITERATURE ON POLITICS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TREATING OF SAME.

These professedly political works are as a rule compilations from other older works and thus serve to preserve the political experience and knowledge of the race. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya is a monumental work of this kind which refers to the previous knowledge, and in some points attempts a comparative study of the subject.² There are other works which are more or less representative of their times and throw much light on the subject by their mass of information. But we should draw not merely upon these treatises, or those portions of them that deal

specifically with polity, but also upon others which though not directly treating it, throw many hints and sidelights, the combined effect of which may clear up many an obscure corner of the subject of our enquiry.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT KNOWN IN ANCIENT INDIA. MONARCHY THE PREVAILING BUT NOT THE ONLY FORM. EVIDENCE OF THE KAUTILYA.

India has seen a multitude of forms of government, and her political experience has not been derived from one form alone. Monarchy was the prevailing form of Government but it was not the only form. The *Arthasāstra* knows of a constitution in which the sovereign power is wielded by a family or clan (*Kulasangha*), and states in connexion with the succession to a vacant throne that a pure monarchy may pass into a constitution of the aforesaid kind by a combination of circumstances.³

NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL SELF-GOVERNING CLANS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Kautilya extols this constitution for its safety and efficiency. He also mentions many self-governing clans *viz.*, Lichchhivika, Vriji-ka, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru and Pāṇchālā as well as those of Kāmbhoja and Surāshtra.⁴ Some of these clans appear in the list of the sixteen independent peoples existing at or shortly before the time when Buddhism arose *viz.*, Angā, Magadhā, Kāśī, Kosalā, *Vajji*, *Mallā*, Chetī, Vamsā, *Kuru*, Panchālā, Machchhā, Sūrasena, Assakā, Avantī, *Gandhārā* and Kambojā.⁵ A few other clans of the time were the famous Sākiyas, Bhaggas of Sumsumāra Hill, Bulis of Allakappa, Kālāmas of Kesaputta, Kaliyas of Rāma-gāma, and Moriyans of Pippalavana.⁶

indebted in a special degree to Messrs. Macdonell and Keith's 'Vedic Index,' ('V. I.') references to which are too numerous to be mentioned in each particular case.

1. Besides the printed works such as the Kautilya *Arthasāstra*, Sukraniti, Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, Nityaprakasikā attributed to Vaisampāyana, Nityakyaṁrita of Somadeva, (with their commentaries, if any, in print or manuscript), several Samhitās treat of the subject e.g., Manu, Yājñavalkya &c. Over and above these, there are treatises in manuscript in several libraries in India as well as Europe dealing with the subject or its portions. A list of these about two hundred in number is given in an Appendix to my *Studies in Anc. H. Polity*, vol. II. (in the press) from which these pages have been taken.

Dr. Pramathanath Binerjea, M. A., D. Sc., recently returned from England, kindly informs me that Dr. F. W. Thomas, Ph. D., Librarian, India Office, is bringing out a printed edition of a work on polity attributed to Brihaspati.

2. The 'Arthasāstra' quotes the following schools of opinion *viz.* Manu, Usanas, Bṛihaspati, Bharadvāja, Viśālāksha, Pisuna, Kaupapadanta, Vatavvādhi, Parāsara, Bāhudantiputra [see pp. 6, 13 and 14], Kātyāyana, Kaninka Bhāradvāja, Dīrghaschārāyana, Ghoṭamukha, Kīñjalka, Pisunaputra [p. 251].

The last passage of the 'Arthasāstra' speaks of Kautilya having used many noteworthy works on polity with their commentaries—

Drishṭvā vipratipattim bahudhā sāstreshu
bhāshya-kāraṇām,
Svayameva viśṇu-guptaschakāra sutramcha
bhāshyamcha.

(p. 429).

1. Kulasya vā bhavedrājyam kulasangho hi
durjayah,
Arājavyasanābādhah sasvadāvasati kshitim.
'Arthasāstra,' Bk. I, 'Rājaputra-rakshanam,' p. 35.

2. 'Ibid.,' p. 376.

3. Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India,' p. 23.

The names common to both Kautilya's and other lists have been italicised. The Vajjians include Videhas of Mithilā and Lichchhavis of Vesālī.

4. 'Buddhist India,' pp. 17-22.

Rāma-gāma i. e. Rāma-grāma identified with Deokali—a city between Kāpilā and Kusinagara. See Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India.'

Pippalavana or the Pippala Forest—the site of the Charcoal Tower, see 'Ibid.'

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SAKIYA CLAN.

An insight into the administrative machinery of some of these clans can be obtained from a study of the methods by which they disposed of the business of the state. The administrative together with the judicial work of the Sākya clan, for instance, was done in a public assembly—their common Mote-Hall (*Saṇḥāgāra*) at Kapilavastu, where both young and old met to attend to state affairs.¹ The Mallas had a similar hall where Ananda is said to have gone to announce Buddha's death.² An office-bearer corresponding to the Greek Archon, or the Roman Consul and bearing the title of Rājā was elected to preside over the meetings and act as the administrative head.

Besides the Mote-Hall at the metropolis, there were several minor halls at towns and other important places as also in every village within the dominion of each clan, where the local people did their share of administrative business.³ The building of Mote-Halls, rest-houses and reservoirs, the mending of roads between their own and neighbouring villages, the laying out of parks and such other works of public utility, for instance, constantly exercised the co-operation of the villagers including women who were proud to take an active part in these public affairs.⁴ Thus the people obtained opportunities for exercising their head on village and town affairs which gave them a training in the more difficult work of guiding and controlling larger interests common to many such townships and

village-communities. We find an instance of such administration of larger common interests in the local self-government obtaining in the capital of Chandragupta Maurya.¹

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE VRIJIS.

The Vrijjis or Samvrijjis (i.e. United Vrijjis) were a confederation of eight clans of whom the most important were the Lichchhavis with their capital at Vaisālī, and the Videhas with their chief town Mithilā. The Vrijjis were all republicans,² and the Lichchhavis, we notice, did not elect a single chief like the other clans already mentioned but a triumvirate to conduct their administration.³ The people of Kāśī (Benares) had once their republic which is testified to by their possession of a public hall used as a "parliament chamber for the transaction of public business".⁴

IRL EVIDENCE OF GREEK WRITERS : MEGASTHENES ;

Megasthenes records an Indian tradition that "from the time of Dionysos to Sandrokottos, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years; among these a republic was thrice established,"⁵ which along with the following two passages from the pen of the same authority point to democracies in ancient India:—

(1) "At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic government set up in the cities."⁶

(II) "Maltecorae, Singhae, Marohae, Rarungae and Moruni are free, have no kings

1. 'Buddhist India,' p. 19, quoting Ambaṭṭha Suttanta translated in Rhys Davids' 'Dialogues of Buddha,' I. 113.

2. *Buddhist India*, p. 19, quoting *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, 6. 23.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 20. Each hall was covered with a roof but had no walls (*Ibid.*).

4. *Buddhist India*, p. 49 quoting *Jātakas*, I. 99.

It is no doubt creditable that Indian ladies should discharge the responsible duties of public office. If we take note of their achievements in fields other than the political or public, we may not have reason to doubt their capabilities in the sphere of action. If we are to believe Megasthenes [See Megasthenes' *Ancient India* (Mc Crindle's transl.) Fragm. LVI] we have to credit them with the administration of the Pandya, who, we are told, were the only race in India with women-rulers. And if the references to *Strirājya* in such works as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhat-Saṃhiti* &c, have any significance, they point to political power wielded by women.

1. See Megasthenes (Mc Crindle), op. cit.

2. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, f. n. and Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 25, 26.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 35 quoting *Jātakas*, 4. 74.

5. Megasthenes' *Ancient India*, Fragm. L.

6. *Ibid.*, Fragm. I. Prof. Hopkins remarks, "Megasthenes plainly implies that self-ruled cities in distinction from cities governed by kings were common in his day. Indeed, his words take such towns as a matter of course." *J. A. O. S.*, VIII, p. 136. He quotes Lassen (*Ind. in Alterthumkunde*, II, pp. 727 and 80) and adds that Vaisālī was such a city with a council of five thousand, each member of which provided one elephant. An officer called *uparaja* under whom was a commander-in-chief of the army, worked on behalf of the people. A *book of customs* regulated their actions.

Ibid., p. 136 f. n.

and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities."¹

ARRIAN ;

There are further evidences of non-regal states in ancient India. Arrian says that the Nysaiaans were free, had a president and entrusted the Government of their state to the aristocracy.²

CURTIUS :

He also refers to the Oreitai as an independent tribe with leaders, while Curtius mentions the Sabarcae as "a powerful Indian tribe whose form of Government was democratic and not regal"⁴ and the Cedrosii

1. Megasthenes' *Ancient India*, Fragm. LVI.

2. Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India : Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, pp. 79, 80, 81. For identification of the Nysaiaans, see *Ibid.*, Appendix, Note G, pp. 338-340.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168. For identification of the Oreitai, see *Ibid.*, f. nn. on pp. 167, 168.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 252. See *Ibid.* f. n. 4 for identification of the Sabarcae. Lassen identifies them with the Sambastai. Regarding the Sabarcae, Cunningham makes the following remarks in his *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the 7th century A. D.*, p. 76 :—"Quintus Curtius mentions a tribe named Sambracæ or Sabracæ who had no king but were led by 'three' generals. Orosius calls them Sabagæ. Now the coins of the Yaudheyas show that they were divided into three tribes, and as Vāgar means a 'warrior,' it is possible that the three tribes may have been called Sam-vārgi or the 'united vāgars.' The great fort of Bhatner is in Bāgar-des and the Bikaner Rāja was called 'Bāgrī Rao' by Akbar. In the same districts also are the Bhatīs, who derive their name from Bhata a 'warrior.' It seems therefore not unnatural to conjecture that the three 'warrior tribes' of Johiyas, Bāgrīs and Bhatīs may be only divisions of the great clan of Yaudheyas or Samvārgis.

According to the same authority (See *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79), one of the best examples of what approaches to the republican or democratic state in ancient India is that offered by the Yaudheyas who organised themselves for military purposes. They are at least as old as Panini ; they resisted the invasion of Alexander ; and they continued in power up to the days of Rudra Daman (A. D. 150) at whose hands they suffered a serious reverse as stated in his Junagadh inscription. The last noteworthy mention we have of them is in the Samudra Gupta Inscription on the Allahabad Pillar (A. D. 470). The long continued autonomy of this military clan is proved by the coins they issued, of which we have numerous finds brought to light dating from the first century B. C. Some of the symbols used on these coins are distinctly of a military significance e. g. Figures 6, 7, 8, 9. (*Ibid.*, op. cit.) which appear soldiers, appear in hand.

as a free people with a council for discussing important matters of state.¹

DIODORUS.

Diodorus describes the Sambastai as dwelling in cities with a democratic form of administration,² and Tauala (a name which has been restored to Patala as its correct form) as "a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan ; for in this community, the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority."

THE MALLOI AND OXYDRAKAI.

The Malloi are simply referred to by Arrian as "a race of independent Indians"⁴ but the Oxydrakai, we learn from him, were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy which they preserved intact for a very long time before Alexander's invasion.⁵ The Malloi (i.e. the Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (the Kshudrakas) figure in a few Sanskrit works e.g. the *Kasikā-vṛtti*⁶ and the *Mahabharata*.⁷

THE KATHAIANS.

There was a race in the Punjab living under democratic institutions viz., the

1. Mc. Crindle's 'Ancient India etc.' p. 262. The name "Cedrosii" is the same as "Cedrosioi" : for identification, see p. 169, f. n. 2.

2. "Sambastai" is, according to some authorities, the same as "Sabarcae" already mentioned. For particulars regarding the Sambastai, see Mc. Crindle's 'Ancient India etc.' p. 252, f. n. 4, and also p. 292.

3. 'Ibid.' p. 296. For identification of Patala, see 'Ibid.' Appendix, Note U, pp. 356, 357.

4. 'Ibid.' p. 140. For identification of Malloi, see Note P, pp. 350, 351 ; Malloi = Malava.

5. 'Ibid.' p. 154. For identification of Oxydrakai, see 'Ibid.' Note P, pp. 350, 351. Oxydrakai = Kshudrakai.

6. 'Ibid.' Note P, p. 350.

7. Arrian mentions the Abastanoi, Nathroi, and Arabitai as independent tribes without any reference to their form of Government. (See Arrian's 'Anabasis' in Mc. Crindle's 'op. cit.' pp. 155, 156, 167. For identification see f. nn. on those pages.) The Abastanoi are identified by some with the Sabarcae. For Siboi and Agalassoi, see V. Smith's 'Early India' 3rd. ed. p. 93 citing Arrian's 'Anab.' VI, 5 ; Curtius, IX, 4 ; Diodorus XVII, 96.

7. They formed part of the Kaurava army in the Great War (Pargiter, in J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 329 citing 'Mbh.', vi, 2106, 2584, 2646, 3852, 3853, 4808, 5484, 5648 ; vii, 183 ; and viii, 137). See also V. Smith's 'Early India,' 74 n. and 94.

Kathaïans, who formed part of the people known as the Arattas (kingless) described by Justin as robbers and denounced as such 'in the *Mahābhārata*, and whom Chandragupta Maurya used as weapons for wresting for himself the sovereignty of the Punjab.¹

III. 'MAHABHARATA' ON THE 'GANAS' OR SELF-GOVERNING COMMUNITIES; DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS MEANINGS GIVEN TO THE TERM.

The *Mahābhārata*² expatiates on the policy that should be followed by the monarch in regard to the *Ganas*, and by the *Ganas* themselves for self-preservation. These *Ganas* appear to have been self-governing communities. Though in the *Sānti-Parva* (ch. 107) the word *gana* appears to refer more clearly to self-governing communities than to mere corporations of traders or artisans, or to the "aristocracy in a state" as Mr. Pratāp Roy wrongly translates it, yet it should be noted that the word bears other significations in other contexts. The commentary of Nilakantha is very meagre on the aforesaid chapter, and from what he has said, it cannot be made out that he has put on the word *gana* any other meaning than that of self-governing community. He interprets³ *gana* by *sura-jana-stoma*. The chapter gives some details of its constitution, wherein its members are described as the same by *jāti* and *kula* and its state affairs as conducted by a body of leaders who are advised to keep among themselves alone the matters they discuss (see slks., 23, 24). The commentators of the *Samhitās* appear to be right in interpreting the word *gana* as "corporation" or "guild" in a few

passages.¹ Prof. Hopkins remarks² that the growth of commercial interests led

1. 'Manu, III, 154 has 'ganābhyantar'—a passage which along with many others previous and subsequent, speaks of the persons who should be shunned by good Brāhmanas at sacrifices to the gods and manes. Among the persons thus condemned is included a Brāhmana who is "within a *gana*" ('ganābhyantar'). Bünler following Medhatithi, Govindaraja and Narayana translates it as "one who belongs to a company or corporation i.e. of men who live by one trade." It is further explained by Narayana as "the headman of a village or the leader of a caravan." According to Kulluka and Raghavananda, it means "one who misappropriates the money of a corporation." Monier Williams in his 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' interprets it as "one belonging to a religious corporation." Here it does not appear that the meaning of "one who belongs to a 'republic'" has any special appropriateness. The same may be said also of 'Vajnavalkya II, 190 (using *gana-dravya*), II, 195 (in which is used the expression 'stent naigamapishandiganam'), I 161 [where 'gana-dikshin' has, according to Monier Williams' 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' (henceforth indicated as M. W.), among other meanings, that of "one who officiates for a corporation as a priest"]; 'Gautama', XV, 18 (having 'gana-preshya' i.e. "a servant of a guild"), and XVII, 17 (containing the word 'gana'). The same may also be said of 'ganapa' (Varāhamihir's 'Bṛhat Samhitā', XXXII, 18), 'gana-mukhya' (Ibid. xvii, 24), 'gana-pāja' (Ibid. XVI, 33), 'gana-pungava' (Ibid.), IV, 24, 'gana-niyaka' ('Kāthasaritsāgara', C. 41), 'gana-purva' (Mbh., xiii, 1591) and 'gana-pramukha', occurring according to M. W., in Buddhistic Literature. (I have followed M. W. as to the above meanings).

The 'Arthasāstra' also uses the word 'gana' in this non-political sense e.g. in the expression 'kaunsilpugana' in Bk. II, 'Samāhartri Samudaya-prasthigana', p. 61. We need not note here the various other meanings which the word may bear in other contexts e.g. "village-assembly" (Foy's 'Die Königliche Gewalt', p. 20, n. 1), "local committee or court" (Jolly's 'Recht und Sitte' p. 136), 'assemblage' (Dr. Fleet's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum', III, p. 291 and n. 3)—See also Dr. F. W. Thomas' article, 'J. R. A. S.' 1914, p. 1011. The 'vivadaratnakara' (p. 669) gives its meaning as an assemblage of Brāhmanas.

I may mention that 'gana' (=Vṛta, Sardha) in the sense of guild appears to have had Vedic precedents noted by Roth in the 'St. Petersburg Dictionary' in connection with the 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana', VI, 9, 25; xvii, 1, 5, 12; 'Vājasaneyi-Samhitā' xvi 25; 'Taittiriya-Samhitā', I, 8, 10, 2. This sense has however been doubted by Messrs. Macdonell and Keith. Guilds however existed in Vedic times (See Fick's 'Die Sociale Gliederung', p. 182 and Macdonell and Keith's 'V. L.', I, 140; 341, 342, 403-404 referring to many Vedic passages. Hopkins' 'India Old and New' pp. 169-205 has a chapter on guilds, in which among other things the antiquity of the institutions is traced. According to his opinion, they date back to about 600 B. C.).

1. J. A. O. S. XIII, 81, 82.

1. Mr. Crindle, op. cit., p. 406 Appendix and Mr. Crindle's 'Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature' p. 38 f. n. Aratta is from Sanskrit 'Arashtraka' (see Cunningham's 'Geography of Ancient India', p. 215). Regarding the places occupied by the Punjab autonomous tribes, see Mr. V. Smith's article: "The position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Punjab conquered by Alexander the Great," J. R. A. S., Oct. 1903, utilizing Major Raverly's paper in J. A. S. B., 1892, Part I, entitled "The Mihan of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study."

2. Sānti-Parva, 107.

3. 'Sānti Parva', ch. 107, slk. 6.

ultimately to the establishment of a sort of trade unions or guilds. They are mentioned early as of importance (see *Manu*), though they may belong to a late period in their full development. "Such corporations had their own rules and laws subject to the king's inspection, the king not being allowed (theoretically) to have established, or to establish any laws that contradicted those already approved or sanctioned by usage. The heads of these bodies are mentioned together with the priests as political factors of weight whose views are worth grave consideration. As an informal instance of it, we find a prince (Duryodhana) defeated in battle and ashamed to return home—"for what," he exclaims, 'shall I have to say to my relatives, to the priests and to the *heads of the corporations*?'¹ Prominence is given to the *guilds* (?) in the later books of the *Mahabharata*. There also we find *corporations* (?) of every sort under the name *gana*; of the members of which the king is particularly recommended to be careful, since enemies are apt to make use of them by bribery. But dissension is their weak point. Through dissension and bribery they may be controlled by the king. On the other hand 'union is the safeguard of corporations.'²

I should remark that the word "corporation" as used in the above extract does not serve as a good synonym of *sreni* or *gana* in its reference to the self ruled community of military people. Dr. Fleet after much discussion with Dr. Thomas over the proper rendering of *Mālava-Gana-Sthiti* comes to the conclusion³ that though *gana* may have many meanings and has to be translated in in each particular case according to the

context, it is best rendered in the above expression by "tribe". Dr. Thomas objects on many grounds, one of which is that when "coins are used by the authority of a *gana* (which is the case with the Yaudheyas), or an era is maintained by it (which is the case with the Mālavas), plainly the absence of royalty is implied."⁴

The *gana* of the *Mahabharata* (xii, ch. 107) also points to its independence or at least semi-independence which the word "tribe" does not express. In order to bring out this essential implication of *gana*, the word "tribe" should have some qualifying epithet, for which I prefer the expression 'autonomous tribe' (used by Mr. V. Smith), or self-governing community.

Many such communities have been pointed out above as existing in ancient India, evidenced by the *Arthasāstra* and other works of both Indian and non-Indian authors.⁵

OLIGARCHIES IN VEDIC INDIA.

It appears therefore that *gana* has several significations, and may stand for *autonomous tribes*, *guilds*, as well as for local committees, the context making clear its meaning in every particular case.

It does not appear clearly whether any oligarchy existed in the Vedic period. According to Zimmer,⁶ there are traces in a passage in the *Rig-Veda*⁷ that normally there was no king in some states, the members of the royal house holding equal rights. It is compared by him to the state of affairs in early Germany.⁸ Messrs. Macdonell and Keith, however, are of opinion that the passage depended upon is not decisive for the sense ascribed to it, "though of course the state of affairs is perfectly possible and is exemplified later in Buddhist⁹ times."¹⁰ This

1. 'Mbh.' I, 111, 249, 16 as quoted by Prof. Hopkins (J. A. O. S., xiii, 82)=III, 218, 16 (Burdwan Ed.) The Sloka has 'srenimukhyah' = 'silpisanghatamukhya prakritayah' according to Nilakantha. 'Mbh.' xii, 54, 20 and 'Ramā.' VI, 111, 13 (Gorresio) are also cited.

2. 'Mbh.' xii, 107; xii, 59, 49 'srenimukhyopajapena'; Nilakantha understands military 'sreni'. See also 'Manu,' viii, 41.

Cf. "Paṇishadah srenayascha" Gorresio's 'Rāmā.' II, 120, 3 and also "sayodhasreninigam dh." 'Ibid.' II, 123, 5. The military help from the 'sreni' is equal to that from the mercenaries (bhṛta) according to 'Dhṛtarāṣṭra's' calculation ('Mbh.' xv, 7, 8). See 'J. A. O. S.,' xiii, 82.

'J. R. A. S.,' 1915, p. 139.

1. J. R. A. S., pp. 1011, 1012.

2. As to the existence of autonomous tribe in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana and Malwa in the fourth century A. D., Mr. V. Smith ('Early India,' 3rd. ed. p. 286) says that the Yaudhaya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlej, and the Andrakas the Central part of the Punjab, the very regions that were occupied by the Mallor, Kithaios etc. living under republican institutions.

3. 'Altindisches Leben,' 176, 177.

4. 'Rig-Veda,' X, 97, 6, 'Aṣṭu-veda,' I, 9; III, 4.

5. Tacitus' 'Annals,' II, 88.

6. Cf. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India,' p. 19.

7. Vide 'V. I.,' II, p. 216.

latter view gains support from the case of Chitraratha who performed a special kind of sacrifice (*dvirātra*) which led to the result that the Chitrarathis were distinguished from other royal families by the fact that "the chief of the clan received a markedly higher position than in most cases, in which probably the heads of the family were rather an *oligar chy* than a monarch (with) his dependents."¹

¹ HOW FAR MONARCHY WAS ELECTIVE IN ANCIENT INDIA; EVIDENCE OF MEGASTHENES AND THE *Rāmāyana*.

Megasthenes records that the *vox populi* was recognised as an effective and potent factor which the responsible officers consulted in cases of failure of heirs in the royal house. On such occasions, "the Indians", we are told, "elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit."² We learn from the *Rāmāyana* that respect was shown to the opinion of the people in the choice of a successor to the reigning sovereign as also on the rather rare occasions of failures of heirs in the ruling house.

Prof. Hopkins says that the assent of the people was obtained to the succession in the first place. After the king's death, the priests and people met in the royal court and decided which prince should be king. The chief priest made an address explaining the death of the king and the necessity for having a new king on the throne. The elder son (Rāma) being banished, the younger must reign to prevent the many evils of anarchy. The older councillors expressed their assent, saying, "Even when the king was alive, we stood at your orders (*sāsane*); proceed, then; give your orders." After this the election was practically over, and only the ceremony remained to be performed."³

THE ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE IN VEDIC TIMES.

There are also traces of the existence of the elective principle in the Vedic times. Zimmer⁴ is of opinion that the Vedic monar-

chy, though sometimes hereditary as can be shown by the several cases in which the descent can be traced,¹ was yet elective in the other instances, though it is not apparent whether the people selected from among the members of the royal house or those of all the noble clans. Geldner² argues however that the evidence for the elective monarchy is not so strong, as the passages³ cited are regarded by him not as indicative of choice by the cantons (*Ṛṣ*), but of acceptance by the subjects. This is of course, as Messrs. Macdonell and Keith observe, no proof that the monarchy was not sometimes elective. The practice of selecting one member of the royal family to the exclusion of another less qualified is exemplified by the legend of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Sāntanu referred to in Yāska,⁴ the value of which as evidence of contemporary views is not seriously affected by the legend itself being of dubious character and validity.⁵

INSTANCES OF SOVEREIGNS DEPOSED OR EXPELLED.

The power of the people was stronger in those days in proportion to the greater insecurity of the sovereign. There are several references to the latter being expelled from their dominions, and to their efforts to be reinstated to their former position.⁶ The

1. E. g. Valhryasva, Divodisa, Pijavana, Sudasa, Parukutsa, Trasadasya, Mitrathiti, Kurusravana, Upamistava &c.; Linman's 'Sanskrit Reader,' 386. A kingdom of ten generations' (Dasapurushamirajya) is mentioned in the 'Satapatha-Brahmana,' XII, 9, 3, 3. Cf. V, 4, 2, 8; 'Atareya-Brahmana,' VIII, 12, 17.

2. 'Vedische Studien,' 2, 303.

3. Rig-Veda, X, 12, 8; 173; 'Atharva-Veda' I, 9; III, 4; IV, 22.

In some passages (AV, III, 4, 1; IV, 22, 3. Perhaps RV, III, 13, 5. Cf. RV, VII, 39, 2. See Weber's 'Indische Studien,' 18, 22) the use of the word Vispati for a sovereign is taken by Zimmer ('Altindisches Leben,' 164, 165) as indicative of election. The word in the (Taittiriya-Samhita II, 3, 1, 3.) stands evidently for "the chief representative of the 'Vis' i. e. the people or subject class"; see 'V. I,' II, 338.

4. 'Nirukta,' II, 10.

5. 'V. I,' II, 211, 269 top.

6. The technical term is 'aparuddha (expulsion).

XVI, 30; Caland, 'Altindisches Leben,' 37 ff. The 'AV' has spells in the interest of royalty (see III, 3. Cf. Bloomfield's 'Hymns of the AV,' III, ff.)

1. 'V. I,' I 262 'Pancharvinsa-Brahmana,' XX, 12, 5 and referring to Hopkins' 'Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,' 15, 51, 53; Weber, 'Indische Studien,' I, 32 and 'Indian Literature,' 68, n.

2. Megasthenes' 'Ancient India,' Fragm. L.

3. 'Rāmāyana' (Gorresio) II, 69, l. ff, 33. See Hopkins, J. A. O. S., XII, p. 145.

4. Zimmer's 'Altindisches Leben,' 162 ff., Weber's 'Indische Studien' 17, 88; Bloomfield's 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda,' 336.

inviolability of the sovereign's authority is recognized even in the Vedic period, he himself being "exempt from punishment" (*adandya*) but having the power to inflict on others judicial punishment (*danda-vadha*).¹ The expulsion was the last resort of the people who could of course effect it more with the aid of the abnormal circumstances that came about than by dint of their unaided will. The sovereign's immunity from punishment should therefore be taken as the normal rule. A few instances of the sovereigns deposed or expelled from the realms may be cited here: Dushtaritu Painsāyana (the first word literally means "hard to fight"), king of the Srinjayas, was deposed by them from a principality that had existed for ten generations, but was restored by Pātava Chakra Sthapati in spite of the resistance of Balhika Prātipiya,² the Kuru king. Dirghasravas (i. e. far-famed), was also banished from his kingdom,³ as also Sindhukshit who had to remain in exile for a long time before he could be restored.⁴ The case of Vena⁵ being deposed in later times may also be mentioned.

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE AS EXEMPLIFIED
IN THE RITUAL CALLED RATNAHAVIS.

A trace of the deference paid to the will of the people in early times exists also perhaps in the ritual of the *rājasuya* called the *Ratnahavis* in which offerings were made by the king on eleven successive days in the houses of persons termed *Ratnins* including among others a *kshatriya*, village-headman and such other individuals who were either mere subjects, king's officials, or relatives, to whom or at least to some of whom, the

title of *rājakartri* (king-maker) was applied.¹ Though in later times, the ceremony may have been no more than mere formality observed during the inauguration, yet in its inception in remoter periods, it was probably associated with the deference shown to the opinion of the people, who then wielded much greater power in the state. Some of the *Ratnins* were perhaps representatives of the people or certain classes of the subjects, turned into mere ceremonial figures in subsequent times by the growth of the royal power.

MONARCHY: THE ORDINARY FORM OF
GOVERNMENT IN VEDIC TIMES.

The ordinary form of Government in Vedic times however was the monarchical, as might be naturally expected from the situation of the Indian Aryans surrounded by hostile races. There are clear signs that the power of the monarch was curbed by the existence of the assembly which he had to consult, and concord between them was essential for the prosperity of the former as also of the people at large.²

GRADATION OF KINGLY POWER.
DIFFERENT TITLES INDICATING THE GRADATION.

In the titles assumed by the sovereigns as well as the epithets by which they are mentioned, we find evidences of higher and lower positions among them. Messrs. Macdonell and Keith remark that the states were seemingly small³ and there are no clear signs of any really large kingdoms, despite the mention of *Mahārājas*. This may be true but it does not negative the position that there were royal hierarchies among the states of the early Vedic period. The area upon which the Aryans spread themselves in those times was not even the whole of Northern India,

1 'Satapatha-Brahmana', IV, 4, 4, 7. Cf. 'Pārasakara-Grihya-Sūtra' III, 15 where the "staff" as the emblem of royal, temporal power, implying punishment, is said to be applied by the monarch (*rajapreshito-dandah*).

2 'Satapatha-Brahmana', XII, 9, 3, 1 ff; 8, 1, 17. Weber's 'Indische Studien', I, 205, 207.

3 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana', XV, 3, 25.

4 'Ibid.', XII, 12, 6. According to Oldenberg, 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft', 42, 235, fn. 3. Sindhukshit was probably a mythical personage. Even assuming him to be so, the story testifies at least to the expulsion of sovereigns as not an impracticable conception of the people of those days.

5 'Vishnu-Purāna', pt. I, ch. 13.

1 'Aitareya-Brahmana', VIII, 17, 5. 'Atharva-Veda', III, 5, 7. 'Satapatha-Brahmana' III, 4, 1, 7; III, 22, 18. See Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's articles in the 'Modern Review', Jan., 1912, and May and July, 1913.

2 'Atharva-Veda' VI, 38, 3; V, 19, 15. 'V. I.' II, p. 431.

3 'Cf. Hopkins, 'Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences', 15, 32 for the 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana'. The 'Satapatha-Brahmana' and the later parts of the 'Aitareya-Brahmana', with their traditions of 'Asvamedhas', 'horse-sacrifices', and their recollections of the glories of the Bharatas represent a more advanced stage of social relations and city life, but even they hardly know really great kingdoms.' 'V. I.' II, p. 254 fn. 65.

and necessarily we cannot expect to have an emperor with a territory extending from sea to sea. Yet among the existing states, one or the other rose to a supremacy over some others which prompted its ruler to assume a title indicative of his superiority to the subordinate states. *Samrāj* is the epithet applied to a "superior ruler" in the *Rig Veda*¹ as also in later works expressing a greater degree of power than that of a *Rājan*² ('King'). *Adhirāja*³ frequently met with in the early Sanskrit literature signifies an 'overlord' among kings or princes.⁴ Similar

ly, we have *Mahāwāja*,¹ *Rājādhirāja*,² *Ēkarāja*.³

some in which a king defeated a few others, the two parties being sometimes aided by their own allies. Sudāsa, for instance, helped by the Tritsus defeated in a great battle the ten kings Sunyu, the Turvasa, the Druhyu, Kavasha, the Puru, the Anu, Bheda, Sambara, the two Vafarnas and perhaps the Yadu who led with them as allies the Matsyas, Pakthas, Bhilinas, Alinas, Vishamins, Sivas, Ajas, Sigras and perhaps Yakshus (V. 1, 1, 320). There is again the fight in which the Srinjaya king Daivata conquered the Turvasa king and the Vrichivants, and another in which the Jahous and the Vrichivants contended for sovereignty. (V. 1, 11, 319, 499). From these, I think, it is not unreasonable to infer that some at least of the terms signifying degrees of power, or superiority and inferiority of rank among kings should denote an actual counterpart created by the victories and defeats in battles which increased or decreased their powers and territories.

¹ 'Aitareya-Brahmana', vii, 34, 9; 'Kaushitaki-Brahmana', V, 5; 'Satapatha-Brahmana', 1, 6, 4, 21; II, 5, 4, 9 etc.

² 'Rajapati' is used of Somu in the 'Satapatha-Brahmana', xi, 4, 3, 9 and is not indicative of temporal supremacy.

³ 'Rajadhiraja', 'king of kings' is used as a divine epithet in the 'Taittiriya-Aranyaka', I, 31, 6 though as a title of paramount sovereignty in later times.

⁴ In the 'Rig-Veda' (viii, 37, 3) the term is used metaphorically. In the 'Aitareya Brahmana', viii, 15, the word according to Weber, 'Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasuya' in the 'Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften' zu Berlin, 1893 p. 141 f. n. 2, means "a king over a 'mandala'." But the expressions used by the 'Aitareya' itself in a subsequent passage of viii, 15 are "Ēkarāt of the earth up to the sea." See also AV, III, 4, 1.

¹ 'Rig-Veda' III, 55, 7; 56, 5; IV, 21, 2; VI, 27, 8; viii, 19, 32.

² In the 'Satapatha-Brahmana' (V, 1, 1, 13; Cf. vi, 8, 3, 4; xiv, 1, 3, 8) the 'Samrāj' is higher than a king. See Weber's 'Über den Vajapeya', p. 6 (in the 'Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin' xxxix, (1892).

³ 'R V', X, 128, 9; 'AV', vi 98, 1; 'IX', 10, 24; 'Taittiriya-Samhita' II, 4, 14, 2; 'Maitrayani-Samhita', IV, 12, 3; 'Kathaka-Samhita', viii, 17; 'Taittiriya-Brahmana', III, 1, 2, 9; 'Satapatha-Brahmana', V, 4, 2, 2; 'Nirukta', VIII, 2.

⁴ Messrs. Macdonell and Keith after giving the above meaning express doubt whether a real 'overking' is meant by the word, and inclines to the negative view. An over-king of the early Vedic period should however be taken with the limitations peculiar to the age to which he belonged; and we cannot expect to find then the political conditions or the great extent of territory that made the overlords of after times what they were. It is not improbable that a powerful Vedic king should conquer a few others and bring them under his control. Of the battles of the time of which we have record we find

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE POST OFFICE, By Sir Rabindranath Tagore (Translated by Mr. Devabrata Mookerjee) Published by Macmillan & Co. Limited.

W. B. Yeats in his preface to the Post Office writes: 'When this play was performed in London a year ago by the Irish players, some friends of mine discovered much detailed allegory, the Headman being one principle of social life, the curdseller or the gaffer another, but the meaning is less intellectual, more emotional and simple.' This is indeed a very important literary distinction and has to be told again and again in connection with the mystical plays of Sir Rabindra. People are so much anxious about the meaning that it seems they would rather peel off the flesh of the fruit and be

content with the stone. This shows that a delicate literary instinct is a much rarer thing than scholarly erudition or dry intellectuality. Most people approach literature with an intellectual schematism and fail to grasp the deeper suggestion of poetry. They are not satisfied until they can congratulate themselves on the discovery of an allegory, and allegory is nothing but a ready ideality which may coincide with the plot. Thus in an allegory the idea which the poet wishes to communicate is the main thing and the poem or the drama is nothing but a garb which has made it more presentable. In themselves the parts of such a drama do not form one organic whole, but their inter-relation is dependent on the inner meaning—the regulative idea. Apart from this, the drama will not yield any-

thing more. It is this want of relation between the parts, which forces the mind to reject them as non-substantial and to seek for some other deeper reality or Truth, which is sought to be expressed by the poet and as such upholds the whole plot within itself. This idea in an allegory is necessarily forced upon us, as the plot of the drama is made to contain such a contradiction in it, that it falls to the ground of itself and can only be reinstated when looked at from the point of view of the veiled idea. This idea here therefore is not such that it animates the whole frame, but is on the other hand the only life which shines through the radiant form of the whole. Accept the idea, accept the drama, reject it, the drama falls. The Head is the arbiter and not the Heart.

With the Post Office however we have got an altogether different class of literature to handle. Underlying it there is of course some idea, but that idea is not so much expressed by the contradiction of the general plot or the particular characters, as by the resonance of the joyous strain. There is neither any mental crisis nor any absurdity in the development of the plot and we have not to start with an idea in order to get into the drama as in the case of an allegory. On the other hand it makes its effect naturally of itself and the radiant orb of joy which emanates has its crown fringed with the streak of a glorious idea. Instead of the idea leading us to the drama it is the latter which fascinates and enlivens us with joy. Under its quickening touch we are rejuvenated with a divine life and in this youth of delight and joy our ears long for some maiden whispers which it hears from a distance like the humming of the bees. This whispering idea which is the after-effect of joy is essentially different from that which we find in an allegory, for here the idea is not sought for its own sake, but revealed to us in and through a career of joy. The linguistic activity which sustains and accomplishes it is entirely different in character, method and essence and is called *Vyanjana* by the Sanskrit rhetoricians to distinguish it from the other type called the *Lakshana*. The necessary characteristic of *Lakshana* is this that a new meaning or idea is forced upon us by the apparent contradiction of the primary meaning or the meaning on the surface and it is just this sort of an oscillation that constitutes the movement of an allegory, the secret of which consists in this that the plot of the drama, the development of the characters and the mutual relations become strange and absurd without the "Aropa" or the similitude and the shock of this absurdity forces the mind to the similitude (*Rupana*) in the light of which everything becomes clear. The difference between this and the *Rupaka-Dhwani*, the *Vastu-Dhwani* or the *Rasa-Dhwani* is this that here the similitude, the idea, or a delicate emotion (as the case may be) is revealed to us as the echo of the general effect of the drama which is independent in itself like the resonance of the lute or the guitar. The *modus operandi* of this linguistic activity, however, is not so easy to detect as that of the other, for the suggestions here are not revealed either from the primary or the secondary meaning but directly from the inner psychosis of the person of the bearer. The words in themselves are not so much responsible as the skill of the artist. The poet plays the strains of delicate emotion with a touch of his 'inflecting' genius in such a way that our sleeping passions, cravings, yearnings and ideas in the dim twilight region of the subconscious are awakened with a pleasant surprise, and the whole

roll of our psychical personality begins to unwind. Our psychical personality of interpenetrating tendencies receives a suggestive shock and is set in motion of itself through the dominant movement of life itself and we are transported to an ideal world of imaginative structure which appears as much real as the Real itself. This poetic communication, this infection is, therefore, the result of a double action, the objective or that on the part of the poet, consisting in the skill in projecting an image of his own heart for the conceptive faculty and the subjective or that of the reader, consisting in the action of a peculiarly sensitive nature which can receive these projections or communications. Every man says whatever he wishes to convey to his hearers, but it is the poet alone who not only says but sends a thrill as well. So it is that the man in the street hears and understands whatever is said to him, but it is only the fortunate few who have rare poetic faculty that can receive the thrill which a poet sends and can transport themselves into joy. It is neither intellectuality, wisdom, erudition, scholarship or anything of the sort, but like the eye or the ear, it is possibly a different sense and a very delicate one, a special gift of nature, which few people have the fortune to possess.

It is therefore that we often find that with many people, true poetry goes unheeded. They are more busy about the husk, possibly some moral instruction or an intellectual riddle. It is on this account also that we find that many bunglers in literature (otherwise honest and intelligent and sometimes well-read too) are anxious under a patriotic garb to shift the matter and ideal of poetry to a ground which is intelligible to them and demand that the theme of poetry should strictly be restricted to the gross reality around us on which it is the business of the poet to work in such a manner as to transform it into a moral instruction or an ideal. It will be out of place here to enter into any elaborate discussion about this strange confusion of duties between a poet and a moralist of which we have already said more than is necessary for a short criticism like this. Our intention, however, in speaking of all these is simply to invite the attention of our readers to the fact, which they sometimes forget in confusion, that the creation of the poet is essentially a thing of beauty and joy for ever; and Beauty is as true as Truth itself. We know with Kant that Beauty reveals the abiding harmony of the inner and the outer, the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is the revelation of the True to the heart, as what we call truth or the idea is a revelation to the head and there is not the slightest excuse to justify the former by the latter. Beauty is as much its own end as truth itself and as much an ideal of the heart as any idea can be.

It may now be hoped that I may be excused if I make bold to say that the main charm of the Post Office, is neither a moral instruction nor a patriotic ideal but a peaceful and gentle feeling of yearning after the infinite.

The tale itself is very simple. The god-son of a citizen Madhab, Amal by name, is advised by his physician at the time of his illness to be always kept indoors with all the doors shut up. But the child is very intensely anxious to go out, see and enjoy. But he is shut up in spite of it. He sits with a melancholy air by the window and asks every passer-by, the traveller and the dairy man about the world outside, the Shamly river and the Panchmura hills, and almost dies with anxiety to be out to those places. He longs to be

out, he longs to be free; this is the only voice of his life, the only joy that he is capable of enjoying. "Time waits for none but goes on for ever" and Amal longs to "fly with the time to that land of which no one knows anything." He wishes to have a message from the King from his great Post Office set right in front of his window. He sees the flower girl Sudha and would like to go out to the dense forest to blossom there into a Champa with the flower girl by his side as sister Parul. The flower girl promises to give him a flower on her return and goes away. Boys come at his window; he takes part at delight in their play and gives them his own toys, but amidst them all, his anxiety for the King's message persists unabated along with his longing to become free. In the second or last Act the same anxiety for the King's message grows to its utmost intensity as is evident from his conversation with the gaffer; and at last comes the message that the King himself will come to visit him. All doors are flung open and lamps put out and, bathed in the streaming light from the eternity of stars, he sleeps only to awake again at the touch of the King himself.

We may call it a drama or anything we like. There is almost no characterisation, no movement, no conflict. It is nothing more than a simple dialogue of a simple child. There is not even a song to rouse the lyrical spirit within us. It has not followed any law except that of the joy of the poet himself. It is neither a necklace of pearls nor a bouquet of flowers, not only a drop of tear, like a dew-drop on the blade of grass.

The yearning which finds its expression here is the universal yearning of mankind, an aspiration for the Beyond. It is the same as that experienced by a Nachiketa or a Dante. No doubt it is much more simple and gentle and its sound is scarcely more audible than the beatings of the heart but is not on that account less true or constant. We can not agree with Mr. Yeats when he says that the child discovers his deliverance at death, for it is the sweet sleep wherein the child awaits the visit of the King. The yearning has not ceased, the deliverance has not been won, but with a sweet hope, the yearning soothes us into sleep, and this is what is death. In *Phalguni* the poet has tried to see life through the opaque film of death and has discovered for us its true meaning and place. But here there is only the pain, which pierces through us and at once unites us with the created nature around us.

"Beyond and beyond shall we go, illimitable time! and illimitable space! Nothing shall obstruct us, no bondage, however thin; Oh, let us be free, let us be free; this is the simplest cry that whistles through every soul. This yearning runs through us like the spirit of the Holy Quest and brings us to the brink of Death. We await the King who will deliver us from all bondage and sleep with sweet hope, and the soft glimmering beam of our life shines in the firmament of eternity but even then it twinkles and twinkles, Oh Where? Oh When?"

SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, HIS LIFE, PERSONALITY AND GENIUS, by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri B. A., B. L., Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Cloth bound, Pages 536.

At an auspicious moment Rabindranath began the translation of his later poems which has introduced the spirit of modern Bengal into Europe and has bought for it a remarkable place before the

nations of the world. This is indeed a very felicitous thing but the more important achievement is the opportunity that it has afforded to the sister provinces of India to hear the notes of their own joys and sorrows from the strings of the Muse of Bengal, the echo of their hearts in her heart and to feel her as a sister and to claim her as one. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we hail this devoted admirer of Sir Rabindra from Madras. He has collected with great care and assiduity all that have appeared of Rabindranath in English and this is sure to prove highly interesting to those sincere readers whose hearts leap with joy at the true appreciation of the greatest poet of the time, the glorious son of India from strange minds and strange lands. In a valuable introduction of about 164 pages he has tried to trace the genesis and development of Tagore's genius in connection with his social and other environments and has discussed the value of his literary art with ability. He then deals with the translations, *Gitanjali*, the *Gardener*, the *Chitra*, the *Crescent Moon*, the *King of the Dark Chamber*, the *Post Office* and the *Poems of Kavi* in separate chapters. The last three chapters are devoted to the description of Tagore's works of fiction, *Sadhana* and other miscellaneous writings. The writer's devotion to Rabindranath is so complete that he has done full justice to the poet, so far as it is possible to do without reading all his works in the original Bengalee in a systematic manner. When he would do this we think he would not be pleased with his own work in which he has tried to trace the development of the poet's genius merely in an external manner in which the central spirit of the poet's life (like the one which the poet has himself given us in a short article in *Bangobhishar Lekhak*) has been utterly lost sight of. With a strong and passionate love of Nature as the data and the dynamic of his poetic joy as the principle of movement the poet has discovered for himself his own life in gradual stages and like *Padmapada*, in every step that he has taken, a glorious lotus has bloomed forth. His writings may have similarities with many other writings of other poets and thinkers but they are after all his own; they are not the products of stray acts of imagination but they are necessary links of an unfolding genius. Like the flower of the valley it has indeed grown under various environments from which it has taken the very sap of its life but the superb beauty and fragrance into which it has bloomed are absolutely independent of them all. No biography of Rabindranath can be successful which does not take an account of this essential factor in the development of his mind and art.

S. N. DASGUPTA.

THE LICHEE - ITS CULTIVATION AND CULTURE—by Jnanendra Mohan Dutt, B. L., Member, Bihar Provincial Agricultural Association.

This small pamphlet gives an account of the means by which the lichee is planted in Muzaffarpur and by which a desirable improvement may be brought about elsewhere. The Muzaffarpur lichee is the best of its kind and it is reputed for its exquisite flavour, small seed, abundance of sweet juice, and a nice outward shape and colour. There are four different varieties of lichee found in Muzaffarpur:—(1) *Bedana* (small seeded) (2) *Rose scented* (big fruit with exquisite flavour and sweetness) (3) *China* (late variety) and (4) *Dudhia* (white variety). The culture of all these varieties depends upon the soil where they are planted and their after treatments.

Lichee grows well in a moist sandy soil, fairly retentive of moisture. Gardens planted in old river beds are found to produce best fruits. The lichee does not grow well from seeds. The only means of propagation is by *Guti* or *Anta* grafting, rainy season being the best time for making such graftings and the grafts should as well be planted in rains. Oil cakes and well-rotten cowdung are the best manures for the crop and frequent irrigations are absolutely necessary for the proper growth and fruiting of plants. After the harvest of the crop pruning will secure better fruits in the next year and all wounds caused by pruning should immediately be covered with clay. The pamphlet may be very useful as it is complete in all the informations about the crop from the cultivation to the method of transport of fruits. The present pamphlet bears a testimony to the fact that the author takes a keen interest in agriculture and he has a heart to introduce improved methods of cultivation amongst the ryats. Well-laid mango and lichee orchards are a rarity in Bengal and it is high time for us to pay our best possible attention to our land. Gardening is not only a pleasure but a great profit and the success of which depends mainly on the energy and personal labour of the owner.

This pamphlet of 15 pages only has been priced at annas six which seems to be rather high. Such small booklets written in vernacular and at a cheaper price will be more welcome and useful to the people.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L. AG.
(Bengal Agricultural Dept.)

I. STEPS TO PROPHET ZOROASTER with a Book of Daily Zoroastrian Prayers by Manojit B. Jami, Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc., Principal of the Sirko Dastur Hoshang High School, Poona [with illustration]. Published by M. B. Pithawalla, 3, Arsenal Road, Poona. Pp. vii+280. Price Rs. 2.

It is said in the sacred writings of the followers of the Majdayasman Religion that

"Yanim muno, yanim zacho, yanim skyisthm, m ashastm Zuvathustrahe" or in Neryosangh's Sanskrit—

शोभनमनाः शोभनवचाः शोभनकर्म ।

बभूव पुण्यात्मा जयशुखः ।

And it may be thus rendered into English: Good was the thought, good was the word, and good was the deed of the holy Zarathustra. Good thoughts (*humata*), good words (*huktha*) and good deeds (*hvarshta*) were the watch-words of the great Prophet of ancient Iran which he practically illustrated by his own life till he was slain by a Turanian when worshipping in the sanctuary. The author is a follower of the faith preached by such a great person, and, with a view to supplying the young students of his community with a useful book on their religion and literature he has written the present volume. It is divided into ten books and provides a great variety of matters in simple English for general reading. Almost all the things which the young students are required to learn have been concisely described or illustrated in it. But the life of the Prophet should have been described to a greater extent even omitting the last two books entirely. A few pages ought to have also been devoted completely to write on Ahura Mazda, the central point of the book, and his creation together with the counter-creation by Angra Mainyu. We see that Dr. Spöner's new theory regarding the Persian influence in ancient

India and the Persian style of Chandragupta's palace excavated in Pataliputra of which much has been discussed in this Review, too, has found its place in Mr. Pithawalla's book!

The Parsees are generally called *Fire-worshippers*, but what the expression really signifies has very clearly and rightly been stated in the following lines by Mr. Pithawalla as if joining with his Hindu brethren:—

"Ours is not Fire-worship or idolatry. Far from it. We emphatically repeat in song No 13 thus: 'Through the agency of Thy Divine Fire, approach we Thee and Thee alone, O Ahura.' Yet we need to add that as long as the soul is imprisoned by flesh, as long as man is absorbed in matters worldly, such a powerful medium as the Holy fire burning on the *sanctum sanctorum* in the Atash-Beheram, is not only helpful but essential to the people at large. It may be possible, at a higher stage of Man's development, to dispense with the aid of such visible natural forms as fire or the symbol of the sun, and meditate upon the abstract qualities of Ahura Mazda without stepping into Temple.... But such cases are rare and what is right and proper for one is not necessarily right for every one else." Pp. 69-70.

The book will serve the purpose of those for whom it is intended, and we have also no hesitation in saying that general readers will have a good deal of information regarding Zoroastrianism from this handy volume which has been dedicated to the Grand Old Man of India, Sir Dadabhai Naoroji and contains some illustrations, two of them being the different plans of the Dokhma or the Tower of Silence as it is often called.

II. THE COMING AND THE PASSING OF ZOROASTER by Rajy, published by the Board of Management of the Sirko Dastur Hoshang High School, Poona. Pp. 27. Address: 3, Arsenal Road, Poona.

This nicely printed booklet with the words "With the Compliments of the Season" contains some stanzas on the advent and departure of Zoroaster.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY, by E. K. Sykes, Pt. I, from Vedic Times to the death of Aurangzeb, viii+248, with 79 illustrations. (Christian Literature Society of India) 2s. net.

The special value of this little book lies in its wealth of illustrations distinctly reproduced, and its attention to art and architecture. But the title of "Readings" given to it is a misnomer. The author's intention to let her readers "read what Indians of bygone ages actually wrote about the events of their time," has been carried out to a fractional extent only, the major portion of the book being in her own words. It should, therefore, be judged as a History of India for students of the familiar type. From this point of view it is readable, but has nothing distinctive in style, arrangement of information.

BEGAMS OF BENGAL, translated from the Bengali of Brajendra Nath Banerji. 124 50. (Mitter & Co., Calcutta, 1915), 12 annas.

It is a carefully written and accurate account of seven ladies of the family of the Nawabs of Bengal from Murshid Quli Khan to Mir Jafar. These ladies, always fair and often frail as well, had great influence on the administration, and hence a correct and scholarly presentation of their lives, though of thin texture, has some value. This little book explains

the moral degradation of the ruling house which made the catastrophes of Plassey and Undhua Nala possible. In the middle 18th century the morals of the "masnad of Murshidabad" were the morals of the barn-door.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH HISTORY, Vol. I. Pre-Tudor Period, by A. M. Srinivasha Raghavan, 114-282 (C. Subbiah Chetty, Madras, 1915).

We do not review school-books unless they have any distinctive feature.

LAILI AND MAJNUN, translated from the Persian of Nizami, by James Atkinson, 214-80. (Reprinted by the Printing Office, Allahabad.)

This little book is another example of the useful work the Panini Office has been doing in its own quiet way by reprinting out of print books dear to the heart of the orientalist. Nizami of Ganja, (born 1140, died 1202), is one of the few first-rate Persian poets and his *Laila and Majnun* is one of the most popular of all love-stories in the East. As Prof. Browne writes in his monumental *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, "Nizami's high rank as a poet alike original, fruitful, and of rare and noble genius, is admitted by all critics.....If his genius has few rivals among the poets of Persia, his character has even fewer. He was genuinely pious, yet singularly devoid of fanaticism and intolerance; self-respecting and independent, yet gentle and unostentatious; a loving father and husband" (pp. 402-403.) The poem under review is one of his five great romances and runs to nearly 4,000 verses in the original. Atkinson's translation, executed in 1835, is in rhymed verse, smooth-flowing, pleasant to read, and preserving the colouring and spirit of the original, though the elegance, tricks of style and sonorous music of the Persian necessarily vanish in a translation into the tongue of the cold and taciturn Feutons of the white island. Now and then Atkinson rises to true poetry (e.g. p. 13, 67 &c.)

J. SARKAR.

MADRAS VILLAGE PANCHAYATS by M. Siva Aiyangar; published by the Tamil Sangam Press, Madurai. (No price mentioned)

Another little brochure of 17 pp. The writer discusses some of the changes introduced or proposed to be introduced in the constitution and working of Village Panchayats in the Madras Presidency, in consequence of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. The Madras Government have favoured the revival of the old Village Panchayat in the place of the artificial unions but the experiment has been confined within narrow limits. The writer regrets that Government have not conferred exclusive powers to the Panchayats to try petty civil and criminal cases whereby much trouble and expense would be saved to poor litigants.

The new developments in Bengal in connection with the President-Panchayet system with the introduction of the circle officer to oversee the work of unions should be keenly watched by students of village Government in India. The indigenous village Panchayet, however, does not exist in Bengal nor has the Government tried to revive it wherever it may be found to exist. The union is the creature of legislation but several important functions in connection with local taxation, sanitation and the administration of civil and criminal justice in petty cases have been delegated or were proposed to be delegated to them. Hence their importance.

NOTES ON HOLLAND'S JURISPRUDENCE: by Kali Krishnan Bhattacharya. Price Rs. 1 & 40. Mohila Press, 27, 29 Dalalanga Street, Calcutta.

In the preface the author writes as follows: "These notes are an attempt to help the student to master Holland's Jurisprudence (11th edition) within an easy compass, though they are not meant to supersede the original book. For this purpose University questions from 1870 to 1915 have been incorporated in the book and copious tables have been given often bringing the matter of a whole chapter in one page. Austin has been quoted where necessary and the important footnotes of Holland have been given in proper places."

University questions have been printed at the end of each chapter as well as against each para. The book will be useful to students preparing for the degree Examination in Law.

INDIAN LAND REVENUE, TAX OR RENT: by M. S. Saha (bengal), Hony. Secy. Madras District People's Association, etc. (No price mentioned.)

This little brochure of 24 pages is a reprint from the "South Indian Mail" of an article on the above subject by the writer. It is an attempt, a very modest attempt, to summarise the opinions of the principal authorities on the subject of Indian Land Revenue with regard to this knotty problem. The writer concludes with a quotation from the writings of the late Mr. G. V. Joshi to the effect that the tax theory has the weight of authority on its side and should be persistently maintained. Wrote the late Mr. Joshi: "If we, however, strenuously continue to maintain the principle so authoritatively laid down in the court of Directors' despatch of 1856 and subsequently re-approved in the despatches of Sir Charles Wood in 1864 of Lytton's Government in 1880 that the state assessment on the land is revenue only, not economic rent, and that land throughout the country is private property subject to the payment of such revenue, there will be no disposition on the part of our Land Revenue Administration, as there appears to be in some quarters, to enhance its demands upon the land more and more to ominous levels out of all proportion to fiscal necessities and without a proper regard to an equitable distribution of public burdens as between the landholding and other classes."

It cannot be gainsaid that in ancient India the State always took a share out of the produce of the land. But it was a tax pure and simple and its justification was the protection which the state afforded. But in spite of the *Shastric* authority for this proposition and the immemorial custom in support of it—the British Government have found it advantageous to leave things hazy and indistinct. They dare not say that it is a tax and they do not want to rouse public opinion by calling it rent. In either case they will have to face uncongenial logical conclusions.

The Government of India have recently published a despatch which they addressed to Lord Morley in 1910 on the subject of legislative enactment for fixing the proportion of agricultural profits which Government should appropriate as Land Revenue. The arguments urged against this salubrious recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission in the Government Despatch will clearly show that the Government while recognising the necessity of such a limit are afraid of legislative enactment on the subject. The arguments used by the Govern-

ment are specious to say the least of them. If land revenue is a tax on income why should there not be a statutory limit to it and if an Income Tax Act can work smoothly why cannot a Land Revenue Act on similar lines?

B. C.

GUJARATI.

PATAN NI PRABHUTA, by *Ganeshyam*, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, pp. 240. Paper cover. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1916).

This is a historical novel, receding the times when Gujarat gloried in its own kings. The period chosen is the one when owing to the invasion of the province by the Mahomedans, (Mahmud of Ghazni) Anhilwad Patan, the capital of Gujarat had lost much of its importance. The narrative portrays the struggle of the Jain with the Rajput for mastery, and incidentally depicts the intrigue of the Jain as well as his valor. The creed of 'Ahimsa' did not stand in his way, and he wielded his sword as effectively as his brain when the occasion demanded the use of the one or the other. The story is a "galloping" one, and the patriotism of the inhabitants of Patan, whether Jain or Rajput, when threatened by an alien enemy, is the most creditable episode of the whole story.

VIDYARTHI NI UCHHI BHAVNAO, by *Jalishm'er* *Trikamji Jani*, B. A., L.L.B., Surat, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Baranagar, Paper cover, pp. 57. Price Rs. 0-3-0 (1916).

The title of the Book shews the purpose with which it is written.

PRAMATHA PRAN ARPAN, by *Merkhal Mukherjee* *Vera of Haicad*, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 77. Price Rs. 0-1-0 (1915).

The subject matter of these verses is the miserable life led by an ill-matched couple, and the longing of the wife for a cultured companion. The writer is an advocate of *आत्मसुख* as opposed to *देहसुख*. Some of the verses betray great feeling.

SHRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI, PEARL IV, published by *Naginbhai Ghelabhai Jhaveri*, printed at the Surat Jain Printing Press, Cloth cover, pp. 680. Price Rs. 0-12-0. (1915).

This fourth book in the series of old Jain Gujarati Literature contains the Shatrunjaya Mahatmya of Shriman Jina Harsha, and is edited by a well known Jain Suri, Shri Buddhi Sagar Suri. It is a Rasu, and is written in the last century. The introduction is both entertaining and informing.

BIHAN'S KADAMBARI, by *Keshavlal H Dhruvji*, B. A., printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover, pp. 360. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1916).

Bhahan, a poet who flourished in the 15th century, has written many works. Out of that Mr. Keshavlal has selected his Kadambari for editing and annotating. This is but the first part of Mr. Keshavlal's work, it contains the bare text and its annotation. The more important part, containing the lives of Bhahan and Bana is still to follow. The editor is acknowledged on all hands to be the first and foremost authority on old Gujarati Language and Literature, and in the carefully edited text, and its scholarly notes, he has in no way detracted from the reputation he has established. In fact, the notes are a storehouse in themselves, not only of old lore, and learning, but also of the Alankar Shastra. Reading these notes, we were reminded of the thoroughness with which Rev. Kate'man has edited and annotated Spencer's Faery Queen. Indeed this part of the work sets a model to annotators, and shews how exacting the work of annotation is and what wide knowledge it requires. The three indexes at the end add to the worth of the Book.

ERRATA.

In the August (1916) number of the Modern Review at p 202, column 2, in line 32, read 'later' instead of 'later', and in the last line, 'considerate' instead of 'considerable.'

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Can Hindu Civilization be Synthetised ?

BY PRAMATHA NATH ROSE.

I am thankful to "Politicus" for his article reviewing my "Illusions of New India" in the July issue of the Modern Review. I do not know if I deserve all the compliments which he has so generously showered on me. But, there is one compliment he pays me indirectly, and, I think unconsciously, which I can conscientiously lay claim to. He has not often cited me in support of his views though they are diametrically opposed to mine. That shows that I have endeavoured to present both sides of the case dealt with by me fairly. I only wish his quotations

were fuller and a wee bit more impartial. I am afraid he has been too much under the influence of his apprehension that my humble work is likely to be taken as a "sort of Bible" by the "Orthodox reactionaries."

But the compliment which "Politicus" has paid me indirectly is to a great extent discounted by his insinuation, that I have but little first-hand knowledge of rural life in India. If that be really the case, I would certainly be lacking in a very important element of the equipment of an Indian Sociologist;

and the opinions which I have expressed in my work in regard to the condition of my countrymen would be more or less of an academic character. I am, therefore, at the risk of being considered egotistic, constrained to give some personal detail which "Politicus" does not appear to be aware of. My first-hand knowledge of rural life in Bengal, I must confess, is confined to a small part of it, and is chiefly of a reminiscent character being obtained in my younger days some four decades ago. But within the last thirty-five years I have had to travel in various parts of India and Burma, not as tourists (visiting only places of note, but I have had to "live, move and have my being" among village folk every year month after month, usually for six months together. So, I think, I may not unreasonably claim a wider range of Indian rural experience than "Politicus."

"Politicus" is a Neo-Indian of the best type, one who has rejected the outer trappings of Western civilization, and has assimilated, or is trying to assimilate what he considers to be the best in it. He has entered on what he calls the third or "Synthetic" stage of reconciliation of the two opposing movements into a higher synthesis in which "all that is great and good in occidental civilization will be added to and assimilated by oriental civilization," and has relegated my poor self to the lower stage of antithesis, the stage of reaction "fostered by the nationalist impulse" against "wholesale admiration of Western civilization." I am not ashamed to say that I belong to the stage he has assigned me. But I have come down to it (if descent it is)—from the higher stage of antithesis, not without giving such thought to the subject as I am capable of.

Synthesis is a word which sounds very well. But is it possible, except very superficially, in the case of Hindu civilization, which having gone through the stages which the Western civilization is going through now, has attained the maturity, the rigidity and the equilibrium of the third stage? It is all very well to talk of assimilating all that is "good and great" in Western civilization. But it is extremely difficult to determine what is good and great in that or any other civilization. The multitudinous and excessively complex character of sociological phenomena renders the task of analysing them an extremely arduous one. It is a trite observation, that there is hardly any institution or agency which is altogether good or bad and the good and the bad are so intimately intermingled, that it is usually very difficult to separate and weigh them in order to find which way the scale turns. The difficulty is considerably enhanced by the fact, that our ideas of what is good and what is evil are to a great extent influenced by our education and environment. Our education being almost entirely on Western lines, we have along with it imbibed Western ideas and views which, no doubt in many cases unconsciously, affect and colour our judgments. The article of "Politicus" is an excellent example of this Western bias. For instance, his eulogistic observations about the world-war now going on are only an echo of similar observations with which current Western literature has made us so familiar. "Is there no lesson for us," asks "Politicus," "in the marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice, national solidarity, and patriotic ardour, which the world-war has evoked in all the belligerent countries, if not the wonderful scientific skill, brain power, and organising genius which are being displayed by the Western nations on so vast a scale? To be unable to appreciate the moral qualities which lie behind

the nations now in the grip of war argues a blind conceit and self-sufficiency which is a sure sign of decay."

I am not at all ashamed to confess, that I am unable to appreciate the "moral" qualities which the war has "evoked in all the belligerent countries," though I tens lay myself open to the charge of "blind conceit and self-sufficiency." I cannot draw any very sharp line of demarcation between two at least of the belligerent nations and well-organised bands of brigands and even of some lower animals. They appear to me to differ only in the magnitude of the scale on which their operations are conducted. There have been and still are predatory associations who exhibit marvellous heroism, self-sacrifice and solidarity, and the leaders of whom exhibit "wonderful scientific skill, brainpower, intellectual and moral resources, and organising genius."

There is no doubt, that, as "Politicus" says, "from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity of structure and organisation is the order of evolution." This is a truth which is recognised by ancient as well as modern thinkers, whether of the East or of the West. But "Politicus" evidences his pro-Western bias when following the great majority of the Westerners he confounds evolution with progress and gives vent to thinly veiled contempt for the "vegetative" and "bucolic existence" of old India "not disturbed by high endeavour and deep thought" and for the "low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life which characterised them." On the authority of Sir Henry Maine he takes me to task for forgetting that the village communities of India were only "primitive social organisms to which the Hindus owed some rudimentary administration of justice when no government existed outside the village capable of giving authority to court or judge."

The fact that evolution may be progressive as well as regressive is recognised even by some Western thinkers whose pronouncements are taken by Neo-Indians to be gospel truths. I have elsewhere^{*} expatiated upon the evil effects of the amazing advance of Western industries from homogeneity to heterogeneity and shall not take up your valuable space by repeating what I have said there.

The machinery for the administration of justice in our country in pre-British times was certainly "rudimentary" compared to the machinery which has been set into motion now. But except during the short period of anarchy which was concomitant with the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, was it not much less costly and much more expeditious and effective? The present machinery, however scientific and advanced, no doubt invigorates a few limbs of the law, but at the enormous cost of the ruin, economic as well as moral, of a good portion of the rest of the community. The standard of living in old India is not quite so simple and primitive as the majority of Westerners and Westernised Indians consider it to be. Old India is not quite devoid of "high endeavour and deep thought" as they imagine, as is evidenced by the very large number of earnest reformers and profound thinkers which it has produced down to the present day. The social organisation of old India, however, is unquestionably primitive compared to that of the West, and its standard of living is much simpler than what obtains there. But, to put it on no higher ground, would it not be

* *Epochs of Civilization*—"The Root cause of the Great War."

suicidal for a community the average income of whose members does not exceed thirty rupees a year, to adopt the standard of living of a community the annual average income of whose members is more than twenty-two times as much? Does not the simple standard tend to promote indigenous industry, and, by the application of superfluous wealth to works of public utility instead of to personal gratification, foster such qualities of immense survival-value to a community as benevolence and charity? and is not the elevation to the Western standard which "Politicians" and other Neo-Indians plead for tending to deepen our industrial servitude and our impoverishment, and by inordinately intensifying the struggle for animal existence making us more and more selfish and greedy and driving such large numbers to dark and devious by-ways of making money? Whatever Maine, Vincent and other authorities cited by "Politicians" may say, and however they and their followers of New India may sneer at the "primitive," "vegetative" and "bucolic" life of Old India, I would not only not be ashamed to lead it, but would prefer it to the more or less parasitic urban life in New India. The truth is, advance from "simplicity to complexity," from "homogeneity to heterogeneity" is good upto a certain limit which has to be determined by physical,

economical and ethical considerations. The great thing is not perpetual advance in this direction, not continuous rushing forward, called progress, but the establishment of a moving equilibrium between the various forces which make for progress. I have dwelt at length upon this subject in my "Epochs of Civilization" and would refer the curious reader to it. If moving or dynamic equilibrium be established, I see no reason why a comparatively "lowly organism" like Hindu Society which secures the happiness of its members without causing misery to humanity as a whole should not be preferable to the much more complex and imposing but unequilibriumed and, therefore, less stable Western Society which if it secures the happiness of its members at all, it does so at the sacrifice of that of humanity as a whole. The pro-Western bias of "Politicians" is also pronounced in his refutation of my position, that there is more degradation among the masses in the West than among the corresponding classes in India. What I have exactly said in my work is this: "There is more poverty here than in the West, and more ignorance judged by the standard of literacy, but there is much less of squalor and brutality, much less of degradation and misery." This conclusion is based upon experience the range of which, as I have tried to show above, is much wider than that of my critic.

A SUGGESTION FOR INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS

"IN England a textile manufacturer's factory was taken over by the Government for war purposes. He came to the United States, and bought a factory to continue filling his contracts for goods. Conditions here are so good all round that he means to stay, and he predicts that other manufacturers from England and the Continent will be attracted by the same advantages—larger output due to automatic machinery, and better paid workers, freedom from heavy war taxes, convenience of raw materials, and so on. Best of all, he says, is the feeling of exhilaration he finds in American business—he likes our "pep". His particular line of business is peculiar turbans for the Hindus. The Hindu brother's turban is now made in America at twenty percent less cost than in England, by mill hands who get three times the English wage."

The above extract taken from an article in an American Weekly, sets one wondering when India intends giving up dreaming dreams, on the one hand, and futile grumbling on the other, to do something for herself. There are plenty of politicians in India, but a wretched lack of business enterprise, which far more than any other factor, keeps India in leading strings. So far as one can judge from speeches her activities are limited to importuning the Government and waiting for something to turn up. Yet there are things she could do and do at once that would take her a long way towards her desire if she could shake off her apathy, her habit of relying on Government aid, and her conservatism of ways and means. For instance, how long is she going to contribute to the commercial wealth of other countries, and drain her own strength by receiving and buying goods which

she can manufacture as competently and cheaply herself, if she were really resolved to do it. Why does not India make her own turbans? Why does she not control her own industries, and run her own import and export trade? Why is she content to whine and beg? That is not how England and Germany and America grew rich. England did not win India by war. She won it by Trade—now, and to be, the greatest power in the world—and if India's Rajas, and landholders, merchants and rich men would give as generously for the expansion, protection and mighty future of her industries, as they have towards the war, they will find themselves standing on their own feet quicker than any political power can put them there, and be in a position to contribute more funds to Government to tide over the far more menacing crisis which will have to be faced by all the belligerent powers after the war is over. There are difficulties you say, in the way. There is not a difficulty which cannot be removed. Money and influence are the only things one wants to do anything one likes. India, has the one, she can make the other. Lacs of rupees have been poured out like water for aeroplane funds, ambulance funds, war funds, hospital funds, and many other minor "aids". That was right. India is part of the Empire, and should support it, but she owes a duty, none the less to her own particular bit of it, and a little industrial enterprise started now, with the wonderful opportunities the war offers, could in no wise do aught but succeed.

Now what about this problem? Can India not handle it? Is she the victim of conflicting self-interests, of Government monopoly, and so on? Then go out of India. Do what England and Germany and

America have done to make them what they are. It is not for the Government to send your students abroad by the millions, to come back for the most part useless, for the tread round and round the restricted circle of the political arena is atrophy, and they seem to have no inclination for more useful employment. Send your merchants and capitalists abroad. Let them do what that English manufacturer is doing. Send your ambitious, your energies, and your brains to America; buy and start your factories there, make your money and then bring it back. If foreign goods must come to India, then let there be Indian manufacturing firms in the West, to compete with Western manufacturing firms for a market here, and let India give them their support by placing their orders with them. Money is power. Let India make money, and leave politics alone, and trade will soon put her in a stronger position to resume politics, than she will have without the backing prosperity can give. But if India is not willing to use what wealth and means she has for the good and growth of her people, then let her cease her futile grumbling, her wordy discontent, her anarchy and lawlessness, her snarling at Government, and her contemptible cowardice when the latter shows any inclination to take notice of an offence. These are not the ways of men, and they will not bring India to her goal. If Government

will not give you what you want, get it for yourselves. Do not ask for Government support, that means Government control, and Government already controls the channels through which wealth grows. Commerce and manufactures have been built up by British aid, and is therefore mainly in British hands; it is the same with your railways and steamships, and with your institutions. Change all this. Ask your Rajas and your own rich people to support the venture, and raise the loans, and see if India cannot do business on her own feet. Will you need a readjustment of laws, or new ones to help you to do it? What are the members who represent you on the Council there for? If they cannot do anything for you, then they should not be there at all. Indians ought to be able to bring pressure enough to bear on the members who represent India in Council, to prevent the latter from lapsing into mere sleeping partners in the firm of Government and Co. If she cannot, she is not worth much. If she is worth anything at all she ought to make good. England has a right to what she has made by her manhood, her enterprise, her business capacity and her sacrifices; and her tenacity of purpose—big things to be up against—but India can have those same things by employing the same means. England began with an East India Company. Let India begin with a West India one, and begin now, before the war is over.

MIDO.

GLEANINGS

A Modern Primitive in Art.

It is an unusual thing for an artist to be claimed by opposing camps and hailed as one by each of them. Paulanship, whose sculptures have been an artistic sensation of the winter in New York, has had this strange experience. The progressives "commented on his simplicity," the academicians, regarding him as one of their number, "point with pride to his superb technique." Ninety of his works were sold from his exhibition, private buyers and public galleries competing for possession. His *metier* being found among the primitives of Greek and Indian art, he stands outside the easy and formal classifications, and so is open to adoption anywhere. Having won a scholarship at the American Academy in Rome, Mr. Manship studied there and later in Greece. "Manship traveled extensively and learned a great lesson—the essential unity of all great primitive art, whether Greek, Assyrian, Gothic, Egyptian, or Indian. From each and all of them he took something, molded it to his own purposes or adjusted his personality to the older style." Mr. Manship is not to be admired because he has succeeded in any worldly sense, "but because in a materialistic age he has contrived to affirm an enchanting ideal."

"He has cared for what is right and fine, and the public has cared with him—a cheerful fact, which it is good to have to record. Here is a man who has let his mind rest on ideas of a beguiling interest and

charm, whose reliance upon the traditions of the past has unduly sophisticated his art, depriving it of the racy tang of creative originality, but whose very excess of culture has laid upon his work a certain persuasive bloom, like that of some exquisite hothouse growth. To be exquisite at all is a rare achievement, and, craze or no craze, it is a sound judgment that has brought the public to Mr. Manship's support. It drives unmistakably at the ratification of that principle which chiefly sustains him in his labors—the principle that in art beauty is all."

It is a complex order of beauty that Manship's art embodies. Grace of form he achieves, and in doing so "depends more upon purity of line than upon subtlety of surface." Then, too, "he has the ingenuity of a Renaissance goldsmith in the application of ornament"; his designs have "a bewitchingly decorative quality," and "the whole fabric of his work is animated by a positively realistic feeling for nature."

"And yet it leaves the full tale untold. For the rounding out of that we have to turn to an element not plastic, specifically, but broadly personal; we turn to a state of mind. If Mr. Manship was not so clearly possessed of an instinct for his craft we should be inclined to describe him as a kind of literary man in art, a master of all the cultures, an eclectic to whom the schools have given precisely the sort of inspiration commended by Stevenson to his 'sedulous



"THE SUN-DIAL."

This is a leaf taken by Manship from the art of the Orient.

ape.' Just as an Austin Dobson, say, can take the measure of Pope and do with it what he will, so can Mr. Manship seize the idiom of another age and fairly abash us by his use of it. Consider, for example, the 'Sun-Dial,' which is one of the most charming things in the show and, by the same token, of those which most frankly confess their exotic derivation. Its prototypes are easily discoverable in Indian art. Mr. Havell's book on that subject illustrates a Nepalese Bodhisattva, a copper-gilt statuette in the art-gallery at Calcutta, which will take us very close to the source of Mr. Manship's inspiration. In that the immobile god sits cross-legged on his pedestal, his head enhaloed and his whole figure surrounded by a wreath conventionalizing the sacred bo-tree. Mr. Manship's watcher of the passage of time is a seminude woman; her body is set in a quite different composition, she wears a different nimbus, and in place of the wreath aforesaid there is a wheel-like pattern of dancers, in low relief. In the base the beaded and foliated decoration of the Indian piece gives way to the signs of the zodiac, unrolled beneath the simplest moldings. Mr. Havell describes his Oriental god as holding in one hand the *amrita*, or nectar of immortality. The uplifted hand of the woman of Mr. Manship's 'Sun-Dial' is similarly provided with an emblem, in her case a flower. She, too, with downcast eyes, broods over her endless vigil. Now, we find it impossible to think of the one sculpture existing in the absence of the other; yet we delight in the later work—it is so lovely in itself, and it is executed with such superb skill.

To Mr. Manship's skill and to his taste we are always coming back. Let us accept once for all his intense sophistication, his *flair* for things Greek, things Egyptian, things Roman, things Renaissance,



"THE BABY."

Like a child of the Renaissance, Mr. Manship's little daughter is here depicted within a frame wrought with the detailed skill of a Medicean goldsmith in the application of ornament.

and with it his way of making us feel that we are not in the workshop of a modern artist, but in some European museum of old bronzes. It is at all events an enchanting museum. What he does there he does, a rule, superlatively well. It would be hard to eat the decorative felicity of his terra-cotta flower-boxes. How justly he places the animals that adorn the front of one of them! How perfectly are the rims and bases embellished! The wonderful little relief-portrait of the artist's daughter is almost too consummate. A sculptor of the golden age in Florence would have left it with a softer bloom, a finer simplicity. But both in the marble and in the frame Mr. Manship gets about as near to the art of that period as it would seem humanly possible for a modern man to get. One recalls Bastianini and his marvelous revival of the Renaissance spirit, which 'took in' the *cognoscenti*. Mr. Manship does not take us in. He does not try to. He simply turns Italian—and justifies himself. His work on a large scale is disappointing. The scale is large, but not the number. A group like the 'Dancer and Gazelles' misses the true monumental accent and feeling; it gives one momentarily an uncomfortable sense of a statuette magnified. 'The Infant Hercules' leaves an impression of being overdecorated, overwrought, and this view of the matter is



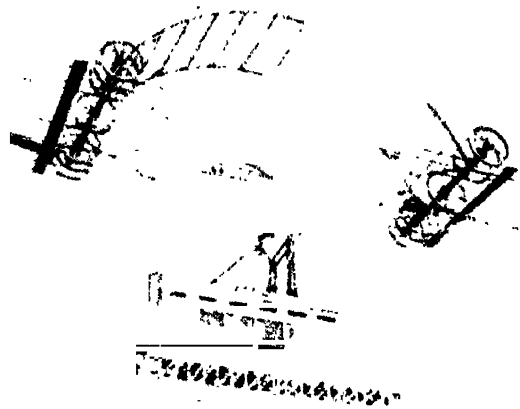
"PLATYFACEDNESS."

From a bronze by Paul Manship, who ransacks the whole world and all time for inspiration and is called "an eclectic among the masters of the past."

only confirmed on the present occasion. The 'God of Hunting,' an Indian figure, casually attractive in its rich lapis-lazuli tone, ends by asserting itself through bigness without grandeur.

"Not yet has Mr. Manship mastered the secret of heroic sculpture, and as we wonder why, seeing that these very statues, so wanting in authority, are yet so accomplished, so interesting, we are thrown back upon the general tendency of his work and begin to discern a clue. Is it not possible that this gifted sculptor, paradoxically, does not see his subjects sculpturally, does not grasp the masses in form as a sculptor grasps them? The distinction, if on the surface somewhat arbitrary, is at bottom defensible. All the great modelers, Donatello, Michelangelo, to say nothing of the Greeks, have had a way of making you feel the depth and solidity of form: the contour has but followed the mass. Mr. Manship is too willing to stop at the contour, to seek the sharp, pictorially expressive outline."

"Manship in his work reveals himself as free from every form of morbidity, a frank genial nature overflowing with piquant humor, a man of taste who loves superb workmanship for its own sake. He is still too young and his temperament too joyous to create works breathing the poignant pathos of the magnificent fragments at Reim, or comparable with the creations of the ancient meditative geniuses, nor is he aiming to produce gaudiose figures whose souls are tormented. Already, however, his name awakens in our minds the idea of *finesse* and perfection as contrasted with artistic slovenliness, which is such a prevailing fashion in our day. Here is an artist who will never exploit his personality and whose works are so carefully thought out that no points are accentuated. Had Brancusi constructed an amusing



ACROSS THE WHIRLPOOL OF NIAGARA BY TROLLEY.

The car is suspended from six track cables.

sculptural caricature on the lines of the 'Briseis,' the modernists would not fail to call attention to the beautiful simplification, the delightful surface, the solid modeling, and the clever way in which the drapery cuts the line of the nude figure at the back, where as before Manship's work you are simply lost in admiration"—*The Literary Digest*.

Gableway over Niagara's Whirlpool.

The great whirlpool in the Niagara gorge, some distance below the falls, has recently been spanned by a passenger-cableway at a cost of \$60,000. Six parallel cables whose length from one point of support to the other is longer than in any similar structure in the world are kept at constant tension, with the varying load, by automatically adjusted weights at one end, and the weight of the car, as it travels, is distributed among the six, three on each side. The design is of Spanish origin.

The passenger-car is suspended from a running gear which travels on six parallel track-cables of 1-inch crucible-steel rope. Each cable is anchored securely at Colt's Point by means of a 2-inch rod bent into an anchorage in a 740-ton concrete block. At the other terminus each track-cable passes over a sheave and is fastened to a counterweight or stretcher. Boxes of riveted steel contain cast-iron weights sufficient to make a total of 10 tons for each track-cable counterweight. The boxes move up and down freely in steel guides, maintaining the tension in each cable always at 10 tons, regardless of the load on the cables.

Each track cable is entirely independent of the others. The breaking of any one of them would not

be serious, as the other cables would support all the weight of the car without any increase in their tension. The car would drop several feet suddenly, and, after a few vertical oscillations, would assume a new position of equilibrium. Thus the breaking of one cable would not imperil the passengers—and the breaking of two cables at the same time would be very improbable.

The car seats twenty-four passengers and provides standing-room in a raised aisle in the center of the car for twenty-two more, including the conductor.

The car is propelled by a seven-eighths-inch plow-steel traction-cable fastened to one end. The trip can be made in about four and one-half minutes, but it is planned to permit it to occupy six minutes by running at half-speed part of the time.

An automatic control-stop is provided in each terminal, which stops the car without jar.

The car will still be 148 feet above the surface of the water at the point of maximum sag.

—*The Literary Digest.*

The Vitamine as a Key to the Mystery of "Deficiency Diseases."

When physiology was just beginning to be recognized as a distinct science, the articles of our food were regarded as made up of three classes of materials—fats, carbohydrates and proteins and it was thought that if these materials were present in the diet in sufficient quantity, the maintenance of health was assured. Much later it was seen that if the protein element be deficient in certain "amino-acids," no superabundance of the other materials will make good the deficiency and the food is unable to maintain the integrity of the living tissues. The essential factors of a complete diet are therefore more numerous than was suspected. Recognition of the synthetic or building powers of the living organism has suggested the possibility that other substances may be present in the food which are indispensable, whose withdrawal from the diet would be attended with fatal results.

There are certain mysterious substances in the body—the so-called internal secretions, hormones, enzymes and so forth—of which very small traces bring about changes of immense importance in the living organism. These substances are being constantly destroyed and renewed. The peculiarity of their structure suggests that their elaboration is dependent upon the presence in the food of materials essentially different from the common proteins, carbohydrates and fats. If these essential materials are persistently absent from the diet, the normal metabolic processes are likely to become disturbed and deranged culminating in changes of a pernicious character. The justification of this hypothesis is shown in the remarkable light it throws upon a number of diseases caused by a too rigid diet. Such diseases have been grouped as "deficiency diseases." They include rickets, beri-beri, scurvy, pellagra. In each case the condition is attributed to the absence from the diet of an essential material termed vitamine. The vitamine is more or less specific in its action in preventing the onset of the disease. Beri-beri affords a conspicuous example:

"Beri-beri is a disease which used to be common in Japan, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines—countries where rice is the staple article of diet. That rice consumption was really the cause of beri-beri was suggested as early as 1878,



BIRD BEFORE INJECTION SAME BIRD AFTER INJECTION
OF VITAMINE. OF VITAMINE.

The minuteness of the quantities of these vitamins which are requisite to maintain normal processes of life suggest that they must have something to do with the production of some of the essential hormones, internal secretions, enzymes, etc., in the animal organism.

but Eykman was the first to bring forward, in 1897, evidence which seemed to establish a close connection between the use of 'polished' rice and the appearance of the disease.

"The rice grain.....consists of an inner part and an outer husk. The inhabitants of the regions just referred to live almost entirely on rice which has had its husk removed—polished rice—and Eykman showed that the addition of the missing husk, rice bran, or the substitution of unpolished for polished rice, was sufficient to effect the cure of the disease and prevent its subsequent recurrence.

"Eykman found weakness, and *post mortem*, the



VITAMINE TEST.

Two chickens each two months old. The smaller one has been fed on red rice, the other on ordinary food.

peripheral nerves, the vagus, spinal cord, and cranial nerves all show signs of degeneration whilst the muscles, including the heart muscle, are also degenerated and atrophied. In birds, the paralysis of wings and legs is most apparent, and the head is usually pressed back in a characteristic manner by contraction of the muscles in the neck. When these characteristic symptoms appear, the birds, if undisturbed, seldom live for more than twenty-four hours. Eykman found that if, when such a condition has become developed, the rice bran, or an extract of it, is given to the bird, it rapidly recovers, and, regains its normal condition."

The anti-beri-beri vitamin has also been detected in milk, oats, wheat, barley, maize and beans, in cabbage and other vegetables, in white bread and in ox bran. It is soluble in water and alcohol, and passes through a semiporous membrane. It is destroyed by heating to a very high temperature. As regards its chemical structure not much is known.

A theory suggested by Eykman was that the polished rice contained an injurious toxin and that the husk contained an anti-toxin. But the vitamin theory of Casimir Funk is regarded as the most simple and reasonable explanation of the known facts. "The vitamin being necessary for the maintenance of the metabolic processes, particularly of the nervous tissues, the store of it in the body becomes, on feeding with vitamin-free food, gradually exhausted. First the store in the muscles is called upon, then that in the liver, and finally the heart, brain, and nerves themselves become involved. In this way we can account for the onset of the marked nerve degeneration occurring towards the end of the disease."

Evidence indicates that pellagra is due to a deficiency of vitamins. Scurvy is due to a defect in the food, not in the quantity of it. Experiment establishes the relation of the malady itself to the presence or the absence of vitamins. The exact nature of the anti-scorbutic vitamin has not been shown. Vitamins are not necessarily potassium salts, as one investigator has suggested, nor are they effective because of their acid-neutralizing properties, as another thinks. It would appear at first that there must be several different anti-scorbutic vitamins because of the variability of the curative principle in different food stuffs. It is possible that the real agent is identical in each case:

"The fact that heating the milk destroys the anti-scorbutic vitamin accounts for the appearance of scurvy in infants fed on artificial substitutes for human milk. There is nothing in the whole range of medicine—not even excepting the effect of thyroid extract in myxedema—more striking and remarkable than the immediate and rapid recovery which follows the administration of fresh vegetable material and other fresh elements of food in these cases of infantile scurvy."

The vitamin which prevents beri-beri is quite distinct from that which controls scurvy. It seems probable that rickets is caused by the absence of a vitamin which associates itself with the fatty portion of the diet. Recent work has shown traces of substances in food which regulate the growth of young animals. Altho an artificial diet may be constructed which will maintain rats in health for a few weeks, after this time they invariably begin to decline and slowly die. The addition of a trace of other substances like fresh milk is quite sufficient to transform the inadequate diet into a most nourishing one.

Maintenance is one thing, however, and growth is another. Altho the addition of protein-free milk to the artificial diet is sufficient to render it capable of maintaining health in fully grown rats, it is inadequate to bring about the normal growth of a young animal. For growth some other vitamin must be present which is believed to be contained in the fatty portion of the milk. All experiments go to show that for growth a mysterious "something"—the growth vitamin—is necessary.

"It may be asked in what way do these vitamins act. Do they affect the absorption of food from the intestine? Careful investigation by Hopkins showed

that, in his experiments involving the addition of small quantities of milk, not the slightest difference in the percentage extent of absorption could be discerned, whether the milk was added or not. The rats without the milk absorbed as much food as those with, but evidently the food in the former case was not being properly applied within the body.

"It is also not a question of appetite. The rats without the milk ate as voraciously as the others, and it was only when the rats began to lose weight that the amount of food consumed began to grow less. In many cases it was conclusively demonstrated that the animals on the milk-free diet continued to eat and absorb a quantity containing an ample supply both of protein and energy."

—Current Opinion.

Art of Unkei.

By K. SHIMADA.

Since the Meiji era bronze statues have become popular as memorials to the national heroes of Japan, but of old it was not so, statues of wood being then the usual fashion. The earlier attempts at immortalizing men were in the shape of statues to Buddha or Shōtoku-Taishi; and these were of wood set up in temples, where they were preserved for centuries, a reverence equal to worship being paid to them. They, therefore, received an idolatrous respect never given to the bronze statues of modern times. Statues of heroes had more of a religious than a commemorative significance. Indeed the art of sculpture in Japan grew up simultaneously with the progress of Buddhism, which did so much to promote image worship. Japanese sculpture shared both the fortunes and misfortunes of the religion that supported it.

The earliest Buddhist images came from China about the year 522 A. D. Travelers returning from China, as well as the Buddhist missionaries, brought with them statues of the Indian saint and set them up in their houses to be worshipped. During the era of the Empress Suiko the art of statuary made immense progress, as then the statues of Buddhism was made more stable. Tatsuna, son of the man who brought the first Buddhist image from China, and his grand son, Tōfū, were known as Buddhist sculptors of repute, enjoying the patronage of the great.

Japanese sculpture was greatly influenced also by Korean art. Before the coming of Korean influence Japanese sculpture was unreal and crude, the faces of the statues resembling infancy rather than adolescence. The folds of the robes were shallow and the hair on the head always curled. They were on the whole too stiff and rigid looking to be natural. Engraving and carving were done with only one kind of chisel. After the more frequent intercourse with China, Japanese art students went to that country and returned with improved skill in conception and execution. There was also a large importation of Buddhist images from China. Naturally there came about a blending of Japanese and Chinese art with considerable benefit to Japanese sculpture. Bronze statues began to appear and many of these were cast in Japan. For this, of course, a wooden original had to be carved, over which was built a shell of clay for a mold, the middle being filled up sufficiently with more clay.

These improvements gradually led up to the marvellous artistic advancement of the Nara period. Statues belonging to the Nara period, shows Indian and even Greek influences. The straightness of the forehead running down to the nose shows European



ONE OF THE BRONZE STATUES, BY UNKEI.

influence, coming no doubt through India. In other respects the statue indicates a taste that is purely Japanese.

Thus in the Nara period when Buddhism was at its zenith of prosperity, the art of sculpture and statuary likewise attained its more important development. In that day statues began to be made of clay, molded over a wooden frame on which the shape had been



VAJRAMALLA, CARVED IN WOOD BY UNKEI.

made with straw, a finer plaster being used for finishing. Some of this work was done by putting on first a mixture of mica; then finer lacquer covered with coarser lacquer, over which again cloth was pasted, the finishing plaster being then put on. Another method was to plaster a wooden image, and then after it was dry to cover it with cloth and finish with a layer of lacquer. This method was too simple to admit of anything very fine in the way of art.

During the Heian era the boldness and sublimity of the older school were abandoned for greater elegance and delicacy. The taste of the time inclined to a rotundity of face and form that bespoke the high living of the period, and the clothes suggest a softness and effeminacy that were characteristic. The main motive appears to have been elegance and ease. In the Kamakura period, when knighthood was in flower, the art of statuary declined somewhat, but yet some fine statues of Buddha were produced. The delicacy of the Heian era began to give way to grandness again.

The most distinguished name of the Kamakura period was that of Unkei, after whose time great masterpieces in the way of statuary began to

disappear. The Kamakura era seems to represent the climax of development in this sort of achievement. Being the last of the great sculptors Unkei is remembered more than any of his predecessors. As to the man personally very little is known. He was the son of a man named Kokei, a Buddhist artist of the time. Unkei flourished from 1185 to 1189.

An outstanding feature of the art of Unkei is its realism, the body and muscles of his statues being true to the principles of anatomy. His chisel was always sharp and was driven deep, while his coloring of statuary is beautiful. The expression of motion and feeling imparted to the statues by Unkei are matchless in design and execution. Though it was Teicho who introduced the method of making colossal statues in pieces, the art was brought to its highest perfection by Unkei. By this means the numerous sections of the statue are carved and handed over to pupils for casting, and afterwards they are put together. It is indeed very remarkable how perfectly the various parts of a statue made by the several pupils of Unkei blended and harmonized when put together in the completed whole.

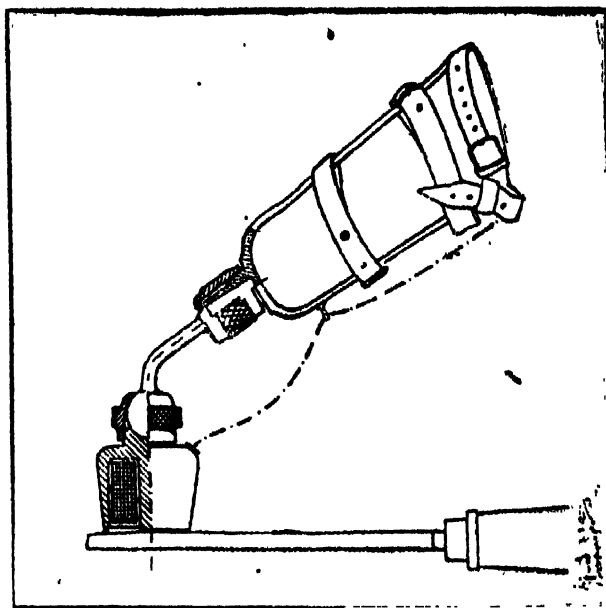
Another novelty introduced by Unkei was that of using crystals for eyes in statues, the suggestion having come from Unkei's father. In all Unkei's art there is a spirit of boldness and daring, though never a divergence from the natural features of human anatomy. Those who came after him were for the most part his imitators.

—*The Japan Magazine*

A Magnetic Hand for Cripples.

The Germans have invented an iron hand that can be powerfully magnetized by switching an electric current into it. With this the crippled veteran can hold firmly all iron tools or utensils. Those made of other substances can be fitted with iron plates and used in the same way. The magnetic hand is the invention of Professor Klingenberg, one of the leading electrical engineers of Berlin.

The accompanying figure shows an armlet which can be strapped on the stump of the arm and is provided at the end with a pot magnet; the latter is mounted on a ball-and-socket joint, so that the magnet-poles can be brought into any desired position, and the magnet can then either be clamped firmly or left movable with a moderate degree of friction. The magnet is supplied with current by means of a flexible cord and a plug, the current being switched on and off by the movement of some other part of the body such as the foot, the chin, or the sound arm, or by a particular movement of the injured arm itself. With this device all articles made of iron can be held in a powerful grip for any length of time, and can be lifted and moved about or released at pleasure. Hence the magnetic hand is suitable for all jobs in which iron tools or iron articles are employed. As a rule, therefore, the tools need not be specially made to suit the requirements of the



An artificial magnetic hand holding a file.

injured man. In the example illustrated the magnetic hand is holding the end of a file, and, being movable with regard to the armlet, offers no hindrance to the control of the file with the sound arm.

Stamping-machines working on sheet iron can be managed as well as with a sound hand, or even better, for the magnetic hand can grip the smooth surface of the sheet. Work can be put into lathes, etc., with the aid of the device while the sound hand makes the adjustments. Tools which are not made of iron can often be easily fitted with iron plates, and switchgear can be manipulated if the levers are so fitted. Magnets of different sizes and tractive forces can be fitted to the same holder.

"The plain magnet as above described, suffices for a variety of simple operations: improvements in the device will readily suggest themselves in particular cases. By means of a switch to fix and release the magnet alternately, the rotation of iron articles can be effected. Special tools can also be devised, such as those tweezers, pincers, and pliers, actuated by electromagnets. There is no special difficulty in providing for the movement of the forearm with respect to the upper arm, the gripping action of artificial fingers and of the thumb, etc. The use even of a portable battery to energize the magnet when away from an electrical installation is not overlooked. No stone should be left unturned to aid our crippled workers, and we trust that good results may be obtained from these interesting suggestions.

—*The Literary Digest*.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Bengal and the Bengalis

is the title of an appreciative article appearing in the *Indian Review* for July from the pen of "A Madrasee."

The writer asks—what is the root of the surging and sincere life in Bengal that has come to be pre-eminently the stage for the drama of Indian renaissance in art as well as in science, in literature and politics? He goes on to answer the question himself. Says he:

That cannot be in the mere spread of English education which quickens the healthy mind into a thousand yearnings and pursuits, once it is nobly given and as nobly received. For the sister provinces with an equal share of educational advantages have shown none of that ardent and impetuous singleness in the pursuit of the national ideal. It cannot be in the ceaseless and changing course of its history under both Mahomedan and British supremacy. For elsewhere than Bengal the course of history was no smoother. It is in the integrity of its people with its prophets. It is in its united worship of the spirit which brings the learned and the unlearned, the poor and the rich, in one accord.

In Bengal, the national movement has been pioneered from the very beginning for the service of the spirit. Its politicians were religious enthusiasts, and the secular and social movements they brought to birth were the unconscious offshoots of their comprehensive scheme of the new life for India. Reform and propaganda can but serve one time and place, they have an immediacy and narrowness in their ends that cannot supplant any but the passing and mostly inconsequential ailment of the national spirit. But the awakening of the spirit for higher and far-off destinies has in it something vital and expansive. It quickens the national consciousness to a loftier and nobler life. For only the spirit that claims a kinship far and above the temporal can bring even to earthly endeavours that selfless and serious energy which is the first requisite for enduring social action.

After quoting the laudatory observations of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald on the Bengalis and the now-famous passage, in vindication of the Bengali character, from the council speech of the Great Servant of India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the writer goes on to say:

This genius for sterling work in the arts and sciences is the legitimate expression of their intense emotionality. For action is always the necessary concomitant of ardent feeling. More than the songs and hymns and prayers, the whole of the Calcutta

School of Art and its exponents Abanindranath Tagore, Surendranath Ganguly and Nanda Lal Bose have enshrined their ascetic politics in their remarkable paintings. They have all striven, through the medium of symbolic idealism, to bring out the vision of a United India, whose subtle harmony neither castes nor commercial competition could draw asunder. The hymns and the songs have become the folklore of the Bengal people and are ever drawing them nearer every day to their national ideal. The pictures have put a higher meaning to the national aspirations of the educated. A united India of such artistic and philosophical idealism is more enduring than any political enfranchisement or geographical unity of race or language.

The Conservative Mind and Eastern Progress.

The arrival of a new radical idea in the minds of men is the sign of a great coming change in human life and society. The reaction of the old idea may triumph for a time but the change is irretrievable. The past can arrive at the most at a partial survival or an euthanasia, provided it knows how to compromise liberally with the future.

Thus opines Aurobindo Ghose in the *Arya*, for July, and we find no reason why any sane person should not agree with the learned writer.

But

The conservative mind is unwilling to recognise this law though it is observable throughout human history; and it is protected in its refusal to see by the comparative rarity of rapid revolutions and great cataclysmal changes; it is blinded by the disguise which Nature so often throws over her processes of mutation.

Because our view of European history is chiefly political, we do not see the constant mutation of society and of thought in the same relief; whereas in the East the great revolutions have been spiritual and cultural and so the political and social changes, although they have been real and striking, fall into the shade and are apt to be overlooked.

Our minds are apt to seize things in the rough and to appreciate only what stands out in bold external relief; we miss the law of Nature's subtleties and disguises. We can see and fathom to some extent the motives, necessities, process of great revolutions and

marked changes and we can consider and put in their right place the brief reactions which only modified without actually preventing the overt realisation of new ideas. For instance the Sullan restoration of Roman oligarchy, the Stuart restoration in England or the brief return of monarchy in France with the Bourbons were no real restorations, but a momentary damming of the tide attended with insufficient concessions and forced developments which determined not a return to the past, but the form and pace of the inevitable revolution.

But Nature has still more subtle and disguised movements in her dealings with men by which she leads them to change without their knowing that they have changed. It is because she has employed chiefly this method in the vast masses of the East that the conservative habit of mind is so much stronger there than in the West. It is able to nourish the illusion that it has not changed, that it is immovably faithful to the ideas of remote forefathers, to their religion, their traditions, their institutions, their social ideals, that it has preserved either a divine or an animal immobility both in thought and in the routine of life and has been free from the human law of mutation by which man and his social organisations must either progress or degenerate but can in no case maintain themselves unchanged against the attack of Time. Buddhism has come and gone and the Hindu still professes to belong to the Vedic religion held and practised by his Aryan forefathers; he calls his creed the Aryan dharma, the eternal religion. It is only when we look close that we see the magnitude of the illusion. Buddha has gone out of India indeed, but, Buddhism remains; it has stamped its giant impress on the spirit of the national religion, leaving the forms to be determined by the Tantricism with which it itself had made alliance and some sort of fusion in its middle growth; what it destroyed no man has been able to restore, what it left no man has been able to destroy. As a matter of fact, the double cycle which India has described from the early Vedic times to India of Buddha and the philosophers and again from Buddha to the time of European intrusion was in its own way vast in change religious, social, cultural, even political and administrative; but because it preserved old names for new things, old formulas for new methods and old coverings for new institutions and because the change was always marked in the internal but quiet and unobtrusive in the external, we have been able to create and preserve the fiction of the unchanging East. There has also been this result that while the European conservative has learned the law of change in human society, knows that he must move and quarrels with the progressist only over the right pace and the exact direction, the eastern or rather the Indian conservative still imagines that stability may be the true law of mortal being, practises a sort of Yogic 'asana' on the flood of Time and because he does not move himself, thinks—for he keeps his eyes shut and is not in the habit of watching the banks,—that he can prevent the stream also from moving on.

Therefore

the hope of the world lies in the re-arousing in the East of the old spiritual practicality and large and profound vision and power of organisation under the insistent contact of the West and in the flooding out of the light of Asia on the Occident, no longer in forms that are now static, effete, unadaptive, but in new forms stirred, dynamic and effective.

The new Orient must necessarily be the result

either of some balance and fusion or of some ardent struggle between progressive and conservative ideals and tendencies. If therefore the conservative mind in this country opens itself sufficiently to the necessity of transformation, the resulting culture born of a resurgent India may well bring about a profound modification in the future civilisation of the world. But if it remains shut up in dead fictions, or tries to meet the new needs with the mind of the schoolman and the sophist dealing with words and ideas in the air rather than actual fact and truth and potentiality, or struggles merely to avoid all but a scanty minimum of change, then, since the new ideas cannot fail to realise themselves, the future India will be formed in the crude mould of the Westernised social and political reformer whose mind, barren of original thought and unenlightened by vital experience, can do nothing but reproduce the forms and ideas of Europe and will turn us all into halting apes of the West.

Writing in the *Hindustan Review* for July about .

Representative Institutions in Indian States

an "Indian Thinker" says that

The only kinds of representative institutions before the Indian States are those of the British Government in England and in India. In the former country they are of the colonial type, while in the latter they are made suitable to a benevolent despotism. The adoption of neither of these is for the highest interests of Indian States, which require institutions of indigenous types. They were formerly in existence, but with the advent and predominance of foreigners they disappeared.

There are three types of Indian Governments: (1) Conquerors (2) Colonial (3) Indigenous.

(1) Conquerors are those in which the rulers are distinct in race and religion, have come from outside and maintain their individuality. The British Indian State, Nepal, Kashmir and such others fall in this category. (2) Colonial States are like the former in origin, but in them the feeling of individuality is not so keen. The Musalman States of Hyderabad, Bhopal, the Maratha States in Central India and most of the Rajput States in Rajputana are examples of this class. (3) Indigenous States are those in which the rulers belong to the same race and religion as the majority of their subjects; such as Travancore, Kolhapur, and Cooh Behar. Generally there is overlapping among these classes; age tends to make all States approximate to the indigenous. Especially this is the case in India.

The ideal for indigenous States is a democratic government. The States of Mysore, Travancore and Sangli have introduced popular institutions of the indigenous types.

They began with popular assemblies and being aware of the fact that owing to the limitations on their exercise of the sovereign powers, the day of a government controlled by the people was not yet, they introduced Legislative Councils, to give a training of the government to the subjects of the States.

There can be no doubt that as between the Indian State controlled by the British Government and the other Indian governments, it is in the growth of the representative institutions and popular control of the administration that their integrity and progress lies. The treaties between them and the paramount power are not dubbed as scraps of papers, but circumstances have been held to modify them. The theory on which the British Government bases its claim of interference in the internal administration of other Indian States is that by treaties it has guaranteed their internal peace and security from external aggression, which means that their subjects have lost the usual remedies against misgovernment. Formerly they could rise in rebellion or seek the protection of neighbouring States. Now the treaty with the British Government comes in their way. Hence the treaties themselves have been held to authorise the paramount power to interfere in cases of misgovernment or minority.

For the same reason there is nothing like a progressive administration in States controlled by Indians. It is open to a ruler to go back over the concessions granted to people by his predecessor. For instance the people will be powerless if a Maharaja of Travancore abolishes the popular assembly in his State, howsoever continuous its tradition might be. There can be no going from precedent to precedent. A suggestion was, therefore, recently made by a British Indian subject that the paramount power should be authorised to prevent an Indian ruler from taking a retrograde step.

The writer goes on to say that although the Indian States ruled by Indians have been shown to consist of three types, yet they are all alike, thanks to the levelling influence of the British Indian Government. Rights which the British Indian subjects possess, will, sooner or later, have to be given to their brethren under native rule. One part of the country cannot raise itself but must drag the other with it, political barriers notwithstanding.

On Ideals.

Under the above heading a thoughtful article has been published in a recent number of the *Arya*. For the benefit of our readers we give a summary of the same.

Ideals are truths that have not yet effected themselves for man, the realities of a higher plane of existence which have yet to fulfil themselves on this lower plane of life and matter, our present field of operation. To the mind which is able to draw back from the flux of force in the material universe, to the consciousness which is not imprisoned in its own workings or carried along in their flood but is able to envelop, hold and comprehend them, to the soul that is not merely the subject and instrument of the world-force but can reflect something of that Master-Consciousness which controls and uses it, the ideal present to its inner vision is a greater reality than the changing fact obvious to its outer senses.

Idea which seems to us to rise out of the fact,

really precedes it and out of it the fact has arisen. Our vulgar contrast of the ideal and the real is therefore a sensuous error, for that which we call real is only a phenomenon of force working out something that stands behind the phenomenon and that is pre-existent and greater than it.

The idea is the realisation of a truth in Consciousness as the fact is its realisation in Power, both indispensable, both justified in themselves and in each other, neither warranted in ignoring or despising its complement. For the idealist and visionary to despise the pragmatist or for the pragmatist to depreciate the idealist and visionary is a deplorable result of our intellectual limitations and the mutual misunderstandings by which the arrogance of our imperfect temperament and mentality shuts itself out from perfection.

Every man who does anything in the world, works by virtue of an idea and in the force given to him by ideals either his own or others' ideals which he may or may not recognise but in whose absence nevertheless he would be impotent to move a single step. The smaller the ideals, the fewer they are and the less recognised and insisted on, the less also is the work done and the progress realised; on the other hand, when ideals enlarge themselves, when they become forceful, widely recognised, when different ideals enter into the field, clash and communicate their thought and force to each other, then the race rises to its great periods of activity and creation. And it is when the ideal arises, vehement, energetic, refuses to be debarred from possession and throws itself with all the gigantic force of the higher planes of existence on this reluctant and rebellious stuff of life and matter to conquer it that we have the great eras which change the world by carrying out the potentialities of several centuries in the action of a few decades.

Wherever and whenever the mere practical man abounds and excludes or discourages by his domination the idealist, there is the least work and the least valuable work done in that age or country for humanity.

On the other hand, when the idealist is liberated, when the visionary abounds, the executive worker also is uplifted, finds at once an orientation and tenfold energy and accomplishes things which he would otherwise have rejected as a dream and chimera, which to his ordinary capacity would be impossible and which often leave the world wondering how work so great could have been done by men who were in themselves so little.

Not only is the upheaval and fertilising of the general consciousness by the thinker and the idealist essential to the practical realisation of great changes, but in the realisation itself the idealist who will not compromise is an indispensable element.

Man approaches nearer his perfection when he combines in himself the idealist and the pragmatist, the imaginative soul and the executive power. Great executive personalities have usually been men of a considerable idealism.

Napoleon with his violent prejudice against ideologues and dreamers was himself a colossal dreamer, an incurable if unconscious ideologist; his teeming brain was the cause of his gigantic force and accomplishment. The immense if shapeless ideas of Alexander threw themselves into the form of conquests, cities, cultures; they broke down the barriers of Greek and Asiatic prejudice and narrow self-imprisonment and created an age of civilisation and soul-interchange.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

That eminent English critic, Edmund Gosse, writes thoughtfully about

The Unity of France

in the *Edinburgh Review*.

It is unjust and unseemly, says Mr. Gosse, to proclaim surprise at the heroism of the French, or at the calm of the population, its confidence and its unity.

The France which is now so gallantly fighting with us and with the rest of the Allies to prevent the triumph of Teutonic evil is simply the France which has long been in preparation for a life-struggle with the powers of darkness.

Those who detested France and had every spiritual and material reason for deprecating her values continued to repeat, with nauseous iteration, that she was in full decadence, and that her race was eaten out to the core by the white ants of social disorder. The disputes of radicals and moderates, of socialists and reactionaries, of antimilitarists and clericals, were pointed to with glee as the evidences of ethical chaos in a bewildered people, and events like the Caillaux trial and its result saddened the best friends of France as much as they were exulted over in Berlin. What has not been understood has been the superficial character of these symptoms. The pretended levity of Paris was all on the surface; and even there, if the exotic elements were eliminated and the action of the parasitic population removed, there was little for a formalist to condemn or even reprove.

The writer therefore protests against this talk of a New France, risen like a phoenix out of the funeral pyre of the old for the instant purpose of combating the arrogance of Prussia.

The France of to-day is splendid, but her effort is not miraculous: it has long been prepared for by the elements of her ancient and continuous civilization. Those who watched the nation closely before the outbreak of this war have no cause for surprise, though much for gratulation and thankfulness, in the evolution of national character; it is welcome but it is no more than we expected. For fifteen years past, it has been impossible for an unprejudiced and perspicacious observer to fail to see that France has been gathering her moral forces together simplifying her political attitude, preparing without haste for concerted action.

He sets forth in the following lines the causes which are accountable for the rise of France.

Renan urged the France of his day, the France of thirty-six years ago, not to be intimidated by the truculence of her eastern rival, not to endeavor to compete with her mechanical and material culture,

but to cling to all that was refined, sympathetic, and inspiring in the unbroken tradition of the ancient genius of France.

Those who have watched a little closely the movement of affairs in France cannot but have observed the increasing tendency towards energy of action among young men. There has been a steady development in this direction. The French, whose life had tended to run in very conventional channels of practical movement, have enlarged their borders in every direction that leads to individual activity. The cultivation of games, which took a strong upward line from the year 1900 onwards has proceeded so rapidly and so uniformly that when the war broke out last year there was scarcely a country village which did not possess its clubs of football and tennis. Cricket has continued to be a mystery not to be penetrated by the Gallic mind, but the other physical exercises—and with the addition of much more horse-riding and fencing than are customary at present in this country—have extended their influence over the mind as well as the body of young France to a degree which must not be underrated. Games played with energy and spirit extend the sentiment of responsibility, and it is obvious that in this sphere they have had a directly beneficial effect upon French character, the defect of young France at the close of the nineteenth century having evidently been its inability or lack of opportunity, to assert initiative in conduct.

It is not too much to say that the liberty of action which young Frenchmen have insisted upon since the opening of the present century has had an extraordinary effect on their ability to form a rapid and firm decision.

In our opinion it was the crisis of 1911 which enabled the French to take advantage of all the reviving energy of their race and tradition. The country had arrived at a point when all depended upon a shock to its nervous system. Agadir came, and it pulled the whole youth of France together in a sudden splendid unity of purpose.

Shaikh M. H. Kidwai contributes to the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for June an article on the condition of

Woman

under different social and religious laws. From times immemorial, down to the present day in certain countries, it has been the unhappy lot of the mothers of races to be always kept in subordination and treated as inferior to man in rights and privileges.

In Roman law a woman was completely dependent. As an unmarried girl she was under the perpetual tutelage of her father during his life, and after his death of her agnates by blood or adoption.

When married, she and her whole property passed into the power and possession of her husband. In fact, she herself was treated as a property by her husband, and had no more right than a purchased slave. At certain stages of the Roman law a husband was given a right to kill his wife if she was found to have poisoned somebody, or treated somebody with wine, or adopted as her own child somebody else's child.

The Romans did not allow women to exercise any civil or public office. In fact, a woman could not even be a witness or a curator; she could not adopt nor could she be adopted; she could not be a surety or a tutor. Like her sister in England only about thirty years ago, she had no personal property independent of her husband; she could not make a will nor a contract.

Polygamy was by no means unknown in Rome, though at first it was not a very popular institution. We know for a fact that Mark Antony had two wives, and from that time the institution did not remain unpopular. In the surrounding States generally, and especially among the Tuscans, plurality of wives was always allowed. The Roman marriage required the previous approbation of the father, even if he was insane. The causes of the dissolution of matrimony varied at different times. In the first ages the father of a family might sell his children, and a wife, being reckoned in the number of children, could be disposed of also. He might pronounce her death if she became offensive, or his mercy might expel her from his bed and house; but the slavery of the wretched female was hopeless and perpetual, unless he asserted for his own convenience the manly prerogatives of divorce.

In all Syro-Phœnician peoples bestiality prevailed, and woman was considered only a means for procreation of children.

In Sparta, female infants and such women who could not be expected to give birth to healthy sons were often destroyed, and the result of it was that the proportion of women in the population was reduced and one woman had several husbands. The loan of the wife of one man to another to get a good "breed" was also permitted.

By old Athenians woman was treated only as a property that was marketable and could be transferred from one to the other. She could also be willed away. Those civilized people considered woman a kind of peril or evil. Even at the highest stage of Grecian civilization no other class of women except the prostitute was the subject of any regard, and so if there was any education and culture it was only in the prostitutes. An Athenian was allowed to have any number of wives.

In Persia, men were notoriously voluptuous, and to them woman was nothing more than an object to gratify their base passions. Every wealthy man kept crowds of females in his house, and in the sixth century of the Christian era Mazdak laid down a law that woman should be treated exactly like any other property.

Among the Thracians, Lydians, and the Pelasgian races settled in various parts of Europe and Western Asia the custom of plurality of marriage prevailed to an inordinate extent, and dwarfs all comparison with the practice prevailing elsewhere.

Hindu laws and customs were extremely unfavourable to woman. She was treated as very inferior to man. Their great lawgiver Manu says, "Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a status of subjection," that the woman is under the

subjection of her father when a child, when married under that of her husband, after her husband under her sons, and if she has no sons then to her agnate relations, because there is no woman whatsoever who is fit to be independent. He further says: "Women love their beds and ornaments, and have loose desires. They have a bad temper, are frail, irresolute, and never straight. They should always be kept under subjection and control." That of ill-luck, storm, death, hell, prison, snake, nothing is so dreadful as woman.

Woman was sometimes made the wife of several brothers at the same time. She was sometimes put on the gambling stake and lost.

Even up to the present day there is no limit to polygamous marriages in Hindu society. A Hindu widow cannot adopt a son unless her deceased husband has left her permission to do so. She cannot get any alienable right in property. She is married without her consent when only a child of four or five years of age, amongst certain classes of Hindus. No girl is adopted by Hindus. Remarriage is not allowed. Once married, she cannot get a divorce. Her status in society is negligible.

The wise men of China have offered free advice for the benefit of husbands in these words: "Listen to the counsel of your wife, but act against it."

The old men of Russia have said that "There is only one soul among ten women."

The Spaniards say, "We should save ourselves from wicked women, and should never be captivated by any that have good looks."

The Italians go a step further and pronounce: "As a horse, whether good or bad, requires spurs, so a woman, whether good or bad, requires thrashing."

In Japan, in olden times, women were not allowed to pray or take any part in religious exercises. In China they were not suffered to go into the temples. In India they could not touch gods.

As far as the Arabs themselves were concerned, they treated woman, before the advent of the Great World-Reformer their country produced, worse than perhaps any other people did. They buried alive their daughters. It was considered to be an inauspicious omen if a girl was born to anybody. A woman, after the death of her husband, was treated just like another property, and her own son inherited her as a wife. Innocent girls were offered as a sacrifice to the idols. Orphan girls were forced to marry their guardians. There was no limit to polygamy. Ibn Khaldun says that in some clans even polyandry was permissible.

Sinn Fein.

Louis J. Mc Quilland contributes to the *New Witness* an informing article in which an attempt has been made to present an historical account of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, its inception, its constitution, its principles, and its practice.

It is claimed for Sinn Fein that it is a legitimate successor of former patriotic native movements for Irish freedom. Sinn Feiners assert that they are the legitimate heirs of all previous revolutionaries who fought for an Irish Ireland. Their leaders say they are the successors of Wolfe Tone, of Robert Emmet, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other eighteenth-century militant Irish patriots—the United Irishmen;

and of John Mitchel, Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and Charles Gavan Duffy—the Young Irelanders of the nineteenth century who, despairing of the Constitutional Repeal methods of O'Connell, took up arms against the English Government. Ostensibly, the Sinn Féin claim is a sound one but—and this is a great but—circumstances alter cases. The United Irishmen and the Young Irelanders and the men of 1848 and 1867, were fighting against great wrongs and cruel tyrannies; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being bled and starved to death by its English rulers; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being grossly misgoverned by a privileged and despotic caste bent on crushing every national tradition out of the country, and even of depriving her of the last solace of her religion.

At the time when Sinn Féin (meaning "Ourselves") was founded in 1905, practically all the old evil conditions had disappeared. England had ceased to rule Ireland as a conquered and alien colony. The Irish were allowed to worship God in their own way, the country was prospering and was well in the way of continued improvement. It was just on the eve of the return of the Liberals to a long reign of power that the Sinn Féin movement was started. The National Policy of Sinn Féin was outlined in November, 1905, and was based on the principle "that the Irish people are a free people, and that no law made without their authority or consent is, or ever can be, binding on their conscience."

The Sinn Féin program had for its main features the assertion of the existence of an Irish Constitution, the denial of the legality of the Union incorporating the Parliaments of Ireland and England, the denial of the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland, the withdrawal of voluntary Irish support from the armed forces of England, the advocacy of the establishment of a Voluntary Legislature comprising representatives of the existent Irish Councils and Boards, agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, and the Irish members elected to the English Parliament. The National Council laid down, in addition to these sweeping suggestions, further claims for "the establishment and maintenance of an Irish consular system, the re-establishment of an Irish mercantile marine, the development of Irish Sea Fisheries and Irish mineral resources, the control and management by an authority responsible to the Irish people of the transit systems in Ireland, and the creation of a National Civil Service comprising the employes of all bodies responsible to the Irish people."

If there was any failure in the drafting of the Sinn Féin proposals, that failure was not due to want of scope. Colonel Lynch, M. P., points out that while many of their schemes were excellent, including propositions for re-afforestation, arterial drainage and reclamation of waste lands, to carry them into effect would require the expenditure of many millions of pounds. In addition to this, the Congested Districts Board and other similar bodies are now devoting considerable energy to the promotion of such schemes in a sensible way. For the carrying out of their program of complete legislative independence, the National Council only asked for the pathetic sum of £800 a year; and so little confidence had their countrymen in them or their projects that they did not get it.

A salient feature of the Sinn Féin policy against the neighboring country of England was a boycott of all English imports and all English institutions. No Irish Member was to go to Westminster, but

Sinn Féin was to have a self-constituted National Council in Dublin, under the control of which a National Stock Exchange was to be established and National Arbitration Courts formed. The Irish Consul at Foreign Ports, who were, of course, to be quite independent of the resident British Consuls, were to attend to the interests and the development of Irish trade. The fact that Ireland had not a single boat for a merchant marine was a detail beneath the lofty and godlike notice of the National Council.

All these ambitious proposals came under the heading of the "Hungarian Policy." Hungary, in its famous struggle for independence, had established a boycott against Austria, which finally resulted in Hungarian freedom; but it has been pointed out that when the Hungarian delegates left the Imperial Parliament of Austria, they were the representatives of a people hardly less in numbers than the Austrians themselves, drilled and armed, and well inured to war.

Sinn Féin, therefore, began as a Passive Resistance movement, and, failing to effect anything, gradually developed into a physically militant movement. The Sinn Féin Council started by urging that Irishmen should pay no income-tax, but Sinn Féiners continued to pay it. The Sinn Féin Council urged that all British institutions should be banned, but the Sinn Féiners still inflexibly continued to draw their salaries as members of the Civil Service. Their idea was to establish native courts of law.

Morality in War.

Some idealistic persons believe that morality and war are incompatible. They hold that, in the presence of war, which is devilish, it is absurd to talk about morality.

We often forget, sometimes we do not even know, that morality is fundamentally custom. It is a body of conduct which is in constant motion, with an exalted advance guard, which few can keep up with, and a debased rear guard, once called the black-guard. In the substantial and central sense, morality means the conduct of the main body of the community. Thus understood it is clear that in our time war still comes into contact with morality.

This is what Havelock Ellis says in the course of an article contributed to the *Nation*.

The writer is no optimist. He does not exclaim like so many other writers wanting in insight who say that this great war is being waged by the allies to put a stop to aggressive militarism in future. But he looks into the heart of things and says correctly:

When we look back from the stand-point of knowledge which we have reached in the present war to the notions which prevailed in the past, they seem to us hollow and even childish. Seventy years

ago, Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," stated complacently that only ignorant and unintellectual nations any longer cherished ideals of war. His statement was part of the truth. It is true, for instance, that France is now the most antimilitary of nations, though once the most military of all. But, we see, it is only part of the truth. The very fact, which Buckle himself pointed out, that efficiency has in modern times taken the place of morality in the conduct of affairs, offers a new foundation for war when war is waged on scientific principle for the purpose of rendering effective the claims of State policy. Today we see that it is not sufficient for a nation to cultivate knowledge and become intellectual, in the expectation that war will automatically go out of fashion. It is quite possible to become very scientific, most relentlessly intellectual, and on that foundation to build up ideals of warfare much more barbarous than those of Assyria.

The conclusion seems to be that we are to-day entering on an era in which war will not only flourish as vigorously as in the past, although not in so chronic a form, but with an altogether new ferocity and ruthlessness, with a vastly increased power of destruction, and on a scale of extent and intensity involving an injury to civilization and humanity which no wars of the past ever perpetrated. Moreover, this state of things imposes on the nations which have hitherto, by their temper, their position, or their small size, regarded themselves as nationally neutral, a new burden of armament in order to ensure that neutrality. It has been proclaimed on both sides that this war is a war to destroy militarism. But the disappearance of a militarism that is only destroyed by a greater militarism offers no guarantee at all for any triumph of civilisation or humanity.

What, then, are we to do? It seems clear that we have to recognise that our intellectual leaders of old, who declared that to ensure the disappearance of war, we have but to sit still and fold our hands while we watch the beneficent growth of science and intellect, were grievously mistaken. War is still one of the active factors of modern life, though by no means the only factor which it is in our power to grasp and direct. By our energetic effort the world can be moulded. It is the concern of all of us, and especially of those nations which are strong enough and enlightened enough to take a leading part in human affairs, to work towards the initiation and the organisation of this immense effort. In so far as the great war of today acts as a spur to such effort, it will not have been an unmixed calamity.

Poetry and Revolution in Ireland

The *Boston Transcript* gives some account of the poetry written by three leaders of the Irish uprising. We are told that "they were highly educated dreamers, men of great imaginative power and exalted vision, passionately attached to the ideals they followed."

Thomas MacDonagh was the most prominent of all. He was born in 1878, and was consequently thirty-eight years of age when he was executed. He had published five volumes of poetry: "Through the

Ivory Gate," 1902; "April and May," 1903; "The Golden Joy," 1906; "Songs of Myself," 1910; and "Lyrical Poems," 1913. He was for some time editor of *The Irish Review*, the chief literary organ of young imaginative Ireland; and he had published a volume on "Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry".

It was MacDonagh's passionate spirit of adoration which made him a poet. Perhaps he found beauty at last in stranger ways and more dear than any of which he had dreamed when he wrote his mysteriously lovely "Litany of Beauty," from which the following is a single fragment:

O Beauty of wisdom unsought
That in trance to poet is taught,
Uttered in secret lay,
Singing the heart from earth away,
Cunning the soul from care to lure—
O mystic hly from stain and death secure,
Till the end of all to stay!
O shapely flower that must forever endure!
O voice of God that every heart must hear!
O hymn of purest songs that dost unsphere
The ravished soul that hears! O white, white gem!
O rose that dost the senses dro'v'n in bliss!
No thought shall stay the wing, or stem
The song, or win the heart to miss
Thy love, thy joy, thy rapture divine!
O Beauty, Beauty ever thine
The soul, the heart, the brain,
To own thee in a loud perpetual strain,
Shudder and sweeter than song of wine,
Than song of sorrow or love or war!

Austere Beauty of Truth
Lighting the way of the just!

Splendid Beauty of Youth,
Staying when Youth is sped,
Living when Life is dead,
Burning in funeral dust!

The glory of form doth pale and pall,
Beauty endures to the end of all.

He also wrote the lines;

I followed a morning star
And I stand by the gate of Light,
And a child sings my farewell to-night
To the atom things that are.

Shakespeare's Ideal of Heroic Manhood.

T. Alexander Seed writing in the *London Quarterly Review* says that King Henry as portrayed in *King Henry the Fifth* is Shakespeare's ideal of heroic manhood.

The play has justly been described as "a national anthem in five acts" and the choruses in it as "patriotic poems," though critics are not wanting who pronounce it "out of date" and "obsolete." Such critics, to say the least of them, are mere dabblers in literature, and they are in evidence everywhere, in Bengal as well as

in England. They always try to attain a cheap notoriety by pooh-poohing some of the masterly creations in literature.

But to come back to Henry V.

Henry embodies Shakespeare's ideal of heroic manhood. He has none of Hamlet's brooding melancholy, none of Romeo's tragic passion. He is first and foremost and almost exclusively a man of action and affairs. As statesman, warrior, ruler, he exhibits the utmost greatness that the active nature can attain. As Macaulay says of Cromwell, "He was emphatically a man"—robust, enthusiastic, brave; a model of heroic virtue, of kingly strength and grace. "Conscientious, brave, just, capable, and tenacious," says Mr. Evans, "Henry stands before us as the embodiment of worldly success; and as such he is entitled to our unreserved admiration."

The youthful king is set before us as a serious and enlightened man of affairs, fearing God and fearing naught beside. His conversion had not been so sudden as the archbishop, like a true theologian, imagined. "Consideration like an angel came" to him at the outset of his career, and remained with him in the midst of his novitiate for the throne; and when the crown at length was placed upon his brow he cast his frivolous companions off without a pang. The change was gradual and complete. With the call of duty, his wild days ended. As king, he now appears before the world as the impersonation of England's greatness. Under his rule, the country is transformed. Profligates and adventurers like Falstaff, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol, "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," meet with their deserts. The conspiracy of Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey is destroyed in the bud, and the whole nation is united in one great patriotic movement.

What magnanimity he shows to friend and foe—to his traitor brothers, sorrowing for their father's death and fearful as to their position; to the Chief Justice who had committed him for his mad pranks; as previously he had shown to Douglass and to Hotspur, his beaten foes at Shrewsbury!

King Henry's judgment is tempered by mercy. Yet, when occasion arises, he can be hard as flint, as the Christ Himself. Sternness and severity, if not the most attractive are amongst the most effective of the qualities in Henry's character.

He knows, exactly what he wants to do, and does it. And when he has achieved his purpose he does not boast, but clothes himself in genuine humility. His modesty is beautiful; it gives a charm to the robust and virile personality. Strong men are often proud, successful men vainglorious; but King Henry, at the height of his achievement, is so far master of himself as easily, and as it were instinctively, to give the glory unto God.

His piety is the very marrow of his virtue. It nerves him in the hour of battle; it saves him from the vaunting pride of victory.

Treason.

The following is taken from the *New Statesman*:

"Treason" is a term which covers different

offenses in different periods. It may even be treason in one year to do a thing which it is treason not to do in another. As we are reminded in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" article on the subject, "by one Act of 1534 it was treason not to believe Mary illegitimate and Elizabeth legitimate; by another Act of 1536 it was treason to believe either legitimate; by an Act of 1543 it was treason not to believe both legitimate." Again, Henry VIII made it treason for a queen to conceal the fact that she had been incontinent before marriage. Obviously, treason of this sort will be in the eyes of most people a "venial sin." On the other hand, history does not condone, as venial, treason like that of Alcibiades. Here was a great Athenian general who, having been condemned to death for sacrilege, took service with Sparta, and, having been condemned to death by the Spartans, allied himself to the Persians. In spite of his double treachery, and his readiness to destroy Athens merely in order to avenge his personal wrongs, the Athenians welcomed him back and restored him to his generalship. But though the Athenians forgave him, the moralists of history do not forgive him. They regard him as one of the sublime scamps of the human race—a fascinating blackguard, but none the less a blackguard.

And yet Socrates made him his friend. His fascination is in a measure the fascination of Absalom; he attracts us aesthetically, but repels us morally. And Absalom is but one in a long list of kings' sons who have risen treasonably against their fathers. One remembers how Richard Cœur-de-Lion began his active life as a rebel against his father, Henry II, and how he fought against him at the head of the army of Aquitaine. The truth is, in the ancient and medieval world, treason of this kind was not regarded with nearly the same severity as it has come to be regarded in modern days. Nowadays, that a monarch's son should take arms against him is almost unthinkable.

The following observations on present-day Irish politics are pertinent:

Sir Edward Carson's followers, in taking custom-house officers and police officers prisoners at the time of the Larne gun running, were surely guilty of an act of war against the Crown. The logic of their action was that, if they were resisted, they would use force of arms. It would be absurd to accuse Sir Edward Carson himself of instigating the Kaiser to invade this realm, but many of his followers were quite frank in expressing the hope that Ulster might be saved for Protestantism by a "Continental deliverer." In any case, Sir Edward Carson and all, they made it quite clear that their loyalty to the British Empire was conditional loyalty. They would be loyal in action only provided Ulster had the sort of government she desired. It is unquestionable that at the time many indignant Liberals called Sir Edward Carson a traitor, demanded his trial on a charge of high treason, and regarded him and his followers as, in a moral no less than in a legal sense, wicked beyond measure.

No one can doubt, however, that in the common affairs of life the average follower of Sir Edward Carson is an excellent example of a moral human being. He may be the victim of foolish superstitions and foolish fears, but, in so far as he is disinterested, his treason does not shock us as a thing morally base, but chiefly as an offence against the State to which he claims to be loyal.

R. F. writing in the *Athenæum* about

The Question of Sex in Fiction

opines that in judging a book the intention and general scheme of the writer must be considered: his book must be judged, not by its contents alone, but also by the meaning of those contents and their relation to life in general and himself in particular.

Wherever the writer has a definite plan of which the book criticised is only one part, or, again, where the one book is in itself a study extending beyond the phases criticised, there is justification for reasonable freedom of speech.

Realism in fiction, verse, or drama is not, and can not be, an end in itself; it is only a means towards another end, which other end, in actual practice, is usually quite outside the poem, play, or novel.

The New Realism.

Arthur Waugh in the *Fortnightly Review* pays a glowing and just tribute to the youth of to-day in an ably written article.

"We are living, beyond question," says he, "in the heyday of the young men; all the kingdoms of the world are in their hand."

Thirty or forty years ago there still lingered in the social and literary atmosphere the faint mist of a tradition that experience was the one authority in life, and that youth must expect to serve its apprenticeship before it could claim the privilege of the final word. That tradition has long since dissolved and vanished. Nowadays experience is held in very modest repute; energy and initiative are the universal passports to recognition. And nowhere is this truer than in the field of literature, where, it is scarcely necessary to add, youth and rebellion have always been in a state of conflict with tradition. Until recently, however, innovation has had to fight its way; the serried ranks of criticism and convention have hindered its progress; and no doubt the opposition has done it good, by forcing each new change to justify itself before it could pass the outposts. Today there are no outposts to pass, and experience gives way at once to the challenge of youth. It almost seems as though criticism were perpetually afraid of being accused of senility and decay, so ready is it to accept everything new, and to fall into line behind the advancing banners of youthful revolu-

tion. Like Stensgard in Ibsen's drama, the young men of the hour may cry with confident justification: "We are young. The time belongs to us, but we also belong to the time. Our right is our duty."

But of all the regions of activity in which youth is asserting its mastery—social, political, scientific, and the rest—there is no field which it has so thoroughly made its own as that of the novel. And here the audacity of its advance is the more impressive, since the art of fiction is the one art above all others in which experience would naturally be expected to be an almost indispensable quality of the artist. For the novel seeks not only to tell a story, but to portray and moralize life; and the neophyte, standing on the threshold of the temple, can hardly help being dazzled by the wealth and variety of the sights that stretch before his gaze. How can he possibly interpret in his first glance the virtues of the architecture or the intricate symbolism of the decoration? Of course he cannot do so; and the most penetrating and representative fiction of any generation will continue to be written by men whose judgment is tempered by the mellow maturity of experience. But there are qualities vouchsafed to youth which have faded away by the coming of middle age; and the last few years have seen a new movement in English fiction so full of vigor, sincerity, and spiritual beauty as to promise for the future, if only its edge is not dulled by the traffic of time, an entire revolution in the conventions of the British novel, clearing away a vast burden of traditional cant, and establishing a fresh and decent relation between the essential facts of life and their artistic revelation. This movement we venture, for want of a more comprehensive title, to define as the New Realism; since the object of the realist is to draw life as it stands, and there is nothing with which these young men are so eagerly concerned as the fidelity of their art to life; while at the same time the method upon which they set to work is altogether new being absorbed in emotional and spiritual analysis of a deeply intimate and personal kind—a kind, indeed, which has rarely, if ever, been associated with the practice of realism in the past. It is in effect, a New Realism of the emotions, as contrasted with the conventional realism of conditions and environment; its interest is not the material convenience or inconvenience of life, but the spiritual achievement of man, and his ultimate realization of his soul's possibilities. For the artist of the new realism the Kingdom of Heaven lies within the soul of man; for the realist of the last generation, it was almost invariably sought from without, in the individual's relation, with the rest of the world, and in the general improvement of social and human conditions. And the advance from external consolations to the consolations of the soul is an evident advance of the highest significance, and of the most hopeful promise for the future.

NOTES

"Hate thine Enemies."

Knowing that it is not quite possible for imperialistic nations to strictly follow what Jesus is said to have taught—so long, of course, as they remain wedded to imperialism, we have never thought it necessary to pay serious attention to what preachers of their established churches say. But a sermon recently preached by the Bishop of Calcutta having created some stir in Anglo-Indian circles, it may not be considered impertinent on the part of a non-Christian to offer a few remarks. The Bishop is said to have asked his congregation to forgive the enemy, meaning the Germans. He did not, we presume, ask his hearers to abruptly bring the war to a close. He did not want any change in their outward conduct; he wanted only to bring about a change in their inner sentiments. This was in perfect keeping with the Christian exhortation "Love thine enemies." "Forgive thine enemies" is not so great a demand on one's clarity as "Love thine enemies." Still Anglo-India is said to be not in a mood to listen.

Inward feeling, no doubt, governs outward conduct. It may, therefore, seem impossible for men of a loving and forgiving disposition, answering to the "Christian" ideal, to wage war. But it is not unthinkable and unimaginable that a man should fight in a dispassionate and detached spirit, as the *Gita* teaches. A teacher can chastise an offending pupil without getting angry or ceasing to love him. It may not be impossible for men to look upon war as a painful necessity and to fight without ceasing to cherish the feeling of brotherhood even towards a most brutal and barbarous enemy. But this is sure to be looked upon as a counsel of perfection, particularly when it comes from people who do not belong to the warlike races. But whatever martial races may think, charity is among the greatest, if not the greatest, of virtues.

Why Home Rule is not wanted.

The manner in which the Government of India Consolidation Amendment Bill was

introduced in the House of Lords, shows that it is the intention of the authorities to save us not only the trouble of making laws for ourselves but also the trouble of expressing any opinion on any new piece of legislation. This considerateness on their part ought to be highly appreciated. We, the people of the East, have as our highest ideal spirituality, calm meditation. All causes of distraction should, therefore, be avoided. The work of legislation or criticism of legislation is sure to distract our minds. The Home Rule cry should, for this reason, be discouraged.

Government of India Bill.

Reuter has cabled that "in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith announced that the Lords had agreed to the Commons' amendment to the Government of India Amendment Bill." How very considerate it is of Reuter not to say what the Commons' amendments are! Every one is anxious that the people of India should not lose their spiritual characteristic. Therefore they are told just enough to enable them to include the Commons in their daily prayers. If the Commons' amendments had been cabled out, some unmeditative fellows would have commented upon them, thus disturbing the condition of perfect calmness which ought to characterise the oriental mind.

Anglo-India clamoured against the clause of the Bill which wanted to take away the right to sue the Secretary of State in certain cases, and against the clause which would have enabled traders to have seats in the executive councils, without giving up their interest in commercial concerns. These clauses have, therefore, been dropped. Some Indians are flattering themselves that Indian opposition to these clauses had also something to do with their deletion. The result of the Indian opposition to the Civil Service ("Temporary") Act does not encourage us to live in this fools' paradise.

The London correspondent of the *Tribune* writes:—

The opening of civil and military appointments in British India to subjects of Native States was

represented as a step in the direction of Indian unification. With regard to military appointments the view put forward was that this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally. There is little in the terms of the Bill to support this anticipation, but the statement appears to have satisfied those who were doubtful upon the point. One further alteration I understand the Committee have made in the Bill as drafted. They have struck out the provision which would have enabled the subjects of adjacent territories or the members of independent races or tribes in those territories to be appointed to civil offices under the Crown.

The London correspondent of the *Indian Mirror* writes :—

No further alteration of any substance was made in the Bill except that the power to appoint to civil offices under the Crown will not extend beyond those who are rulers or subjects of any State in India. That is to say, the subjects of any State in territory adjacent to India, or the members of any independent race or tribe in such territories will not be eligible for appointment.

Supposing these two correspondents are correctly informed, one is curious to know whether "the subjects of any State in territory adjacent to India, or the members of any independent race or tribe in such territories" will be eligible for *military* appointments. That is really the most important point. As we have pointed out in previous issues, civil appointments in India, particularly high ones, require a knowledge of English, in which qualification Indians in British India are generally superior to other Indians and other Asiatics, and therefore our anticipation, expressed previously, was that the clause in the Bill relating to the widening of the area of recruitment for civil and military appointments was meant chiefly to obtain soldiers and military officers from outside British India. This view is now confirmed by what the *Tribune* correspondent says, *viz.*, "with regard to military appointments, the view put forward was that this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally." Whether "this provision would make it easier later on to give commissions to qualified Indians generally", is a matter of opinion. Our opinion was expressed in the August number as follows :—

"Should the Bill become law, one of its probable or possible effects might be the garrisoning of India by Asiatic mercenaries who are not British Indian subjects or even Indians. This might not happen, but it also might happen. Indians have been for a long time past demanding commissions in the army. Indian ruling chiefs and their relatives might, accord-

ing to this clause, be given such commissions, and the demand of British Indian subjects shelved in this way."

Disbanding of the Bengal Ambulance Corps.

In a recent speech of Lord Carmichael's there was a reference to the Bengal Ambulance Corps and the cause which led to its disbanding. The only thing that could be gathered from the speech was that a mistake was responsible for its disbanding ; but one would seek in vain to find whose mistake it was, what was the nature of the mistake, why the mistake could not be rectified, &c. Truly His Excellency has a most luminous and delightful way of speaking.

U. S. A. "Preparedness."

The present war has roused the United States people to prepare themselves for any coming fray in which they may be engaged. It is advocated that their programme should include sixteen battle-cruisers, a type of war-vessel whose superiority has been proved in recent naval engagements. England has ten of these ships in commission, Germany nine and Japan four. The American ships are to be much faster, and to have greater horsepower, heavier guns and a greater volume of gun-fire than either their German or British rivals.

This has roused the ire of Japan. *The Japan Magazine* writes :—

Not satisfied with having a navy twice the fighting strength of the Japanese navy, Washington is busy with preparations for a still more gigantic programme. The battle cruiser is a type of ship invented by the Japanese after the war with Russia and was quickly taken up by Great Britain, Russia, and Germany ; and now it is being adopted by the United States.

Germans in Japan.

We read in the *Japan Magazine* :—

The undue freedom accorded enemy aliens in Japan while they are subject to internment in the other Allied countries, is a constant source of wonder to Britishers, Frenchmen, Belgians and Russians residing in Japan. Ever since the war broke out Germans and Austrians in Japan have proceeded with their affairs unmolested, carrying on trade just the same as before the war ; and subjects of the Allies have not been without suspicions of intrigue against Allied interests being hatched among these aliens. Remembering that it was at the German Club in Singapore that the mutiny among soldiers there was planned, some cannot fail to surmise that similar conspiracies may be germinated at the German club in Kobe and Yokohama. The German bark in those ports has

also been open for business as usual and with no lack of funds; while there is every facility for communication between Germans in Japan and those in China through their Japanese agents.

The Czar's Assurances to the Poles.

Current Opinion gives welcome news. It says:—

Russian dailies of importance, including the "Slovo" (Moscow), understand that Emperor William is perturbed by the solemn renewal of the Czar's pledge to Poland. Poland will be a nation using her own tongue, teaching her own culture in her own schools of all grades up to the university itself, declared Mr. Sazonov to the Duma. Germany, he said, in effect, will grant Poland nothing like that. The episode became dramatic when the Polish deputy in the Duma, Dr. Hrusiewicz, affirmed that his country is irrevocably with the allies because they have sworn fealty to the principle of nationality. The Poles, he added, believe in the Russian pledge of a unification of dismembered Poland. They see in the words of Premier Sturmer the promise of a Polish nation governing itself with the Czar as a constitutional sovereign. The form of the words was bold but the French press is a unit in deeming the Polish deputy correct. If the details supplied by the *Figaro* are correct, Poles throughout the world are for the most part assured of the good faith of the Russian pledges. Even the somewhat suspicious *Homme enchaîné* (Paris) edited by Clemenceau, is convinced that the Poles are justified in their acceptance of the Czar's pledges to their country.

It is said that Germany and Austria, too, have resolved to constitute an autonomous Poland. Whatever the motives of the powers concerned and whoever succeeds first in giving Poland freedom, the addition of one more free country to the list of those which are self-ruling would be a gain to the cause of liberty.

Russo-Japanese Relations.

Since the outbreak of the European War, Japan has been supplying war materials and has shown extreme good will to Russia. In return the Russian Government has determined to transfer a part of the Eastern China Railway at a reasonable price in token of its gratitude.

Terms of the Japan-Russian Alliance.

The terms of the recent treaty of alliance concluded between Japan and Russia, as reported by the *Nichi-nichi* of Japan, are as follows:—

"1. Russia shall cede to Japan that section of the Manchurian railway between Changchun and a certain point near Harbin. This will afford Japan's South Manchuria Railway an easier access to the Russian metropolis in Manchuria.

"2. Japan shall supply Russia with arms and ammunition as long as the war in Europe lasts.

"3. Russia shall accord liberal treatment to the

Japanese residing and engaged in business in Eastern Siberia and north Saghalien, as well as in the railway zone of north Manchuria.

"4. Russia shall throw open to international commerce the harbor of Vladivostok, and shall not increase the armament of the port to such an extent as would cause apprehension on the part of Japan.

"5. Russia and Japan shall respect each other's interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Should disturbance arise in the Russian sphere of influence in these territories while Russia is engaged in the war against Germany and Austria, Japan shall, upon Russia's request, undertake to pacify the country.

"6. In case Japan is obliged to take necessary measures to preserve the peace and open-door in China, Russia shall not hinder the execution of such measures. Should a third Power or Powers obstruct such measures, Russia shall, upon Japan's request, take common action with Japan for the removal of such obstruction."

Indian Emigration to America.

The Review of Reviews writes:—

The vexed problem of the Indian immigrant is again to the fore. It is a strange anomaly that the men who have so valiantly fought in our ranks would not be admitted into Canada if they presented themselves there with their wives and children. And the consequence is that the United States House of Representatives has passed a Bill aiming at the exclusion of Indians and justifying the measure because they are not admitted into Canada. The Burnett Bill was designed to exclude Japanese as well, but Viscount Chinda has successfully intervened. Perhaps Sir Cecil Spring-Rice could even now come forward to the aid of Indians. He might at least induce Washington to agree to Indian immigration being limited to "a gentleman's agreement," as is the case with the Japanese.

The American Review of Reviews writes that the United States Immigration Bill contained a Japanese exclusion clause.

This was highly offensive, because the Japanese Government had agreed with President Roosevelt and Secretary Root to regulate Japanese migratory labor in such a way as to meet American wishes. That agreement has always been faithfully observed. It is regrettable that Ambassador Chinda should have had to work so hard at Washington to prevent the enactment of an exclusion law. The Senate Committee last month agreed to change the bill in such a way as to make the exclusion apply to other Oriental regions but not to the latitude and longitude of Japan. The Senate will doubtless adopt the view of its Committee on Immigration, and it is to be hoped that the House will accept the amendment.

Leading Indians in America have done their best to safeguard the interests of their people, but in vain. Our readers are aware what Dr. Sudhindra Bose and others did. Recently Mr. Lajpat Rai has written an open letter to Senator Smith of South Carolina and other members of the Senate of the United States, in which occurs the following passage

"It is a gross injustice and, if I may be permitted to say, an outrageous reflection on the Hindus to be selected as the only people on God's earth who are to be excluded from entry into the United States as a race. It has been acknowledged by the highest scholastic authority in the world that the Hindus are from the Aryan stock; that their ancient language Sanskrit and many of their present spoken languages belong to the Indo-European branch of languages, and that they are the inheritors of a great and noble literature and civilisation. In fact, of all the peoples inhabiting the Continent of Asia, they are with the Persians and Caucasians the nearest of kin to the majority of the inhabitants of the United States. Their exclusion as a race is not only an ~~undeserved~~ and unjustifiable reflection on their national honour, but is equally unworthy of the high-mindedness of the great nation which stands for equal opportunity and open door for the meanest of God's creatures on earth.

Other persons may be excluded because they are ineligible for citizenship or for other reasons, but the Hindus (that is to say, the natives of India) are to be excluded because they are Hindus! The reason is quite obvious. The Japanese have to be shown at least some respect, because they are a self-ruling people and able to retaliate in some way or other. We are not self-ruling, and, as such, cannot bring any pressure to bear upon the Americans through our government. It has, in fact, been said that the representative of the British Government in the U. S. A. has been utterly apathetic to the appeals for help in this matter made to him by the Hindus in America. It has even been hinted, with what truth we are not in a position to ascertain, that he has been hostile to Hindu interests. Hindus who have not been in America for more than five years may under the new law be deported. Mr. Lajpat Rai urges that those who may be thus deported should be allowed to go to any country they choose; they should not be necessarily deported to India. For here they may be proceeded against for any political opinions they may have given expression to. It is a noble tradition of England and other politically free countries that they give refuge to men who may not be able for their political opinions to live in safety in their own country. But it seems, in the case of a "subject race," this tradition is not to have any meaning.

There are not sufficient facilities for education in India. When Indian students go to England they are far from welcome. It is difficult for them to enter educational institutions. More often than not they

are treated as suspects. Passports are getting increasingly difficult to obtain. A new Law of Manu of British origin would seem to be on the anvil, standing in the way of Indians crossing the *Kala Pani*. Under the new American Immigration Law students are to be required to execute bonds. At present some Hindu students are self-supporting. The new law might be able to make a clean sweep of them. We hope some of our friends in America will tell us how matters exactly stand, and under what conditions skilled workers, unskilled laborers, traders, travellers and students from India can go to America and live there as long as may be necessary.

As in things which rot, so among people who rot in their home countries and cannot go abroad, there is sure to be fermentation. This does not make for the health of an empire or a nation, or of humanity at large. A remedy must be found. We must not and do not give way to pessimism.

The U. P. Hindu Conference.

Though convened at short notice, the Hindu Conference at Benares has been a great success. The gathering was representative of the intellectual and material wealth of the province, and the sober and reasoned pronouncements made, supported as they were with incontestable facts and figures, ought, therefore, to carry weight. The position of the Hindus of Agra and Oudh in the Legislative Council, the District Boards, and the Municipalities, is indeed precarious; and no self-respecting community which understands its welfare can or ought to put up with it. A united nation, no doubt, requires that all communities should share in the power of self-rule, but it cannot mean that the community which is numerically preponderant and not deficient in other respects is to be humiliated and reduced to a position of impotence. We admire the energy, the spirit, and the persistence with which the U. P. Hindus are carrying on their struggle for civic rights.

The following table taken from Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's speech will give our readers some idea of the respective position of the Musalmans and the Hindus in some U. P. Municipalities:—

Municipality.	Percentage of Mahomedan to non-Mahomedan voters.	Percentage of Mahomedan to non-Mahomedan members.
Hathras	2.03	20
Barcilly	54.35	90
Meerut	59.03	87.5
Bijnor	70.57	125
Sitapur	47.46	50
Muzaffarnagar	38.22	66.6
Gorakhpur	57.55	66.6
Sahaswan	85.68	150
Sandila	70.52	125
Kalpi	19.10	50
Allahabad	24.13	61.54
Balrampur	33.76	66.6
Etah	38	60
Bela (Partabgarh)	35.16	50
Jhansi	20.03	40
Bahraich	73.77	120
Jalesar	44.11	50
Ghazipur	54.69	62.5
Hapur	47.53	66.6
Kunch	16.46	40
Koil (Aligarh)	38.27	71.43
Cawnpore	29.03	52.6
Rurki	38.49	50
Fatehpur	67.13	80
Chandausi	8.46	50
Sambhal	118.33	175
Orai	39.46	50
Mainpuri	10.46	33.3
Shahjahanpur	39.37	140
Fyzabad	23.05	55.5
Khairabad	73.33	150
Ujhani	26.88	50
Farrukhabad cum-Fatehgarh	14.13	62.5
Nagina	108.91	200
Tilhar	50.98	125
Kashipur	12.22	66
Shahabad	73.6	80
Tanda	98.42	150
Chandpur	134.55	200
Sultanpur	41.04	57.1

There are 84 municipalities in the province. The speaker was able to get figures for 64. Out of these, "it is only in 9 that the representation which the Mahomedans have got is somewhat less than what they would be entitled to according to their voting strength."

Communal Representation.

The evil effects of communal representation on local bodies have been officially admitted in the Panjab. A similar opinion has been expressed by the Bombay Government. That government appointed in August of last year a committee for the purpose of reporting what changes it was desirable to effect in the constitution of the District and Taluk Boards in the Presidency and their system of administration. In the official resolution on the report of this committee occurs a para-

graph in which it has been declared that the Government of Bombay are not in favour of communal representation on local boards, and will not sanction it except for strong reasons. On this India observes, quite justly,—

This decision is in conformity with the attitude which the Bombay Government has always taken up, and in striking contrast to the manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces has dealt with this vexed question. Sir James Meston, while professing to be opposed personally to communal representation, pleaded that the Local Government were bound by the decision of higher authority. The public naturally wish to know how it is that the Government of Bombay can declare publicly that they adhere to their determination not to grant communal representation, while the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces should put himself forward as a victim of *force majeure*. As a matter of fact, no "higher authority," has ever committed itself on the matter of communal representation on local bodies.

Advocates of separate and more than numerically proportionate representation for particular communities do not understand, or, if they do, forget, that no Indian community, however favoured by the bureaucracy, can attain the height of power and prosperity, unless the country be self-ruling; and the country cannot be self-ruling unless there is national solidarity. National solidarity, again, is impossible unless one gives up the endeavour to aggrandise one's own group in favour of the strengthening of the whole nation. As soon as a community thinks that it is more important than the others, or that it has political interests different from those of others, it creates a barrier between itself and others. Now, not only must such fresh barriers be not created, but strenuous efforts must be made to knock down the already existing barriers created by caste, creed, &c. No community ought to do or say anything which wounds the self-respect of other communities. If any such thing is said or done, love is lost between the different communities, and national solidarity becomes hard to attain. Representatives of the people ought to be judged by their work for public good, not by the creeds they profess. One could name Musalman members of council who have done more for the good of the public (including Hindus) than some Hindu members, and one could name Hindu members who have done more for the welfare of the public at large and of

Musalman in particular than some Musalman members.

Mahomedans have already got communal representation, and the Indian Christians have made a demand for it; and the present Viceroy has made a "sympathetic" response. Mahomedans base their claim to separate and excessive representation on, among other things, their superior political importance. We do not know on what considerations the Indian Christian demand is based. As the vast majority of the present-day Musalmans of India are not the descendants but only the correlative of the former Musalman conquerors of the greater part of India, so the Indian Christians also are the correlative of the "conquerors" of parts of India and the present rulers of British India. The political importance of Mahomedans is said to arise also out of the existence of a few independent Mahomedan States. But there is a larger number of independent Christian States. So, in this respect too, Indian Christians are a "politically superior" group. The Sikhs, the Mahrattas, and the Rajputs can also to some extent claim political importance, as they were in former days the independent rulers of parts of the country, and even now are rulers of states under British paramountcy; but the Mahrattas and Rajputs have not made any such claim. The European merchants have already got the franchise, to an extent out of all proportion to their number and even to their contribution to the revenues of the State. Apart from their mercantile or manufacturing character and interests, they are clamouring for more and separate representation on general grounds. So Government have to meet the excessive demands of Europeans, Musalmans, Indian Christians, and Sikhs; and there may be others who may come forward to make a similar claim based on some fact or fiction. The Hindus, who, in spite of the manipulation of census figures and classifications, still form the majority of the population of India, have yet to claim separate representation, and they may be driven to do it. But what would remain for these *inferior* specimens of Indian humanity after meeting the "just" and excessive demands of those who do or may claim to be the supermen of India? This is a question that sorrow

bids us ask, not anger. Alas, even if all the legislative council members, municipal commissioners, district and local board members, deputy magistrates and deputy superintendents of police and certain other classes of officials were drawn from the Musalman, or Christian or Sikh communities, and if they were all made Nawab Bahadurs, Sardar Bahadurs, or Rajas, Indians (*including* these communities) would still remain the most powerless and most despised among the "civilized" peoples of the earth. Of all races on earth, the American Immigration Law excludes the people of India alone by name, *because they are Indians*. No exception has been made in favour of Indian Musalmans, Indian Christians, or Sikhs. It is a copy-book maxim, but it is absolutely true, and ought to bear repetition, that, *united we stand, divided we fall*.

No community in India, large or small, standing alone, can be said to be morally, materially and physically capable of making and keeping India self-ruling, powerful, prosperous and enlightened. Is there any single community which has produced the most original thinkers, the best poets, the greatest scientists, the boldest and most resourceful captains of industry, the most enterprising merchants, the most democratic, courageous, unselfish and pure-hearted social reformers, the most catholic-minded and spiritual religious teachers and leaders, the most sagacious, well-informed and far-seeing statesmen and the most valiant warriors? We have developed along different lines, and supplement one another's deficiencies. Mere self-interest, if not anything higher, ought to lead us to keep together and seek the common good; nothing can be good for a part which is not good for the whole.

As a matter of compromise, patriots can go as far as separate and strictly proportionate representation for all communities, though this, too, is mischievous; and one does not know where to stop. If separate representation be given to sects, why not to sub-sects, or to castes, or to sub-castes, or to linguistic groups? That way chaos lies.

Bengali Soldiers.

It is not necessary to make any prophecy regarding the success or failure of the attempt that is being made to recruit and enlist a double company of Bengali

soldiers. But this can be said with some degree of certainty that if, when two years ago hundreds of Bengali young men offered to go to the front as fighters, cold water had not been poured on their ardour and their offer rejected on the absurd ground that they were untrained men and training would take time, and if, again, the second batch of the Bengal Ambulance Corps had not been disbanded after months of waiting without any reasons being publicly and plainly stated, men could have been by this time found to form several double companies. Let us, however, hope the attempt will succeed.

It is not generally admitted by Europeans that Bengalis were ever given to fighting. But the Nairs of the Malabar coast are admitted to have been good soldiers not very long ago. And yet, it is said, only 300 Nairs have offered to enlist as soldiers. It has been decided that Eurasian soldiers are to be placed on a footing of equality with those of British birth as regards pay, prospects and privileges. And yet what is the result? An Associated Press telegram says:—

BOMBAY, August 23rd.

The figures of Anglo-Indian recruiting in the Bombay Presidency so far are not quite encouraging. Bombay city could not muster more than 110 offers from young Anglo-Indians. Of these 32 withdrew and 30 were declared medically unfit. The remainder of the presidency, including Karachi and Baluchistan, has produced only 55 enlistments. Some sixty-five more are required to complete the presidency's quota.

These facts should be borne in mind by those British journalists in India, who are commenting on the lack of enthusiasm for recruiting observable in Bengal and are already indulging in some cheap ridicule in anticipation of the failure of the effort to enlist Bengalis as soldiers.

The Pay of Indian soldiers.

The question of the pay of the Indian soldier has been raised in connection with the Bengali recruiting movement. We think the question should be dealt with as it affects all sepoys, not as it affects or may affect the actual or prospective soldiers of any particular province or race. In Bengal, it is quite usual for menials to get Rs. 10 as monthly wages, and they earn another equal amount. Therefore, the Sepoy's pay of Rs. 11 per mensem and extra allowance of Rs. 3 or 4 cannot be much of an inducement in Bengal to follow soldiering as a profession. The literate

Bengali young man who will become a soldier will do so from love of adventure or similar motives.

The Bengali recruits to the French army have been given equal pay and privileges with French soldiers. Eurasians, who have got no martial fame or traditions to equal those of the Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas, &c., have got the same terms as British soldiers. So justice, consistency and sound statesmanlike policy require that the question of the Sepoy's pay and prospects should receive earnest consideration.

This is necessary on economic grounds, too. Mule-cart drivers and coolies are required for Mesopotamia. An appeal has been published in the *Pioneer* for their recruitment. These men are to be stationed at Basra, several hundred miles from the actual scene of fighting. So there is no risk of their losing their lives or limbs in battle; they will be engaged in making roads, lines, houses and go-downs. Let us now compare what they are to get and what Indian soldiers get. Their monthly wages will be Rs. 15 *with everything else found*. This shows that the eleven rupees, *plus* an extra allowance of Rs. 3 or 4, paid monthly to the sepoy for very risky work is less than what is offered to the laborer for doing work which is not risky. So on economic grounds we urge that the sepoy's pay be increased and made equal to that of the Eurasian soldier.

Brahman and Non-Brahman.

Some men in Southern India have raised the cry that, because there is not a good understanding there between Brahman and non-Brahman, because the Sudras and the Pariahs are despised and often insulted, persecuted and treated as not-human or sub-human, therefore there can be no self-government in India. We consider the insolent caste-spirit utterly abominable. We think it is partly because we had and still have pariahs among us that we have become pariahs among the races of mankind;—those who cannot respect the manhood of others must in course of time lose their own manhood and be treated as less than men. But however much we may hate caste, we must not theorize and dogmatise in opposition to the evidence of past and contemporary history. Were there not helots in Greece, and were there

not republics in that country at the same time; and is not republicanism a most advanced form of self-rule? Were there not slaves in the ancient republic of Rome? Were not the plebians of Rome at first a despised and powerless class, who gradually struggled upwards to civic recognition and power? The United States of America is at present the greatest democracy in the world. And yet in the past and present history of the treatment of the Negroes of that republic by its white citizens one can find a parallel and often worse than a parallel to the wrongs inflicted on the so-called "untouchables" of India by the so-called "touchables." More than once caste in America has been discussed in these pages. And Mr. Lajpat Rai, who is as sincere a Home Ruler as he is a sincere social reformer, has devoted many pages of his latest work to this subject. What strengthens the case of the Indian Home Ruler is that the Negro is gradually making headway in all directions and that because he lives in a democracy and is able to make use of democratic methods.

There are and may be sincere Indian opponents of Indian Home Rule. But, not unoften, in bringing forward arguments against self-rule, snobbish and servile men have the temptation of being patted on the back by Anglo-Indian journalists and other Anglo-Indians. All self-respecting and sensible Indians ought to scorn such patting on the back. First the approbation of one's own conscience and then, if any other support were needed, the approbation of the self-sacrificing servants of the Mother, ought to be quite sufficient for us.

There are immense difficulties in the way of winning Home Rule. All those social and other drawbacks which are urged as reasons why we ought not to have self-rule, existed and still exist, in a greater or less pronounced form, in self-ruling countries, and it is by the power of self-rule that these have been and are being removed. No self-ruling country is peopled entirely by perfectly wise, perfectly just, and perfectly angelic persons.

It is easy for the non-Brahman to speak of the Brahman's touch-me-not-ism. But is there no Western touch-me-not-ism towards Indians, whether they be Hindus or Musalmans, Brahmans or non-Brahmans? Why cannot Europeans travel

with Indians in the same railway carriage? Why are there reserved compartments for them? Why are not Indians allowed to build and own houses in certain favoured spots in some health and pleasure resorts in India? Why are not Indians allowed to walk or drive along certain roads or enter or sit in certain spots in some public places in India? Why are the doors of Anglo-Indian clubs generally shut against the best and highest Indians? Why are all the highest appointments and most of the higher ones in India forbidden fruit to Indians, however able they may be? Why do the British colonies exclude Indians? Why are footpaths and the best market-places reserved for whites in many a south African town? Why does the U. S. A. exclude the people of India by name? Why is it difficult for Indians to obtain passports for going to foreign countries? Why do educational institutions in Great Britain look askance at Indian students and only some of them very reluctantly and partially open their doors to them?

And, for many of these disadvantages, insults and wrongs, is there any effective remedy but self-rule?

It is only shortsighted and foolish men who think that, because the bureaucrat ordinarily dispenses equal justice between Indian and Indian, and distributes petty appointments, and also very astutely a very few high ones, to Brahmans and non-Brahmans alike, therefore there cannot be a better system of administration than the bureaucratic one. The saying about the beam and the mote needs to be remembered. It was no doubt selfish and inhuman for the old social legislators to consign a class of men to the position of "untouchables"; but is it angelic to practically treat whole countries and continents as if they were the abodes of "untouchables," as Europe and America seem bent on doing? If the submerged countries and continents still produce a few towering personalities, have not the pariahs, in spite of the crushing weight of Brahman sanctimoniousness, produced their saints whose images are kept and honoured in Hindu temples in southern India?

The bureaucratic form of administration may help to ameliorate the condition of the backward classes to a little extent and up to a certain point, but it is only

self-rule which can enable the entire Indian nation to make boundless progress and be equal to the most progressive nations in the world.

"Nānyah panthā vidyatē ayanāya."

The Cause makes the Fighter.

A great cause makes heroes of common men. The cause makes the fighter. By this we do not mean to say that a great cause can make even stocks and stones fight. What is meant is that there is enough heroism latent in common humanity in all countries, and a great cause calls it into play. A century ago Belgian valour was a term of reproach used sarcastically. But the enjoyment of liberty has made them so freedom-loving that they have fought most valiantly in the cause of independence. That they have not succeeded is another matter. The cause makes the hero; but success depends on resources and many other things. And it should not be forgotten that failure may often be marked by greater heroism than success.

Alike in civic and in military struggles, great causes inspire courage and faith and hope. If you despair of a people, give them a lawful and great cause to fight for, to struggle for, to live for; and see the miracle it can work. The cause of the freedom of small nationalities is a noble, a glorious cause; but it would be practically unmeaning to men who were not themselves free if they were not allowed to expect or claim freemen's rights for themselves without let or hindrance.

Antinarcotic Law in America.

In the course of a leading article, the *Lancet* comments on the working of what is known as the Harrison Antinarcotic Law in the United States of America. The writer remarks that the restrictions imposed by this Act are more severe than the regulations designed for the same purpose in any other country, and it was consequently feared that the new law would be followed by a large growth in the clandestine traffic in narcotic drugs. But a year's experience has dissipated this fear and the results have surpassed the most sanguine expectations. The writer proceeds:—

"A year's experience, however, has demonstrated not only that the Act was capable of smooth administration but that during the period in which it has been in force, there has been no sensible increase in

the smuggling of the class of drugs which the Act was designed to control. Some of the large wholesale dealers in drugs are quoted as saying that their sales of drugs of this kind have been reduced by 70 to 80 per cent. and retail traders seem to be agreed that the amounts supplied to the public have been materially restricted."

The distribution of opium, morphine and cocaine has been strictly limited to the quantities required for legitimate medicinal purposes.

The principal feature of the new legislation is the registration of doctors and druggists to enable them to prescribe or sell narcotic drugs. Pharmacists can obtain supplies only by ordering them on official forms and they can supply the drugs only to medical practitioners who write their orders on similar forms. Prescriptions, which must bear the patient's name and address, can be only for a definite quantity and have to be signed with the full name of the prescriber, whose address and registered number will also appear on the prescription. The prescription cannot be repeated, as it can be in India, and druggists will only supply on a fresh prescription. The authorities in America are at present considering the desirability of cancelling exemptions in favour of medicinal preparations containing even two grains of opium or half a grain of morphine.

Any one conversant with the state of affairs with regard to the almost unrestricted sale of narcotics in India will have felt that the evil has undoubtedly assumed alarming proportions. It is common knowledge that cocaine and opium are at the present time doing havoc among a certain section of the Indian people. Opium in pretty large quantity can be purchased by any one and cocaine can be prescribed by any doctor irrespective of his qualifications. In India we have the further difficulty with regard to *bhang* and *ganja*, and those conversant with the criminal history of the country will testify how the most heinous crimes are committed under the influence of the latter drug. The uncontrolled use of these drugs is not only undermining the health of the Indian people but is sadly undermining their morals. It was therefore high time that somebody raised the question of remodeling legislation on the subject in India. It is too much to expect the Government to take the initiative in matters in which a large sacrifice of revenue has to be made.

State versus Company Management of the Indian Railways.

It will be interesting to note in connection with the article on the subject which appears in another place in the current number of this *Review* that speaking on the Indian Railway policy at a recent meeting of the East India Association in Caxton Hall, London, Sir Guilford Molesworth, formerly Consulting Engineer of Railways, Government of India, said that he had always been an advocate of the Indian Railways being retained and worked by the State as instruments of development instead of simply creating revenue. He said he held that view as strongly as ever. Sir Muncharjee Bhownaggee, who was present at the meeting, gave a correct version of the views of his educated countrymen in stating with due emphasis that the Railways here should not be worked for the benefit of the companies, but for that of the people of India generally. We are, however, sorry to note in this connection that Sir Stephen Finney, C. E., for many years a Manager of State Railways in India and subsequently President of the Railway Board, as Chairman of the meeting expressed the opinion that, with the conditions now prevailing in India, the advancement of direct management by the State would not materially benefit the people while it would add to the burdens of the Government;—the same oft-repeated, old argument, which has been as repeatedly and effectively disposed of. But Sir Stephen Finney, who, we understand, on his retirement from the service of the Government of India, has joined the directorate of certain company-managed railways cannot now be expected to view things in their proper perspective and from the right angle of vision.

Railway Management.

In order to be able to solve the problem of railway management in India, one should bear in mind that it is not exactly identical with the problem of nationalization of railways *versus* management by private companies which people have to discuss in independent countries; for in India the nation and the State do not stand to each other in exactly the same relation as they do in independent countries. Here management by private companies practically means management by directors who are foreigners and by absentee capita-

lists. The profits go out of the country. The rates of railway freight have been fixed in such a way that they favour the import of foreign manufactured goods, to the disadvantage and detriment of indigenous industries. They also facilitate the export of raw materials for foreign manufacturers. The grievances of third-class railway passengers do not receive proper consideration, as their cries cannot influence the directors living in comfort at a distance of thousands of miles from India. In all these matters there is a greater chance of our being able to influence the Government of India than the foreign directorates of companies. Even if company management were more economical, what would it matter to us? It would only mean greater profits for foreign capitalists: whereas state management would bring at least some revenue to the public treasury, besides securing a few more posts with decent salaries to the children of the soil. If the personnel of the Government of India be in sympathy with indigenous industrial enterprise, much more can be done for the industrial development of the country under state management of railways than under foreign company management.

Nationalization of Railways in Japan.

It is interesting to note in this connection that before the year 1906 in Japan "anything like efficient co-operation was impossible" between private railway companies, "and constant complaints were heard about delays in transit and undue expense. The defects of divided ownership had long suggested the expediency of nationalization, but not until 1906 could the Diet be induced to give its consent. On March 31 of that year, a railway nationalization law was promulgated."

A Japanese appreciation of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The Herald of Asia, an English weekly paper conducted by Japanese, speaks of one of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's addresses in Japan as one "which will leave a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the Japanese people. He touched upon subjects connected with the very essence and meaning of human life and history, and for a space of nearly an hour he held his audience spell-bound."

As may have been expected, the great Indian prophet is fearless and unreserved in exposing the materialistic and political aspect of European civilization in all its ugliness. Nothing, for instance, could be more plain speaking than the following:—

The political civilization which has sprung up from the soul of Europe and is overrunning the whole world, like some prolific weed, is based upon exclusiveness. It is always watchful to keep at bay the aliens or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other people and it swallows their whole future. It is afraid of the eminence of other peoples, and it tries to keep its greatness outside its own boundaries, forcing other peoples who are weaker, to be eternally fixed in their weakness. The political civilization is scientific, not human.

The Herald of Asia hastens to add that "Tagore of course is not unconscious of Europe's greatness; far from it, he pays her no unstinted tribute."

He does not hesitate to express his hearty love and deep admiration for "the Europe who, in her literature and art, is pouring an inexhaustible cascade of beauty and truth fertilizing all countries and all time; the Europe who, with a mind which is titanic in its untiring power, is sweeping the height and the depth of the universe, winning her homage of knowledge from the infinitely great and the infinitely small. ... Such true greatness must have its motive power in spiritual strength. ... There, in the hidden heart of Europe, runs the purest stream of human love, of love of justice, of spirit of self-sacrifice for higher ideals. The Christian culture of centuries has sunk deep in her life's core." Nor is the Indian poet oblivious of the fact that there have from time to time risen in Europe "noble hearts who have ever stood up for the rights of man irrespective of colour and creed; who have braved calumny and insult from their own people in fighting for humanity's cause and raising their voices against the mad orgies of militarism. ... These are there to prove that the fountainhead of the water of everlasting life has not run dry in Europe, and from thence she will have her rebirth time after time."

So, in the poet's opinion, the greedy, aggressive and overbearing tendencies of European civilization are things of only the present, and he has no doubt but that a time will come when Europe will wake up and feel need of fresh confidence and strength that only come from spiritual purification.

In the opinion of the poet, meanwhile the apparently stationary East has not been dead but "has achieved something which is a positive truth—a truth that can give man's heart its shelter and sustenance. It has evolved an inner sense—a sense of vision, the vision of the infinite reality in all finite things." Summing up, *The Herald of Asia* says: "The East has, therefore, something to offer when Europe halts in her mad career of materialistic aggrandizement and yearns for spiritual sustenance." As the poet said in his address,—

The East with her ideals, in whose bosoms are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars, can patiently wait till the West, hurrying after the expeditious, loses breath and stops. The East knows that she is immortal, and she will appear again and again in Man's history with her draught of life.

The Herald is right in inferring that "the great Indian seer" is not satisfied with "the existing state of affairs in the East, or more exactly in India. Reading between the lines, it is obvious that he inwardly yearns for the time when, like Japan, 'not hampered from the outside,' India may be allowed to work out her destiny under the invigorating influence of a free and unfettered existence."

The Japanese paper then quotes the following concluding passage of the address,

"In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world, Japan has come out the first in the East. She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia. This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation. Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work, she must not be passively dormant, or feebly imitate the West, in the intimation of fear or flattery. For this we offer thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil. She must infuse the sap of a fuller humanity into the heart of the modern civilization. She must never allow it to get choked with the noxious undergrowth, but lead it up towards light and freedom, towards the pure air and broad space, where it can receive, in the dawn of its day and the darkness of its night, heaven's inspiration. Let the greatness of her ideals become visible to all men like her snow-crowned Fuji rising from the heart of the country into the region of the infinite, supremely distinct from its surroundings, beautiful like a maiden in its magnificent sweep of curve, yet firm and strong and serenely majestic."

and observes :

In the above quoted passage there is set before us Japanese a mission of transcendent significance. We cannot but feel misgivings as to our qualifications for a task of such supreme responsibilities, although there will never be any lack of determination and ambition on the part of this people to direct its endeavours along the line so eloquently indicated. In any case we could not, even if we wished, prove false to the ideals of Asiatic civilization—ideals which we are proud to share with the peoples of India and China and other countries of the continent. In this respect all peoples of Asia are bound together by ties that lie deep in the sub-conscious domain of their life and aspirations—ties, therefore, that they cannot break without doing violence to their very nature. The spiritual solidarity of Asia is a reality full of promise for the future course of history and civilization. That solidarity is a force that makes for peace and progress not only among the different peoples of Asia but between them and the peoples of the West, for it rests upon ideas essentially peaceful and humane.

The Japanese press and leaders are not, as was to be expected, unanimous in their estimate of the Poet's teachings, warnings and admonition. There has been criticism as well as appreciation.

Sir Rabindranath Interviewed.

A special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes to that paper from Tokio :

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who is now in Tokio, has had an extremely cordial reception in Japan, which has a significance more than literary and more than personal, for it is one of the many indications of the growing intimacy between Japan and India and of the evolution of a new Asia awakening to a consciousness of unity.

The correspondent says :—

“In a brief address at Osaka he had touched, in a fashion perhaps not wholly gratifying to the New Japan, upon Eastern and Western civilisation. I reminded him of that, and asked him to elaborate his ideas.

Japan and Western Civilisation,

“Japan,” he said, “is rapidly acquiring the mechanical apparatus of Western civilisation, but I think it would be a grave misfortune if she cut loose from her own ideas and her own past. We have been through the same phase in India. When Western civilisation and Western education came to us they exercised a great fascination upon our youth, and for a time our own thought and our own traditions seemed to them worthless and fit only to be cast aside. Then came a reaction perhaps as extreme in the one direction as that in the other, and action and reaction are at work to produce an adjustment, for an adjustment is necessary. I have not been in Japan sufficiently long to say whether this is happening here also, but I feel it must be so. The Western apparatus which Japan has borrowed is like a garment rather than part of the individual himself. It is universal and external. True, the West has taken a long time to evolve it, but it has no peculiar character of its own, and the East can borrow it and transplant it rapidly. Precisely for that reason it cannot of itself satisfy the soul of a nation. Thoughtful men in Japan with whom I have talked tell me that they are conscious of this, that they feel the need of harmonising Japan's present with her past, and it is this feeling, I believe, which explains the extreme cordiality with which I have been received.”

Difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook.

“You ask me to characterise the difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook. That is very difficult, although the difference is very real. In the East we are conscious through all individual things of the infinity which embraces them. When I was in England I felt there was an incessant rush of just individual things upon me; it was not a question of noise and bustle and haste only, but the whole atmosphere lacked the sense of infinity. Upon me it had the effect of hampering reflection and meditation. No, I should not describe the difference as one between spirituality and materialism, though that is the way it is often put. I have known too many noble and devoted men in England who practise renunciation and self-sacrifice and strive for humanity, to deny your Western civilisation spirituality. No country could stand the shock of this war if it lacked spirituality. But it is a different kind from ours. It is not penetrated, as is ours, with the abiding sense of the infinite.”

The Eastern outlook and the Mechanism of Western civilisation.

“Do I think that Eastern thought, the Eastern outlook can be reconciled with the mechanism of Western civilisation? I think it can and must be. In the East we have striven to disregard matter, to ignore hunger and thirst, and so escape from their tyranny and emancipate ourselves. But that is no longer possible, at least for the whole nation. You in the West have chosen to conquer matter, and the fine task of science is to enable all men to have enough to satisfy their material wants, and by subduing matter to achieve freedom for the soul. The East will have to follow the same road, and call in science to its aid.”

The poet has no fear that the whole world will become uniform in thought and outlook. Of course he would not say offhand whether the characteristic outlook of nations was a matter of race.

“I know that in England my thoughts were not free, and I had to return to India for them to acquire their freedom. The colour of the sky, the air, the soil, all colour and shape thought, and help to make the philosophy of one nation different from that of another. Though I look forward to science and the mechanical arts of civilisation becoming a common possession of the whole world, I have no fear that the mind and soul of the whole world will become uniform, for these things are external like a garment, and do not touch the inner core of a people. I conceive a kind of federation of nations, in which each contributes its own characteristic philosophy.”

On the question of Japan's “mission,” or rather ambition, to unite and lead Asia, the Poet observed :—

“It does not surprise one to hear that Japanese think it their country's mission to unite and lead Asia. The European nations, for all their differences, are one in their fundamental ideas and outlook. They are like a single country rather than a continent in their attitude towards the non-European. If, for instance, the Mongolians threatened to take a piece of European territory, all the European countries would make common cause to resist them. Japan cannot stand alone. She would be bankrupt in competition with a united Europe, and she could not expect support in Europe. It is natural that she should seek it in Asia, in association with a free China, Siam, and, perhaps, in the ultimate course of things, a free India. An associated Asia, even though it did not include the Semitic West, would be a powerful combination. Of course that is to look a long way ahead, and there are many obstacles in the way, notably the absence of a common language and the difficulty of communication. But from Siam to Japan there are, I believe, kindred stocks, and from India to Japan there is much of religion and art and philosophy which is a common possession.

Not having a first-hand knowledge of Japan's mission or ambition,—having to look at Japan through British and American eyes, we cannot exactly say how and with what object she wishes to unite and lead Asia. Has she in view a federated or an imperialized Asia? In military and naval power, and in commerce and indus-

try, she is already the foremost country in the East. In things purely of the intellect and the spirit she is not.

In comparing Japan's progress with that achieved by India the poet could not but criticise both England's action and inaction. The Poet is not a biased critic; as he has said, "the problem of history in India is not to throw off England, but to make England's relation to ourselves living and natural."

"The Japanese have made remarkable progress, but, given equal opportunity, India would do as well. We are not inferior intellectually to the Japanese. Probably in the crafts we are so, but we are superior in pure thought. They have been free to educate themselves and to send their young men to all the universities of the world to acquire knowledge. But every Indian feels, and every candid student of India must admit, that you have conceived it to be to your interest to keep us weak and have discouraged education. In the laboratories you dislike us to acquire science and to pursue research.

"The Tata Foundation is an illustration. Here at last, we thought, India's opportunity had come. But the Government has taken control of it and killed it, and that splendid gift is now barren and worthless. The war comes, and you say to us: 'Industrialise yourself; make the things we need.' There is something ludicrous about this, for you have consistently and persistently striven to repress and cramp our economic development. It is hopeless for us to try to educate ourselves or develop ourselves. Your Government in India is so perfectly organised that you can render all such striving futile. But it is bad for you as well as for us. When one nation keeps another in subjection, when its authority is so perfect and complete that it can execute its arbitrary will with effortless ease, it saps its own love of liberty, its own vigour, its own moral strength. It discovers that when it comes into conflict with a virile nation."

It is not clear whether in the last sentence there is any reference to any fact of contemporary history, or it is a mere foreboding originating in a knowledge of the philosophy of history, and of human nature.

Congress Presidentship.

The Lucknow Congress Reception Committee has rejected by a majority of votes the recommendation of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees that Babu Ambikatharan Majumdar should be chosen president of the next session of the Indian National Congress. The matter has, therefore, been referred to the All-India Congress Committee. It would have been well if this contretemps could have been avoided. As the recommendation of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees has not been considered wise or morally binding, that of the All-India Congress Committee may share

the same fate. We do not know whether according to the Congress constitution the decision of the latter is binding or not.

Whoever may be chosen president should note that the country is no longer in a mood to tolerate safe pronouncements in favour of home rule or self-rule 500 years hence. Zeros being nonentities should be omitted.

New India security Forfeited.

The Madras Government has forfeited the security on *New India*. Such an event was foreseen by many. The order of forfeiture may be legal according to the law as it stands, but "legal," "equitable," and "just" are not synonymous terms. Nor is that which is "legal" necessarily wise or statesmanlike. This step was not necessary for the safety of India or the British Empire. *New India* has never been hostile to the British Empire idea; it has always insisted that it was absolutely necessary for the good of both India and Great Britain that they should remain together. The paper has, no doubt, been opposed to bureaucratic rule and has exposed its seamy side unsparingly. But that is neither high treason nor sedition.

It may be that Mrs. Besant will have ultimately to transfer her political activity from India to England, where there is plenty of work to do. In that country there is amazing ignorance of the character and condition of the people of India and of her government. This ought to be removed. Should Mrs. Besant or anybody else be prevented from carrying on the Indian Home Rule propaganda in the United Kingdom, it would not be a thing for Englishmen to felicitate themselves upon. For it would mean that the forces of absolutism which had restricted liberties abroad had begun to work havoc at "home."

Mr. Tilak gets a Passport.

The Bombay Government has given the necessary passport to Mr. Tilak to proceed to England in connection with the suit filed by him against Sir Valentine Chirol. We are glad.

We hope the Bombay Government has no power to bind Mr. Tilak to be of "good behaviour" in Great Britain. We hope it will be permissible for him to be a naughty boy there, and, as Britishers have a common saying, "Boys will be boys," his

naughtiness will not be considered as anything worse than mere boyish pranks, sixty years old though he be. For, there are among British statesmen many older boys than he, who, if their political opponents are to be believed, are very naughty, nay, wicked.

Mr. Tilak's voyage to England is expected to further the cause of social reform, and that would be a distinct gain. We are grieved that he cannot now be accompanied by his lawyer and life-long friend Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.

Daji Abaji Khare.

By the death of Mr. Daji Abaji Khare India loses a distinguished and patriotic public worker. *The Indian Social Reformer* says that he helped forward the Widow Remarriage movement and the movement for the passing of the Age of Consent Act. In the field of politics he belonged to the Moderate school. That, however, did not stand in the way of a life-long friendship with Mr. B. G. Tilak. What a blessing it would be if such friendships were commoner than they are.

For whatever names may be given to them, the servants of the Motherland are all one. It speaks much for the genuineness, breadth and intensity of Mr. Khare's patriotism that it could overleap party barriers and enable him to hug to his bosom a man of the so-called opposite camp of so strong and challenging a personality as that which Mr. Tilak possesses.

"Rally the Moderates."

In a contribution to the press by a respected British friend of India occurs the old mischievous cry, "Rally the Moderates." We call it "mischievous" deliberately, though we are sure the writer has not used it with any such intention.

The reason why we use this epithet is that it is a variation of the Machiavelian maxim of *divide et impera*. Indian politicians should never be induced to divide themselves into opposite camps by any sop thrown to them in the shape of a few high offices, or some petty changes in administrative machinery. The result of the "rally-the-moderates" policy adopted during the Morley-Minto regime is seen in the series of repressive measures passed during and since that period. The expansion of the legislative councils has been more than counterbalanced by that apple of discord yeapt communal representation.

Our united cry should be, "No more sops, please; we want the staple solid food of all progressive peoples, self-rule."

Bombay Protests.

Calcutta and Bombay have each claimed to be the first city in India. It is not our intention to decide between the rival claims. But so far as public activity goes, Bombay no doubt is now far more wide-awake than Calcutta, though Calcutta's recent record of domestic bickerings would be hard to beat. Bombay has, in public meeting assembled, protested against the Press Act, and has also protested against certain well-known clauses of the Government of India Consolidation Amendment Bill. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay has addressed to the Government of India a protest against the non-representation of India at the Paris Conference, which concludes as follows:—

Under the circumstances stated above the committee of this Chamber fail to notice that there has been any change in the angle of vision, having regard to the fact of the studied exclusion of India from the Paris Economic Conference, whose decision is expected to lead to far-reaching consequences at the close of the war. While India, which along with the Colonies, has rendered and is still rendering yeoman's service to the Empire, is absolutely left unrepresented at the Conference, the Colonies are not only represented, but over-represented. If India has been so studiously excluded at this hour from the deliberations of the Paris Conference, what hope can the people of this great country have that their most vital interests on matters fiscal will be considered with anything like justice at the close of the war? The situation is indeed one which all India is justified on the facts here related to view with the greatest apprehension, if not alarm, and the committee respectfully appeal to the Government that they will take an early occasion to make a pronouncement.

Madras, Allahabad and Lucknow have also been recently more active than Calcutta.

Health of India.

The latest available birth-and-death rate figures per thousand for the different provinces are given in the table printed below. They are for the year 1915.

Province	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Infantile Mortality.
United Provinces	43.48	30.04	205.74
Bombay	37.10	26.12	172.00
Madras	31.19	21.97	186.53
Bengal	31.80	32.83	218.93
Bihar and Orissa	40.49	32.23	185.93
Assam	33.60	30.86	201.89
Central Provinces	47.95	35.91	259.72
Punjab	43.60	36.33	188.57
Burma	35.13	27.99	219.35
N.-W.F. Province	31.73	23.61	166.25
Delhi	48.35	29.22	220.89

Delhi has the highest birth-rate, and Punjab the highest death-rate. Madras has both the lowest birth-rate and the lowest death-rate. Judging by the excess of births over deaths, Delhi was the most healthy area during the year under report. But as it is comparatively easy to show a good record for a small and practically urban area, we should consider the United Provinces the healthiest region according to the standard adopted above. Bengal has been the unhealthiest province in 1915, as her death-rate has exceeded the birth-rate, which is the case nowhere else.

The comparative vital statistics of European countries for the latest available year, 1912, are given below.

Country.	Birth rate per 1,000.	Death-rate per 1,000.
United Kingdom	23.9	13.8
England and Wales	23.8	13.3
Scotland	25.9	15.2
Ireland	23.0	16.5
Austria	31.3	20.5
Belgium	22.6	14.8
Denmark	26.7	13.0
Finland	29.1	16.3
France	19.0	17.5
German Empire	28.3	15.6
Holland	28.1	12.3
Hungary	36.3	23.3
Italy	32.4	18.2
Norway	25.4	13.4
Prussia	28.9	15.5
Rumania	43.4	22.9
Serbia	38.0	21.1
Spain	32.6	21.8
Sweden	23.7	14.2

In India the highest infantile mortality was in the Central Provinces and the lowest in the North-West Frontier Province. But the lowest figure in India is much higher than the rate of infant mortality in many civilized countries.

Regarding the unhealthy condition of Bengal the Government resolution says :—

The outstanding feature of the returns of vital occurrences for the year 1915, is that, for the first time since 1892, the number of deaths in Bengal exceeded the recorded number of births. The excess amounted to 46,939 and was the result largely of widespread epidemics of cholera and small-pox, which caused altogether 163,461 deaths, and partly also of reduced vitality consequent on the adverse economic conditions and bad agricultural seasons of this and previous years. The decrease of population was not uniform and was in fact confined to the Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions, a continued increase being recorded in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with their prolific and prosperous population.

The three greatest foes of India are poverty, disease and ignorance, and there

is a very good understanding among these three powers. They help one another, and if you weaken any one of them, you may be able to weaken the other two.

Socially-enforced Widowhood.

The anniversary of the death of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar has been recently celebrated in many places. But the cause for which his name stands does not seem to make much headway, particularly in the province of his birth. The tables in the Census Report giving the figures for widows make painful reading. There are not a few infants among them. Taking the whole of India the following tables gives the numbers of widows of the ages mentioned below :—

Age	Number of widows
0-1	866
1-2	755
2-3	1564
3-4	3987
4-5	7603
5-10	77585
10-15	181507

And among the nearly 20 millions of Hindu widows of higher ages, there must be a very large number who lost their husbands in infancy or childhood.

The re-marriage of child-widows has been advocated on moral, humanitarian and sociological grounds. In the following note we give some little-known facts to show that the lot of the widows requires amelioration.

Widows among the Jail Population.

The Musalman population of Bengal exceeds the Hindu by 32½ lakhs, Musalmans forming 52.3 and Hindus 45.2 per cent. of the total population. But of the convicts admitted into Bengal jails in 1915, 56.42 per cent were Musalmans and 40.22 per cent, Hindus. This shows that Hindus were not in 1915 more criminally inclined than Muhammadans. But when we consider the number and religion of the female convicts admitted during the year, we find that out of a total number of 702, so many as 322 were Hindus and 195 Musalmans. These figures become very significant when we remember that the total number of Hindu females in Bengal is 10,097,162 and that of Muhammadan females much larger, namely, 12,377,215. So though Musalman women outnumber Hindu women in the province, Hindu female convicts outnumbered Musalman female

convicts. Why? It cannot be because Hindus were more criminally inclined than Musalmans in 1915; in fact, as we have seen above, the truth lies the other way. Perhaps the following figures may throw some light on the state of things dwelt on above.

Among the 702 female convicts, 235 were married, 7 unmarried, 273 widows, and 187 prostitutes (among whom many must have been originally widows). Here widows outnumber any other class of women; but what is their proportion among the total female population of Bengal? Among woman in Bengal 75,60,825 are unmarried, 1,04,24,322 married, and, 45,16,902 widowed. So the smallest number is that of widows; but among female convicts, the largest is that of widows. This leaves no doubt that widowhood brings many temptations, trials and difficulties which lead to crime. And the reason why Hindu female convicts outnumber Musalman female convicts may be that in Bengal in spite of a larger Muhammadan population, there are among them 700,000 widows less than among Hindus.

Let us now turn to the Bihar and Orissa figures for 1915. Here the number of females admitted into jails during 1915 was 750. Out of these 336 were married, 22 unmarried, 361 widows and 31 prostitutes. In these provinces, too, the widows outnumber each of the other descriptions of female convicts, though the proportion of widows among the general female population of Bihar and Orissa will be seen to be the smallest from the following figures:—unmarried 5,386,311; married 9,028,628; widowed 3,215,216.

In the United Provinces, of the total female population, 6,887,907 are unmarried, 11,777,845 married, and 3,874,461 are widowed. Among female convicts admitted in 1915, the married numbered 863, the unmarried 17, and widows 420. Here though the widows do not preponderate, their proportion is much larger in jails than among the general population. Among the general female population their number is one-third of that of the married; but in jails it is one-half.

In the Central Provinces, unmarried females number 2,186,710, married 3,692,210, and widows 1,106,996. So the number of widows is less than one-third that of the married. But among female

convicts in 1915, there were 175 married, 7 unmarried, and 91 widows; that is to say, they numbered more than half of the married.

Thus in the four provinces of which alone we have the jail reports before us, widowhood is clearly seen to lead to crime.

Do pity the widows. Do help them to lead honest, useful, happy lives.

Illiteracy and Crime.

The figures given are for 1915.

In Bengal—

The number of convicts able to read and write was 10.92 per cent., able to read only 1.81 per cent., and illiterate 87.27 per cent.

In Bihar and Orissa—

The number of convicts able to read and write was 6.12 per cent., able to read only 1.80 per cent., and illiterate 92.08 per cent.

In the United Provinces—

5.47 per cent. were found able to read and write, 0.69 per cent. able to read only and 93.84 illiterate.

In the Central Provinces and Berar—

Out of a total of 4,895 convicts, 595 were able to read and write, 44 were able to read only, and 4,256 were illiterate.

On teaching Indian children.

The following extract from the *Pioneer Mail* contains much that is very wise and sane:—

The teacher, therefore, who proposes to instruct the small boys and girls of India should come to the task with the firm conviction that methods will have to be adapted to the peculiar surroundings and minds of his pupils, as distinct from those of the English child. They are, to a far larger extent than English children, men and women in miniature, with the dignity, reserve, and knowledge of life we associate with adults, and to my mind the first thing is to instil a more playful, childish, and fanciful view of life, to encourage games and jollity and a happy outlook, to allow a good deal of freedom of expression, for it is in this way that we can perhaps, to some extent, counteract the effect of listening to conversation quite unsuited, in English opinion, to childish ears, and replace the serious outlook of the grown-up by the candid thoughtless gaiety which is the charm of happy childhood."

"Behula Dancing at the Court of Indra."

The story of Behula, the subject of our frontispiece, was told in the first (January, 1907) number of this Review by Babu Dineshchandra Sen, B.A., Rai Saheb.

Behula is the heroine of the story of Manasa Devi, the goddess of snakes, and her great opponent Chand Saudagar, the merchant-king of Champak-nagar. Chand was a worshipper of the god Siva, who had ordained that until and unless Chand worshipped Manasa, her claims to obtain *pūja* amongst mortals would not be recognised. But neither by gentle persuasion nor by revengeful methods could she prevail upon the merchant to worship her. She reduced him to poverty, killed all his sons, so that the heart-rending lamentations of his six young widowed daughters-in-law filled his house. As the result of the ire of the goddess various other calamities befell him, but he remained firm in his resolve as before. It was predicted by the astrologers that his son Lakshmindra, born after the death of his first six sons, would die of snake-bite on the night of his marriage-day. He, however, had a steel-house made, taking precaution that there was no crevice left in it for even a pin to pass through. The house was, besides, guarded in every possible way from the approach of snakes. But Manasa worked on the fears of the engineer and compelled him to secretly make a small opening in a wall, which he kept stopped with powdered coal. On the night Lakshmindra was married to Behula, the young couple retired to that steel-house, and there the bridegroom died of snake-bite.

"The body of Lakshmindra was taken to the burning-ghat. But Behula insisted that her husband's body should not be burnt. The custom in the country in cases of snake-bite was to place the corpse on a raft made of plaintain trees called a *bhela* and leave it on the river, that perchance the skill of a snake-charmer or a physician might bring it back to life." Behula's arguments were appreciated and a raft was prepared and the corpse of the prince placed thereupon. When it was floated on the river, to the wonder of all assembled there, Behula got on the raft and there sat by the corpse expressing her determination to accompany her husband's body over the waters and not leave it until and unless it was restored to life. People thought she had lost her senses. But neither reproaches, nor taunts, nor entreaties could dissuade her. The raft passed swiftly down the stream. In course of time the corpse began to decompose. But still she sat there.

She washed and cleaned the corpse, she ate nothing, and when her grief was great she wept in her forlorn condition. "In dark nights the winds rose and crocodiles gathered round her raft eager to devour the decomposed body. Jackals came to carry it off when the raft came near the bank, but she was preserved by Providence from their attacks." "Six months passed in this way, the boat touched the ghat of Neta, the heavenly washer-woman, and Behula saw in the fine morning when she came up there, Neta washing clothes on the bank of the river Gangoor." She was prevailed upon to take Behula with her to heaven. "There in the high heaven Behula was ordered to dance before the assembled gods, and Behula did her part so well that the gods were mightily pleased with her, and Manasa was requested by them to restore Lakshmindra to life," which she consented to do.

Industrial Commission not meant specially for the benefit of Indians

At an informal conference with the Madras Chamber of Commerce, Sir Thomas Holland made a speech, in the course of which, as reported by the Associated Press,

Sir Thomas Holland took it for granted the Commission was in no sense a movement for the benefit of Indians as opposed to Europeans or "vice versa." It was intended to find out exactly in what direction there was scope for industrial development, regardless as to whether a European or an Indian undertook the work. He then referred to the part Europeans played in assisting the industrial development of the country in the past and the necessity of their continuing so for many years to come for the initiation of further industries, as Indians were less willing to devote their money to industrial development.

We have never been under any delusion as to the scope or object of the Commission. Sir Thomas Holland's statement serves to dispel any misconception which any one may have had. Indians should take note now, if they have not done so already, that unless Indian capitalists, industrialists and technological experts be up and doing and can take time by the forelock, the net result of the industrial commission will be the further and thorough exploitation of our resources of all kinds by foreign capital.

"A scheme for a large body of Chemists."

Sir Thomas Holland went on to say: One problem of the Commission was the creation of central technical departments which would

enable the Government to carry on where the Commission would leave off. A scheme might well provide the Government of India with a large body of chemists of all kinds. Such a central reservoir of chemists would be able to maintain a well-equipped laboratory and create a chemical atmosphere.

He is also reported to have observed that "Increase of research work led to industries being created even under unfavourable conditions in Europe. For instance, sugar, though a tropical industry, was imported by India from Germany and Austria." Should there be a scheme to provide the Government of India with a large body of chemists of all kinds, it is to be hoped that the services of qualified Indian chemists will be entertained. We have several such. For instance, there is Dr. Hemendra Kumar Sen, D. Sc. (London), who stood first in the first division in Chemistry (Calcutta University, 1911), and subsequently obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship. He has obtained the Doctorate in Organic Chemistry of the University of London (1915). He has contributed many original papers based on his researches to many British and German Journals of Chemistry. Dr. Jocelyn Thorpe, D. Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Organic Chemistry, Imperial College of Science and Technology, writes of him:—"What I wish most particularly to emphasize is that he most certainly possesses the true research spirit combined with very considerable originality of thought. It is certain that this combination in conjunction with the sound knowledge of his subject which I know him to possess, will enable him to attain a high place among Organic Chemists in the near future." From what Dr. Thorpe says further, it is clear Dr. Sen is acquainted with some manufacturing processes and *has discovered one which has been of use to the Admiralty*. Dr. Thorpe writes:—

"After the commencement of the war Dr. Sen devoted his time to the elaboration of a process by which the valuable drug B Eucaine could be prepared in quantity and, at the request of the Admiralty, a considerable quantity of this material was made for them by his process."

Since returning home he has been engaged in elaborating a process for the production of dry, fat-free casein, the principal constituent of Sanatogen, and has obtained good results. It is a pity that the country does not possess

advanced colleges of science with research laboratories, or research laboratories connected with large manufacturing concerns, in sufficient numbers, to utilise and benefit by the expert knowledge of men like Dr. Sen.

A Mysore Deputation to Japan.

When Prof. C. J. Hamilton was sent to Japan by the Government of India to study economic developments there, we suggested that some competent person or persons should be sent by the people of India to Japan for the same purpose; for the official and the European points of view cannot, for obvious reasons, be the same as ours. We are glad to find an idea similar to ours has struck the Government of Mysore. That progressive state has decided to send a deputation of commercial men to Japan "to study the business habits of the Japanese people." The deputation consists of a few merchants and a few officials. We are sure the Mysore Government will instruct the deputation to study also all the methods and means of Japanese industrial development, including the kind and amount of Government encouragement to Japanese commercial and industrial enterprises. We have already some information on the subject in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and other standard works, and in Mr. Lapat Rai's articles in this Review. Prof. Hamilton has not so far made any helpful addition to our knowledge. He has spoken of the "energy and careful organisation" of the Japanese and "of the way in which the cottage industries of Japan are utilising every kind of raw material at their disposal for some kind of definite purpose." Should he add that the Japanese are an energetic people dwelling in a cold country and the Indians a lethargic people inhabiting a tropical country, we ought to be convinced that he had given us our money's worth.

The New Tagore Professor of Law.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayswal, M. A. (Oxon), Barrister at law, has been appointed Tagore Professor of Law for the year 1917. The subject of his lectures will be "Manu and Yajnavalkya—a comparison and a contrast." Mr. Jayswal is a competent Hindu jurist and scholar,

and will, we doubt not, be able to do justice to his subject. He possesses the power to think and interpret for himself, and to shape and give expression to bold and original views, thus striking out a path for himself out of the beaten track.

At the Calcutta University Senate meeting at which the appointment was made,

Mr. Archbold said that he understood that Government had some objection against Mr. Bose. Was that objection still in existence? Before they voted on the subject they were entitled to know whether the Government of India had expressed any opinion on the subject.

The Hon. the Vice-Chancellor said that they had no information on the subject before them.

Mr. Archbold: Then we cannot vote.

The Hon. the Vice-Chancellor: No one is called upon to vote if he has any objection.

Mr. Archbold: Then I oppose the motion.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried.

Mr. Archbold's opposition was not pertinent, as appointments to this particular professorship have never been subject to the previous approval of Government. The snubbing administered to him by the Vice-Chancellor was rather neat.

Famine in Bankura.

The poor people of Bankura seem now to be able to look forward to better days. The recent rainfall has improved the agricultural outlook, and if there be not an untimely cessation of rain there will be a bumper crop in parts of the district and a normal yield in the remaining portions. Help will have to be continued for a few weeks longer, which the Bankura Sammilani may be able to do in its relief-centres with the money left in its hands. As treasurer of the Sammilani, the Editor of this review warmly and sincerely thanks all the kind donors whose contributions have been the means of saving so many lives and relieving so much misery.

Bose Research Institute Studentship Fund.

The suggestion was made in these pages some months ago that the nation's admiration and appreciation of and pride in Dr. Bose's scientific discoveries should take the form of an Institute where further researches could be carried on by him, and a number of selected advanced students could receive guidance and training in research under him. We also suggested that these advanced students should be given Fellowships out of the proceeds of a fund raised for the purpose.

It is a pleasure to find that others have been thinking in the same way with us. The Institute itself, with laboratory, workshop, lecture-hall and an experimental nursery of plants, Dr. Bose is himself providing. The buildings are making rapid progress, and will soon be fit for use. We will not describe them and their adjuncts now.

Dr. Bose has done and is doing his part. The duty of the nation is to provide funds for the Fellowships. An appeal has been issued, influentially signed, to which we invite the serious attention of the princes and people of India, trusting that it will meet with adequate response.

AN APPEAL.

Prof. J. C. Bose has, by his researches, added greatly to the world's store of scientific knowledge. By his discoveries in many fields of science he has practically shown that, though knowledge is manifold, Science is One. In these days of excessive and restricted specialisation, this synthetic view of science is a great service rendered to its cause. Through their great philosophical insight, the sages of ancient India realised the one in the many of the universe. Prof. Bose, by rigorous scientific methods of strictly experimental demonstration, has demonstrated the underlying unity running through what is called the inanimate creation, and the vegetal and animal kingdoms; he has, in fact, largely demolished the walls that were supposed to divide the Living from the Non-Living. "In these remarkable investigations," says a leading scientific journal, "the synthetic intellectual methods of the East co-operate with the analytic methods of the West in a single mind."

Just as in the realm of pure science his researches have opened out new avenues of knowledge,—in Physics, in Physiology, and in Psychology,—so in the sphere of applied science, his discoveries have been considered by competent persons to be fraught with immense possibilities in the fields of Radiotelegraphy, in Medicine, and in Agriculture, some of which have already found practical application.

In modern times, the West leads the world in mechanical and scientific inventions. But even the West now acknowledges that, for the advance of many recondite branches of knowledge, the epoch-making instruments of unprecedented delicacy invented by Dr. Bose are essential.

And these have been made in India by Indian mechanicians trained by him under his special direction. This has proved that even in inventive genius and high mechanical skill India can win a pre-eminent place in the world.

The great service rendered by Dr. Bose to science has demonstrated that Indians are capable not merely of learning but also of teaching experimental science; it has also secured for our country the recognition from leading thinkers of the fact that the store of the world's knowledge will be incomplete without India's special contribution. It is not necessary to describe how this fact has raised India in the estimation of the intellectual world, and how it has stimulated the hope, the courage and the confidence of young India to render by their labours a world-service and thus revive the great traditions of the past.

In the modern realm of science Prof. Bose has boldly essayed to renew that spirit which from time immemorial animated our great ancestors in their never-ending quest to seek an underlying unity amidst bewildering diversity. Thus has been demonstrated the ever-inspiring fact that India has been able, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, to maintain a continuity of her line of seekers and sages.

This has naturally awakened a keen desire in the minds of many Indians that the pride we take in the achievements of our illustrious countryman and the gratitude we feel for his devoted services in raising our country in the estimation of the world should find an adequate national expression. The best form of this is, the establishment and perpetuation of a school of science to hold the meed of recognition which has been so hardly won by the great Indian scientist, and thus keep up a continuous tradition of India's special gift to the world in the realm of science.

For the accomplishment of this great object it is essential that there should be a properly equipped laboratory with its attached workshop, a lecture hall, and a band of advanced students devoted to science to be specially trained under Dr. Bose in his new methods of investigation. The life-long earnings of Dr. Bose have been offered by him for the building of an Insti-

tute where his researches will be continued by himself and his disciples, where his new inventions will be perfected and his new discoveries announced to the scientific world. The Government, in recognition of his contributions in advancing the world's science, has sanctioned a special allowance for five years for the continuation of his work. His old and recent students and other lovers of science have decided that the nation's contributions should take the form of giving opportunities to a dozen advanced students for obtaining a special training under Prof. Bose so that they may devote their whole life to the furtherance of research in the Institute. With this object in view it is proposed to institute twelve studentships of the minimum value of Rs. 100 a month each.

For this purpose it is necessary to collect such an amount as would yield sufficient interest for the payment of these monthly studentships. A Trust Deed* has been prepared, a copy of which is attached herewith. (* Omitted for want of space.)

To all who earnestly desire that science should advance and that India should occupy and maintain an honoured place in the realm of science by her special contributions, we appeal in the hope that there will be a large and adequate response.

ASHUTOSH CHAUDHURI,
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(Maharaja of Susang),
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KAILASH CHANDRA BOSE,
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THE SONG OF THE DEFEATED

My Master has asked of me to stand at the roadside of retreat
and sing the song of the Defeated,
for she is the bride whom He woos in secret.
She has put on the dark veil, hiding her face from the crowd,
the jewel glowing in her breast in the dark.
She is forsaken of the day; and God's night is waiting for her
with its lamps lighted and flowers wet with dew.
She is silent with her eyes downcast;
she has left her home behind her, from where comes the wailing
in the wind.
But the stars are singing the lovesong of the eternal
to her whose face is sweet with shame and suffering.
The door has been opened in the lonely chamber,
the call has come,
and the heart of the darkness throbs with the awe of the
expectant tryst.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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(30) *Evening Songs.*

IN the state of being confined within myself, of which I have been telling, I wrote a number of poems which have been grouped together, under the description of the *Heart-Wilderness*, in Mohita Babu's edition of my works. In one of the poems

subsequently published in a volume called *Morning Songs*, the following lines occur:

There is a vast wilderness whose name is *Heart*;
Whose interlacing forest branches dandle and rock
darkness like an infant.

I lost my way in its depths
from which came the idea of the title of
this group of poems.

Much of what I wrote, when thus my life had no commerce with the outside, when I was engrossed in the contemplation of my own heart, when my imaginings wandered in many a disguise amidst causeless emotions and aimless longings, has been left out of that edition; only a few of the poems originally published in the volume entitled *Evening Songs* finding a place there, under the *Heart-Wilderness* group.

My brother Jyotirindra and his wife had left home travelling on a long journey, and their rooms on the third storey, facing the terraced-roof, were empty. I took possession of these and the terrace, and spent my days in solitude. While thus left in communion with my self alone, I know not how I slipped out of the poetical groove into which I had fallen. Perhaps being cut off from those whom I sought to please, and whose taste in poetry moulded the form I tried to put my thoughts into, I naturally gained freedom from the style they had imposed on me.

I began to use a slate for my writing. That also helped in my emancipation. The manuscript books in which I had indulged before seemed to demand a certain height of poetic flight, to work upto which I had to find my way by a comparison with others. But the slate was clearly fitted for my mood of the moment. "Fear not," it seemed to say. "Write just what you please, one rub will wipe all away!"

As I wrote a poem or two, thus unfettered, I felt a great joy well up within me. "At last," said my heart, "What I write is my own!" Let no one mistake this for an accession of pride. Rather did I feel a pride in my former productions, as being all the tribute I had to pay them. But I refuse to call the realisation of self, self-sufficiency. The joy of parents in their first-born is not due to any pride in its appearance, but because it is their very own. If it happens to be an extraordinary child they may also glory in that—but that is different.

In the first flood-tide of that joy I paid no heed to the bounds of metrical form, and as the stream does not flow straight on but winds about as it lists, so did my verse. Before, I would have held this to be a crime, but now I felt no compunction. Freedom first breaks the law and then

makes laws which brings it under true Self-rule.

The only listener I had for these erratic poems of mine was Akshay Babu. When he heard them for the first time he was as surprised as he was pleased, and with his approbation my road to freedom was widened.

The poems of Vihari Chakravarti were in a 3-beat metre. This triple time produces a rounded-off globular effect, unlike the square-cut multiple of 2. It rolls on with ease, it glides as dances to the tinkling of its anklets. I was once very fond of this metre. It felt more like riding a bicycle than walking. And to this stride I had got accustomed. In the *Evening Songs*, without thinking of it, I somehow broke off this habit. Nor did I come under any other particular bondage. I felt entirely free and unconcerned. I had no thought or fear of being taken to task.

The strength I gained by working freed from the trammels of tradition led me to discover that I had been searching in impossible places for that which I had within myself. Nothing but want of self-confidence had stood in the way of my coming into my own. I felt like rising from a dream of bondage to find myself unshackled. I cut extraordinary capers just to make sure I was free to move.

To me this is the most memorable period of my poetic career. As poems my *Evening Songs* may not have been worth much, in fact as such they are crude enough. Neither their metre, nor language, nor thought has taken definite shape. Their only merit is that for the first time I had come to write what I really meant, just according to my pleasure. What if those compositions have no value, that pleasure certainly had.

(31) *An Essay on Music.*

I was proposing to study for the bar when my father recalled me home from England. Some friends concerned at this cutting short of my career pressed him to send me off once again. This led to my starting on a second voyage towards England, this time with a relative as my companion. My fate, however, had so strongly vetoed my being called to the bar that I was not even to reach England this time. For a certain reason we had to disembark at Madras and return home to Calcutta. The reason was by no means

as grave as its outcome, but as the laugh was not against *me*, I refrain from setting it down here. From both my attempted pilgrimages to *Lakshmi's** shrine I had thus to come back repulsed. I hope, however, that the Law-god, at least, will look on me with a favorable eye for that I have not added to the encumbrances on the Bar-library premises.

My father was then in the Mussoorie hills. I went to him in fear and trembling. But he showed no sign of irritation, he rather seemed pleased. He must have seen in this return of mine the blessing of Divine Providence.

The evening before I started on this voyage I read a paper at the Medical College Hall on the invitation of the Bethune Society. This was my first public reading. The Reverend K. M. Banerji was the president. The subject was Music. Leaving aside instrumental music, I tried to make out that to better bring out what the words sought to express was the chief end and aim of vocal music. The text of my paper was but meagre. I throughout sang and acted songs illustrating my theme. The only reason for the flattering eulogy which the President bestowed on me at the end must have been the moving effect of my young voice together with the earnestness and variety of its efforts. But I must make the confession to-day that the opinion I voiced with such enthusiasm that day was wrong.

The art of vocal music has its own special functions and features. And when it happens to be set to words the latter must not presume too much on their opportunity and seek to supersede the melody of which they are but the vehicle. The song is great in its own wealth, why should it wait upon the words? Rather does it begin where mere words fail. Its power lies in the region of the inexpressible; it tells us what the words cannot.

So the less a song is burdened with words the better. In the classic style of Hindustan† the words are of no account and leave the melody to prefer its plaint in its own way. Vocal music reaches its perfection when the melodic form is allowed to develop freely, and carry our conscious-

ness with it to its own wonderful plane. In Bengal, however, the words have always asserted themselves so, that our provincial song has failed to develop her full musical capabilities, and has remained content as the handmaiden of her sister art of poetry. From the old *Vaishnava* songs down to those of Nidhu Babu she has displayed her charms from the background. But as in our country the wife rules her husband through acknowledging her dependence, so our music, though professedly in attendance only, ends by dominating the song.

I have often felt this while composing my songs. As I hummed to myself and wrote the lines:

Do not keep your secret to yourself, my love,
But whisper it gently to me, only to me.

I found that the words had no means of reaching by themselves the region into which they were borne away by the tune. The melody told me that the secret, which I was so importunate to hear, had mingled with the green mystery of the forest glades, was steeped in the silent whiteness of moonlight nights, peeped out of the veil of the illimitable blue behind the horizon—and is the one intimate secret of Earth, Sky and Waters.

In my early boyhood I heard a snatch of a song:

Who dressed you, love, as a foreigner?

This one line painted such wonderful pictures in my mind that it haunts me still. One day I sat down to set to words a composition of my own while full of this bit of song. Humming my tune I wrote to its accompaniment:

I know you, O Woman from the strange land!
Your dwelling is across the Sea.

Had the tune not been there I know not what shape the rest of the poem might have taken; but the magic of the melody revealed to me the stranger in all her loveliness. It is she, said my soul, who comes and goes, a messenger to this world from the other shore of the ocean of mystery. It is she, of whom we now and again catch glimpses in the dewy Autumn mornings, in the scented nights of Spring, in the inmost recesses of our hearts—and sometimes we strain skywards to hear her song. To the door of this world-charming stranger the melody, as I say, wafted me, and so to her were the rest of the words addressed.

Long after this, in a street in Bolpur, a

* The Goddess of Wealth.

† As distinguished generally from different provincial styles, but chiefly from the Dravidian style prevalent in the South. *Tr.*

(33) *More about the Evening Songs.*

At this time my reputation amongst literary critics was that of being a poet of broken cadence and lisping utterance. Everything about my work was dubbed misty, shadowy. However little I might have relished this at the time, the charge was not wholly baseless. My poetry did in fact lack the backbone of wordly reality. How, amidst the ringed-in seclusion of my early years, was I to get the necessary material?

But one thing I refuse to admit. Behind this charge of vagueness was the sting of the insinuation of its being a deliberate affectation—for the sake of effect. The fortunate possessor of good eye-sight is apt to sneer at the youth with glasses, as if he wears them for ornament. While a reflection on the poor fellow's infirmity may be permissible, it is too bad to charge him with pretending not to see.

The nebula is not outside creation—it merely represents a phase; and to leave out all poetry which has not attained definiteness would not bring us to the truth of literature. If any true phase of man's nature has found true expression, it is worth preserving—it may only be cast aside if not expressed truly. There is a period in man's life when his feelings are the pathos of the inexpressible, the anguish of vagueness. The poetry which attempts its expression cannot be called baseless—at worst it may be worthless; but it is not necessarily even that. The sin is not in the thing expressed, but in the failure to express it.

There is a duality in man. Of the inner person, behind the outward current of thoughts, feelings and events, but little is known or recked; but for all that he cannot be got rid of as a factor in life's progress. When the outward life fails to harmonise with the inner, the dweller within is hurt, and his pain manifests itself in the outer consciousness in a manner to which it is difficult to give a name, or even to describe, and of which the cry is more akin to an inarticulate wail than words with more precise meaning.

The sadness and pain which sought expression in the *Evening Songs* had their roots in the depths of my being. As one's sleep-smothered consciousness wrestles with a nightmare in its efforts to awake, so the submerged inner self struggles to free

itself from its complexities and come out into the open. These *Songs* are the history of that struggle. As in all creation, so in poetry, there is the opposition of forces. If the divergence is too wide, or the unison too close, there is, it seems to me, no room for poetry. Where the pain of discord strives to attain and express its resolution into harmony, there does poetry break forth into music, as breath through a flute.

When the *Evening Songs* first saw the light they were not hailed with any flourish of trumpets, but none the less they did not lack admirers. I have elsewhere told the story of how at the wedding of Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt's eldest daughter, Bankim Babu was at the door, and the host was welcoming him with the customary garland of flowers. As I came up Bankim Babu eagerly took the garland and placing it round my neck said: "The wreath to him, Ramesh, have you not read his *Evening Songs*?" And when Mr. Dutt avowed he had not yet done so, the manner in which Bankim Babu expressed his opinion of some of them amply rewarded me.

The *Evening Songs* gained for me a friend whose approval, like the rays of the sun, stimulated and guided the shoots of my newly sprung efforts. This was Babu Priyanath Sen. Just before this the *Broken Heart* had led him to give up all hopes of me. I won him back with these *Evening Songs*. Those who are acquainted with him know him as an expert navigator of all the seven seas* of literature, whose highways and byeways, in almost all languages, Indian and foreign, he is constantly traversing. To converse with him is to gain glimpses of even the most out of the way scenery in this world of ideas. This proved of the greatest value to me.

He was able to give his literary opinions with the fullest confidence, for he had not to rely on his unaided taste to guide his likes and dislikes. This authoritative criticism of his also assisted me more than I can tell. I used to read to him everything I wrote at the time, and but for the timely showers of his discriminate appreciation it is hard to say whether these early ploughings of mine would have yielded as they have done.

* The world, as the Indian boy knows it from fairy tale and folklore, has seven seas and thirteen rivers. Tr.

(34) *Morning Songs.*

At the river-side I also did a bit of prose writing, not on any definite subject or plan, but in the spirit that boys catch butterflies. When spring comes within, many-coloured short-lived fancies are born and flit about in the mind, ordinarily unnoticed. In these days of my leisure, it was perhaps the mere whim to collect them which had come upon me. Or it may have been only another phase of my emancipated self which had thrown out its chest and decided to write just as it pleased; *what* I wrote not being the object, it being sufficient unto itself that it was *I* who wrote. These prose pieces were published later under the name of *Vividha Prabandha*, Various Topics, but they expired with the first edition and did not get a fresh lease of life in a second.

At this time, I think, I also began my first novel, *Bauthakuranir Hat*.

After we had stayed for a time by the river, my brother Jyotirindra took a house in Calcutta, on Sudder Street near the Museum. I remained with him. While I went on here with the novel and the *Evening Songs*, a momentous revolution of some kind came about within me.

One day, late in the afternoon, I was pacing the terrace of our Jorasanko house. The glow of the sunset combined with the wan twilight in a way which seemed to give the approaching evening a specially wonderful attractiveness for me. Even the walls of the adjoining house seemed to grow beautiful. Is this uplifting of the cover of triviality from the everyday world, I wondered, due to some magic in the evening light? Never!

I could see at once that it was the effect of the evening which had come within me; its shades had obliterated my *self*. While the self was rampant during the glare of day, everything I perceived was mingled with and hidden by it. Now, that the self was put into the background, I could see the world in its own true aspect. And that aspect has nothing of triviality in it, it is full of beauty and joy.

Since this experience I tried the effect of deliberately suppressing my *self* and viewing the world as a mere spectator, and was invariably rewarded with a sense of special pleasure. I remember I tried also to explain to a relative how to see the world in its true light, and the incidental lighten-

ing of one's own sense of burden which follows such vision; but, as I believe, with no success.

Then I gained a further insight which has lasted all my life.

The end of Sudder Street, and the trees on the Free School grounds opposite, were visible from our Sudder Street house. One morning I happened to be standing on the verandah looking that way. The sun was just rising through the leafy tops of those trees. As I continued to gaze, all of a sudden a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes, and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side. This radiance pierced in a moment through the several strata of sadness and despondency which had accumulated over my heart, and flooded it with this universal light.

That very day the poem, *The Awakening of the Watertail*, gushed forth and coursed on like a veritable cascade. The poem came to an end, but the curtain did not fall upon the joy-aspect of the Universe. And it came to be so that no person or thing in the world seemed to me trivial or unpleasing. A thing that happened the next day or the day following seemed specially astonishing.

There was a curious sort of person, who came to me now and then, with a habit of asking all manner of silly questions. One day he had asked: "Have you, sir, seen God with your own eyes?" And on my having to admit that I had *not*, he averred that he *had*. "What was it you saw?" I asked. "He seethed and throbbed before my eyes!" was the reply.

It can well be imagined that one would not ordinarily relish being drawn into abstruse discussions with such a person. Moreover, I was at the time entirely absorbed in my own writing. Nevertheless as he was a harmless sort of fellow I did not like the idea of hurting his susceptibilities and so tolerated him as best I could.

This time, when he came one afternoon, I actually felt glad to see him, and welcomed him cordially. The mantle of his oddity and foolishness seemed to have slipped off, and the person I so joyfully hailed was the real man whom I felt to be in nowise inferior to myself, and moreover closely related. Finding no trace of annoyance within me at sight

of him, nor any sense of my time being wasted with him, I was filled with an immense gladness, and felt rid of some enveloping tissue of untruth which had been causing me so much needless and uncalled for discomfort and pain.

As I would stand against the verandah railing, the gait, the figure, the features of each one of the passers-by, whoever they might be, seemed to me all so extraordinarily wonderful, as they flowed past, waves on the sea of the universe. From infancy I had seen only with my eyes, I now began to see with the whole of my consciousness. I could not look upon the sight of two smiling youths, nonchalantly going their way, the arm of one on the other's shoulder, as a matter of small moment; for, through it I could see the fathomless depths of the eternal spring of Joy from which numberless sprays of laughter lap up throughout the world.

I had never before marked the play of limbs and lineaments which always accompanies even the least of man's actions; now I was spell-bound by their variety, which I came across on all sides, at every moment. Yet I saw them not as apart by themselves, but as parts of that amazingly beautiful greater dance which goes on at this very moment throughout the world of men, in each of their homes, in their multifarious wants and activities.

Friend laughs with friend, the mother dandles her child, one cow sidles up to another and licks its body, and the immeasurability behind these comes direct to my mind with a shock which almost savours of pain.

When of this period I wrote:

I know not how of a sudden my heart flung open
its doors,
And let the crowd of worlds rush in, greeting each
other,—

It was no poetic exaggeration. Rather I had not the power to express all I felt.

For some time together I remained in this self-forgotten state of bliss. Then my brother thought of going to the Darjeeling hills. So much the better, thought I. On the vast Himalayan tops I shall be able to see better and more deeply into what has been revealed to me in Sudder Street; at any rate I shall see how the Himalayas display themselves to my new gift of vision.

But the victory was with that little house in Sudder Street. When, after

ascending the mountains, I looked around, I was at once aware I had lost my new vision. My sin must have been in imagining that I could get still more of truth from the outside. However sky-piercing the king of mountains may be, he can have nothing in his gift for me; while He who is the Giver can vouchsafe a vision of the eternal universe in the dingiest of lanes, and in a moment of time.

I wandered about amongst the firs, I sat near the falls and bathed in their waters, I gazed at the grandeur of Kinchinjinga through a cloudless sky, but in what had seemed to me these likeliest of places, I found it not. I had come to know it but could see it no longer. While I was admiring the gem the lid had suddenly closed, leaving me staring at the enclosing casket. But, for all the attractiveness of its workmanship, there was no longer any danger of my mistaking it for merely an empty box.

My *Morning Songs* came to an end, their last echo dying out with *The Echo* which I wrote at Darjeeling. This apparently proved such an abstruse affair that two friends laid a wager as to its real meaning. My only consolation was that, as I was equally unable to explain the enigma to them when they came to me for a solution, neither of them had to lose any money over it. Alas! The days when I wrote excessively plain poems about *The Lotus* and *A Lake* had gone for ever.

But does one write poetry to explain any matter? What is felt within the heart tries to find outside shape as a poem. So when after listening to a poem any one says he has not understood, I feel nonplussed. If some one smells a flower and says he does not understand, the reply to him is: there is nothing to understand, it is only a scent. If he persists, saying: *that* I know, but what does it all *mean*? Then one has either to change the subject, or make it more abstruse by saying that the scent is the shape which the universal joy takes in the flower.

The difficulty is that words have meanings. That is why the poet has to turn and twist them in metre and verse, so that the meaning may be held somewhat in check, and the feeling allowed a chance to express itself.

This utterance of feeling is not the statement of a fundamental truth, or a scientific fact, or a useful moral precept.

Like a tear or a smile it is but a picture of what is taking place within. If Science or Philosophy may gain anything from it they are welcome, but that is not the reason of its being. If while crossing a ferry you can catch a fish you are a lucky man, but that does not make the ferry boat a fishing boat, nor should you abuse the ferryman if he does not make fishing his business.

The Echo was written so long ago that it has escaped attention and I am now no longer called upon to render an account of its meaning. Nevertheless, whatever its other merits or defects may be, I can assure my readers that it was not my intention to propound a riddle, or insidiously convey any erudite teaching. The fact of the matter was that a longing had been born within my heart, and, unable to find any other name, I had called the thing I desired an Echo.

When from the original fount at its core, streams of melody are sent forth over the universe, their echo is reflected into our heart off the faces of our beloved and the other beauteous things around us. It must be, as I suggested, this Echo which we love, and not the things themselves from which it happens to be reflected; for, that, which one day we scarce deign glance at, may be, on another, the very thing which claims our whole devotion.

I had so long viewed the world with external vision only, and so had been unable to see its universal aspect of joy. When of a sudden, from some innermost core of my being, a ray of light found its way out, it spread over and illuminated for me the whole universe, which then no longer appeared like heaps of things and happenings, but was disclosed to my sight as one whole. This experience seemed to tell me of the stream of melody issuing from the very depths of the universe and spreading over space and time, re-echoing thence as waves of joy which flow right back to the source.

When the artist sends his song forth from the depths of a full heart that is joy indeed. And the joy is redoubled when this same song is wafted back to him as hearer. If, when the creation of the Arch-Poet is thus returning back to him in a flood of joy, we allow it to flow over our consciousness, we at once, immediately, become aware, in an inexpressible manner, of the end to which this flood is streaming. And as we become

aware our love goes forth; and our selves are moved from their moorings and would fain float down the stream of joy to its infinite goal. This is the meaning of the longing which stirs within us at the sight of Beauty.

The stream which comes from the Infinite and flows toward the finite—that is the True, the Good; it is subject to laws, definite in form. Its echo which returns towards the Infinite is Beauty and Joy; which are difficult of being touched or grasped, and so do they make us beside ourselves. This is what I tried to say by way of a parable or a song in *The Echo*. That the result was not clear is not to be wondered at, for neither was the attempt then clear unto itself.

Let me set down here part of what I wrote in a letter, at a more advanced age, about the *Morning Songs*.

"There is none in the World, all are in my heart"—is a state of mind belonging to a particular age. When the heart is first awakened it puts forth its arms and would grasp the whole world, like the teething infant which thinks everything meant for its mouth. Gradually it comes to understand what it really wants and what it does not. Then do its nebulous emanations shrink upon themselves, begin to get heated, and heat in their turn.

To begin by wanting the whole world is to get nothing. When desire is concentrated, with the whole strength of one's being upon any one object whatsoever it might be, then does the gateway to the Infinite become visible. The morning songs were the first throwing forth of my inner self outwards, and consequently they lack any signs of such concentration.

This all-pervading joy of a first outflow, however, has the effect of leading us to an acquaintance with the particular. The lake in its fulness seeks an outlet as a river. Then, instead of trying to engulf, it proceeds to taste in bits. In this sense the permanent later love is narrower than first love. It is more definite in the direction of its activities, desires to realise the whole in each of its parts, and is thus impelled on towards the infinite. What it finally reaches is no longer the former indefinite extension of the heart's own inner joy, but a merging in the infinite reality which was outside itself, and thereby the attainment of the complete truth of its own longings.

In Mohita Babu's edition these *Morning Songs* have been placed in the group of poems entitled *Nishkraman*, The Emergence. For in these was to be found the first news of my coming out of the *Heart Wilderness* into the open world. Thereafter did this pilgrim heart make its acquaintance with that world, bit by bit, part by part, in many a mood and

manner. And at the end, after gliding past all the numerous landing steps of ever-changing impermanence, it will reach the infinite,—not the vagueness of indeterminate possibility, but the consummation of perfect fulness of Truth.

From my earliest years I enjoyed a simple and intimate communion with Nature. Each one of the coconut trees in our garden had for me a distinct personality. When, on coming home from the Normal School, I saw behind the skyline of our roof-terrace blue-grey water-laden clouds thickly banked up, the immense depth of gladness which filled me, all in a moment, I can recall clearly even now. On opening my eyes every morning, the blithely awakening world used to call me to join it like a playmate; the perfervid noonday sky, during the long silent watches of the siesta hours, would spirit me away from the work-a-day world into the recesses of its hermit cell; and the darkness of night would open the door to its phantom paths, and take me over all the seven seas and thirteen rivers, past all possibilities and impossibilities, right into its wonderland.

Then one day, when, with the dawn of youth, my hungry heart began to cry out for its sustenance, a barrier was set up between this play of inside and outside. And my whole being eddied round and round my stricken heart, creating a vortex within itself, in the whirls of which its consciousness was confined.

This loss of the harmony between inside and outside, due to the over-riding claims

of the heart in its trouble, and the consequent restriction of the privilege of communion which had been mine, was mourned by me in the *Evening Songs*. In the *Morning Songs* I celebrated the sudden opening of a gate in the barrier, by what shock I know not, through which I regained the lost one, not only as I knew it before, but more deeply, more fully, by force of the intervening separation.

Thus did the First Book of my life come to an end with these chapters of union, separation and reunion. Or, rather, it is not true to say it has come to an end. The same subject has still to be continued through more elaborate solutions of worse complexities, to a greater finale. Each one comes here to finish but one book of life, which, during the progress of its various parts, grows spiral-wise on an ever-increasing radius. So, while each segment may appear different from the others on a cursory glance, they all really lead back to the self-same starting centre.

The prose writings of the *Evening Song* period were published, as I have said, under the name of *Vividha Prabandha*. Those others which correspond to the time of my writing the *Morning Songs* came out under the title of *Alochana*, Discussions. The difference between the characteristics of these two would be a good index to the nature of the change that had in the meantime taken place within me.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE

CHIPS FROM A HINDU WORKSHOP IN CHINA

By PROFESSOR BENAY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

I. Imperialism and *Laissez faire* in Ancient India.

SAKYASIMHA died in B.C. 483. The political history of India for the next century and a half may be supposed to repeat the story of the old struggle for overlordship, though documentary evidences are wanting. But by B.C. 322, the hegemony of Magadha state is established

and Chandragupta is found to be at its helm. He reigns from B.C. 322 to 298, and his grandson Asoka from 270 to 230.

The period is an epoch of nationalism, of a strong unified rule, and of a vast Imperialistic organisation. "For the first time in the history of India there is one authority from Afghanistan across the continent eastward to Bengal, and from the Himalayas down to the Central Pro-

vinces." The boundaries of this Indian Empire are further extended by Asoka so as to include the whole of Southern India excepting the extreme south which remains feudatory.

The Indian Napoleon commences his life-work by vanquishing the vanity of the barbarian Seleukos, the ruler of the Hellenistic Syria, who had invaded India.

The Year No. I of Chandragupta's Imperialism is his brilliant victory over this *mlechchha* (foreigner). It is with this fact that Indian political history, of which records have been preserved, really begins.

Referring to Greek invasion, however, Matthew Arnold started the superstition, now common to every westerner:

"The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

Even Mr. Vincent Smith, who is generally very sober, devotes a disproportionately large space to Alexander's campaign in his *Early History of India*. Strictly speaking, these researches should be incorporated with the investigations of Professors Mahaffy and Bury and have no place in a textbook of Indian history. The account of Alexander's expedition may loom large to students of Greece as a World-Power but is an incubus on the students of Indian civilisation. Besides, Mr. Smith himself admits that Alexander's enterprise did not leave any impression on India.

India did not "plunge in thought again." Says Rhys Davids:

"At the end of the fourth century B. C., Seleukos Nikator, then at the height of his power, attempted to rival Alexander by invading India. But he met with a very different foe Seleukos found the consolidated and organized empire of Magadha against which all his efforts were in vain. After an unsuccessful campaign he was glad to escape by ceding all his provinces west of the Indus, including Gedrosia and Arachosia (about equal to the Afghanistan of today), and by giving his daughter in marriage to the victorious Emperor of India in exchange for five hundred elephants of war."

Nirvanism of the Sakyasimhas did not militate against the establishment of the Indian Empire and the triumph over a foreign foe. About B.C. 300 India was not only a first-class power but the first power of the world, and Pataliputra, the capital, was the centre of gravity of the international system. The Hindus maintained this position unrivalled for a full century. It was only towards its close that Chinese Imperialism began to share with the In-

dian the same importance as a World-Power. Roman Imperialism was not yet conceived. Neither Sianfu, nor any of the Alexandrias, nor Rome, could thus vie with Pataliputra in its political prestige and diplomatic importance.

A natural concomitant of Imperialism both in China and India was the spirit of eclecticism and *laissez faire* in matters religious. A nation-maker cannot afford to be a dogmatist, a strict follower of the letter, for it is the "letter that killeth."

The great monarchs Chandragupta and Asoka were no hidebound pedants. Whatever their personal faiths, they knew that their function was not to advocate one or other of the prevailing *isms*, but to elaborate a new Imperialistic creed which should be quite independent of all. Their mission was not to be fulfilled by making the State subordinate to one or other of the speculative systems of the age. The *Zeitgeist* was therefore represented not by *Nirvanism*, or *Yogaism* or *Upanishadism*, or *Jainism*, but by the policy of let-alone and non-intervention so far as the people's views were concerned. The State cared solely for the systematic carrying out of a propaganda according to the financial, economic, political and militaristic teachings recorded in the *Arthashastra** of Kautilya.

II. Hindu Bushido and Indono Damashii.

We do not know exactly what was the personal faith of Chandragupta. The followers of Mahavira claim him for a Jaina. According to Hackmann in *Buddhism as a Religion*, "Chandragupta himself was not a Buddhist; he was on far more friendly terms with the Brahmins, and it was the same with his son Bindusara." And those modern scholars, who take their cue from a Schopenhauer, a Matthew Arnold and a Kipling in trying to understand India, need note that Megasthenes, the Head of the Hellenistic Embassy at Pataliputra, observed nothing of the so-called Nirvanism, quietism and pessimism. Says Hackmann:

"From the fragments of them ... we learn as to matters of importance very little about Buddhism. Megasthenes names the Buddhists as 'Sramanai,'

* This difficult Sanskrit work has been translated into English by Mr. R. Shamashastri for the Mysore Government and its materials utilised by Mr. Naren Law in his *Hindu Polity*.

and says that they were opposed to the 'Brahmanai.' But his description of their mode of life is vague, and he seems to mix the Buddhists up with other Indian sects."

This was perfectly natural, because Megasthenes came with his eyes open. He was not obsessed by any preconceived theory. He had not also the hypothesis of his own race as being superior. Rather he knew that he was living as a guest of the first power of the world. By the test of war Megasthenes the Greek belonged to an inferior race—he was the ambassador from a humiliated second-class power.

So in Pataliputra, the city of the East, this representative of the West noticed not the predominance of any non-secular and transcendental speculation but the apotheosis of Imperialism and all-round Eclecticism. The morality of the age can be expressed in the terms of *Sukraniti*, which, though a later compilation, does really represent the *Niti* or rules of life that have been prevalent since the age of Kautilya. The following is a translation from the Sanskrit texts edited by Gustav Oppert for the Government of Madras:

Even Brahmanas should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests. (IV. vii. 599.)

The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods (IV. vii. 601).

The life of even the Brahmana who fights when attacked is praised in this world, for the virtue of a kshatriya is derived also from Brahma. (IV. vii. 606-7).

The death of Kshatriyas in the bed is a sin. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting phlegm and bile and crying aloud is not a Kshatriya. Men learned in ancient history do not praise such a state of things. Death in the home except in a fight is not laudable. Cowardice is a miserable sin. (IV. vii. 606-13).

The Kshatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by family-members deserves death. (IV. vii. 614-15.)

Kings who valorously fight and kill each other in battles are sure to attain heaven. He also gets eternal bliss who fights for his master at the head of the army and does not shrink through fear. (IV. vii. 616-19).

People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battles. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. (IV. vii. 620-21).

The fancies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battles in the hope that he be their husband. (IV. vii. 622-23).

The great position that is attained by the sages after long and tedious penances is immediately reached by warriors who meet death in warfare. (IV. vii. 624-25).

The rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people. (IV. vii. 636-7).

When the Kshatriyas have become clete, and

the people are being oppressed by lower orders of men, the Brahmanas should fight and extirpate them (IV. vii. 666-7).

This *Kshatriyaism* is *Bushido* according to Japanese notions, Chivalry in mediæval European phraseology, militarism in modern parlance. You may call this the spirit of Sparta.

Another aspect of Hindu Chivalry may be described from the authoritative *Laws of Manu*, the Moses of India. This work is generally recognised as older than Chandragupta and may be as old as Sakya (though, in its present form, probably as late as fourth century A.D.):

Let the soldier, good in battle, never guilefully conceal

(Wherewithal to smite the unwary) in his staff the treacherous steel;

Let him scorn to barb his javelin—let the valiant never arboit

With fell-poison juice his arrows, never put fire upon the point.

In his car or on his war horse, should he chance his foe to meet,

Let him smite not if he find him lighted down upon his feet.

Let him spare one standing suppliant, with his closed hands raised on high,

Spare him whom his long hair loosen'd blinds and hinders from to fly,—

Spare him if he sink exhausted; spare it he for life crave:

Spare him crying out for mercy, 'Take me for I am thy slave.'

Still remembering his duty, never let the soldier smite

One unarm'd, defenceless, mourning for one fallen in the fight;

Never strike the sadly wounded—never let the brave attack

One by sudden terror smitten, turning in base flight his back;

He, that flying from battle, by his foe is slaughter'd there,

All the burthen of his captain's sin hereafter shall he bear.

The translation is by Griffith. In these declarations by the Hindu International legists of Manu's School at least 2500 years ago we seem to be reading the latest resolutions of the 'Concert of Europe' at their Hague Conferences and the pious wishes of Peace-apostles like Carnegie.

As with Chandragupta, so with Asoka the contemporary of Shi Hwang-Ti. It is a far cry from the dogma of the historic Sakyasimha to the *Dhamma* proclaimed by Asoka. Besides, Asoka was a nationalist, i.e., an Imperialist first, and a follower of *Dhamma* afterwards.

Imperialists must necessarily be neutral in religious policy and eclectic in personal life unless they choose to fail like a Philip

II of Spain, a Louis XIV of France, an Aurangzib of India, or a James II of England. Asoka's Edicts are therefore neither the fiery fulminations of ban and anathema and a Bull of excommunication:—nor the autocratic proclamations of a so-called state-religion such as was embodied in the Inquisition, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Re-imposition of the Jizya, or the arbitrary Declaration of Indulgence. They are the sober and sedate expressions of a social-service-propaganda and a universal moral sense to which nobody in the world could object. Like his Chinese contemporary, Asoka was harsh towards pedants, e.g., the Brahmanas, and did not like their sacrifices, but had no objection to Brahmanas as such. Rather, he made toleration an important article of his faith.

Such religious neutrality, toleration and eclecticism have been exhibited by the Asoka of Modern Asia. Mutsuhito the Great of Japan is inspired by the same sanity of good sense and liberalism in his formulation of the Educational Rescript which characterises the "Meiji" Era or Epoch of "Enlightenment" in *Dai Nippon*. Like the "enlightened despot" of the third century B.C. the Mikado assumes the position of a schoolmaster. The picture is that of an Emperor, with a *ferula* in hand, administering to the whole empire as to an elementary school homœopathic doses of common-sense morality. The Proclamation is in the right patriarchal style,—comparable in its austere dignity and earnestness with the historic edicts of the Indian Emperor, and breathes the simple eloquence of the "Ten Commandments" though there is no mention of God in it:

"Know ye, Our subjects,

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of our Education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not

only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

This Imperial *Michi*, i.e., "Way" or *Tao* or *Magga* is neither Shintoism nor Confucianism, nor Buddhism, nor Christianity, and yet in a sense it is all. In fact, here is *Yamato Damashii*, the spirit of Japan. So also the *Dhamma* of Asoka embodies *Indono Damashii*, the spirit of Hindustan, rather than any *ism*. It is not necessary to connect or identify Asoka's creed or "way" with any of the *isms* of his day. Like one of his illustrious successors, Akbar the Great, he may be credited with having founded a new faith. Philosophically speaking, it was a practical morality evolved eclectically out of the thousand and one *isms* floating in the air. Historically, it may be traced to the positivistic element in others' teachings as well. Says Rhys Davids:

"The doctrine, as an ideal, must have been already widely accepted. But how sane the grasp of things most difficult to grasp! How simple, how true, how tolerant, his view of conduct and life! How free from all the superstitions that dominated so many minds, then as now, in East and West alike!"

In personal life Asoka may have been a daily reciter of the Pali Tripitaka and a monk of the Sakyan Order. But the statecraft enunciated in his *Dhamma* was not Sakyaism. The *Dhamma* was a distinctively new force meant to govern the life and thought of the day. To ignore this is to ignore the laws of social evolution and ignore the philosophy of history.

It is absurd to suppose that Shintoism or Buddhism explains modern Japan. It is absurd to believe that the primitive Christian doctrine, e.g., "The Kingdom of God is within you," had any significance in Mediæval Europe when Guelphs and Ghibellins were flying at each others' throats in every city and every state. It is childish to think that modern Germany can be understood solely on the strength of such terms as the Classicism of a Goethe, the Idealism and Romanticism of a Fichte and a Pestalozzi, or the *Zollverein* of a Frederick List, without reference to all that the name Bismarck connotes. It is equally absurd to try to explain China

and India of the third century B.C. and after by ignoring the Napoleonism of Shi Hwangti and the Machiavellism of Kautilya and the *Dhamma* of Asoka.

Chandragupta, Asoka, Shi Hwangti and Wu Ti are at least as powerful names in culture-history as Sakyasimha, Mahavira, Confucius and Laotse. They were, in fact, the great protagonists in the drama of contemporary life, having pushed every other character into the back-ground. The old super-annuated doctrines were given the go-by in the *denouement*; so that to the post-Mauryan Hindus and the later Hans the "new sun rose bringing the new year." There was no longer a Sakya the moralist, but a Buddha the god, one of those whom Sakya had most probably repudiated. No longer a Confucius the librarian-sage of Loo, but a Confucius the god, a colleague of Shangti.

III. Internationalism in Western Asia and India in Olden Days.

The ever-fighting city-states of Greece could not protect their freedom against the monarchical resources of Alexander's father, nor did they present a united front against him. So Alexander succeeded Philip to a rich conquest. With him the old spirit of Hellas had no charm. He had no Hellenic traditions. He began his life-work, therefore, by abolishing, first, the republican form of government, and secondly, the parochial nationalisms of the people. Then he started on a world-conquest which was as much intellectual as physical. To students of science his expedition looks like the campaign of modern anthropologists, archaeologists and naturalists. The pupil of Aristotle had mastered his comparative, historical and inductive methods quite well, though he rejected his system of city-states. So throughout his expedition he never forgot to bring about social and marital alliances between East and West, and to facilitate comparisons between facts of the same order by founding libraries, museums, gardens, etc. The whole route began to be dotted with Alexandrias, the nucleuses of race-mixture, culture-fusion, and wedlock between Asia and Europe, the ganglionic centres of an all-round eclecticism.

Alexander with his world-sense was altogether a new phenomenon in history. This conscious internationalism was a new force and left its stamp on Western Asia,

Egypt, and Greece, the principal field of its application, and to a certain extent on India and China. For centuries after the premature death of Alexander in B. C. 320 the spirit of Alexander dominated every part of Asia and Europe. Signs of the bridging of the gulf attempted and partially achieved by this greatest of idealists need be read (though with great caution) in every important item of the world's pre-Christian Culture.

It seems that Chandragupta had caught something of the great conqueror's internationalism, while a mere adventurer in the Punjab. Hence his acceptance of the daughter of Seleukos as wife. The marriage of a Hindu monarch with a Greek princess was an epoch-making event in Indian history like the expulsion of the foreigner. But such marriages were not few and far between in those days. It was probably an epoch of inter-racial marriages. Metropolitan life, e. g., at Pataliputra, was intensely international. Its position as the diplomatic centre of the world naturally made it the headquarters of foreign Embassies. Rhys Davids suggests the following picture :—

"And with the princess and her suite, and the ambassador and his, not to speak of the Greek artists and artisans employed at the court, there must have been quite a considerable Greek community, about B.C. 300, at the distant city on the southern bank of the Ganges."

Mr. Vincent Smith remarks in his *Early History of India* that "the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century B. C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business. Further, "all foreigners were closely watched by officials who provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and in case of need, medical attendance." According to this scholar, Hindu intercourse with Persians was greater than that with Greeks.

Internationalism inaugurated by Chandragupta continued under his successors. According to Lloyd in *The Creed of Half Japan*, while Bindusara (B. C. 297-272) "was on the throne, the king of Egypt sent an embassy, under a certain Dionysus, to Pataliputra; and on one occasion he wrote a letter to Antiochus, king of Syria, asking to have a professor of Greek sent to him. Greek writers speak of him.....that he adopted the Sanskrit title *Amitraghati*, the slayer of his foes."

Asoka also was a great internationalist. He cherished the ambition of being a world-monarch. In the 13th edict we read of his embassies to the kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Kyrene, to the Cholas and Pandyas in South India, to Ceylon and to the peoples dwelling on the borders of his empire. The missionaries sent out by him to various parts of the world were as much secular as religious—at once the St. Augustines, Aleuins and Sir Thomas Roes of Hindusthan. Himself combining the functions of a Caesar and a Pope, Asoka's 'legates,' those 'hands and eyes,' were necessarily the plenipotentiaries and consul-generals for his empire.

Mr. Lloyd gives a detailed account of Asoka's missionary activity.

"These sovereigns and peoples Asoka addresses mainly on two subjects—care for the health and welfare of the people, and 'true conquest' over themselves and their passions." He refers to the "Greek merchants trading and travelling in India, whose votive inscriptions have been found in ancient Buddhist temples in the peninsula."

We read:

"It was to Antiochus I. (of Syria) that Asoka had applied for assistance as to medicinal herbs.* * * In the wars which Antiochus I. waged against the Gauls and Celts.....he had used elephants which he, like his contemporary, Pyrrhus of Epirus, had obtained from Asoka's father, Bindusara....."

Macedonia must have been full of men who had been in Central Asia and India in those days of constant coming and going, and there must have been a great interest taken in things Indian.....

Among the dialogues of Aristippus the founder of the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy, there was one which bore the name of Porus, a name well known among Indian kings.....

Alexandria was connected with India by at least three routes. A certain amount of the overland traffic from China came into Alexandria via Palestine (which was in the Egyptian sphere of influence), and even the superior attractions of Antioch could not kill this commerce, which was, however, more Central and Eastern Asian than Indian. A further contingent of caravans brought in Indian goods via the Persian Gulf, Palmyra (later) and Palestine. The Egyptian ports in the Red Sea had direct communication, without any serious rivals, with the Indian ports at the mouth of the Indus."

Internationalism must have continued during the post-Asokan times also. For Sewall remarks in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II. on the commerce of the period from B.C. 200 to A.D. 250: "There was trade both overland and by sea with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. * * * Pliny mentions vast quantities of specie

that found its way every year from Rome to India." And for the same period in Northwestern India there was great intercourse with Rome during the ascendancy of the Kushans.

(b) CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA.

The early history of the intercourse of China with foreigners is not yet clear. Scholars like Lacouperie have been assiduous in proving the connexion of the Celestials with the Hindus, Persians and Babylonians from pre-Sakyan and pre-Confucian times. Astrological notions, totemistic practices and some of the superstitions, as well as 'the whole Taoistic metaphysics and 'hocuspocus' have been traced to foreign sources. Even the theory has been started that the first Emperor Shi Hwang Ti, the contemporary of Asoka, "was in some way connected" with the Maurya Dynasty of India. And there is a tradition that Buddhism first came to China about B.C. 217. ●

Incontestable evidences are not forthcoming. Hence Hirth, the great authority on the ancient period of Chinese history, is sceptical about any foreign religions of China before Wu Ti's time. And yet he is compelled to criticise himself thus:

"We possess the most plausible arguments for the introduction of foreign influences in Chinese culture at the time when relations with Western Asia were opened under the Emperor Wu Ti at the end of the second century B.C.; but if we examine numerous facts still on record as referring to times immediately preceding the Wu Ti period we are bound to notice that changes of a different kind had come over the Chinese of this as compared with those of the Confucian and pre-Confucian periods. The growing influence of foreign elements from Tsin in the west, Chau in the north, and Chu in the south may account for this. Lau-tzi, as a native of the state of Chu, was born and probably brought up among the southern barbarians."

Further:

"Altogether, readers of the history of Chau, as represented in Ssima-Tsien's account, will receive the impression that it contains various prognostics of that important change in cultural life which became dominant in the age of Tsin Shi Hwang Ti; namely a Tartarised China, the traditional Confucian views of life having been supplanted by Tartar, Scythian, Hunnic or Turkish elements, elements that, whatever name we may give them, had grown out of the national life of Central Asiatic foreigners."

Just as Western Asia plays an important part in Indian history of the 3rd century B.C., so Central Asia, i.e., the regions to the west of China, plays an important part in her history of the period. And Central Asia is also the connecting link

between India and China. Wu Ti formed an alliance with the Yuch Chi or Indo-Scythians against the common enemy, the Huns. Later, to quote Gowen, "the great generals carried the arms of China into Western Asia, caused the banners of Eastern Empire to meet the banners of Rome on the shores of the Caspian, and made a way for the merchants of China to carry their silk and iron into the markets of Europe."

The following is from Parker's *China*:

"A great revolution in thought took place about two centuries before our era; the time coincides with the conquests of the Parthians, and it is possible that Graeco-Roman civilisation was affected by the same wave that influenced China—whatever it was. At all events, there was a general movement and a simultaneous expansion in the world all the way from Rome to Corea. The result was that China now first heard of India, Buddhism, and the Parthians."

Eitel's *Buddhism* also may be quoted:

"Chinese armies had been fighting a series of campaigns in Central Asia and had repeatedly come into contact with Buddhism established there. Repeatedly it happened that Chinese generals, engaged in that war, had occasion to refer, in their reports to the throne, to the influence of Buddhism."

Laurence Binyon in his *Painting in the Far East* speaks of the same foreign intercourse in the following terms:

"In B.C. 200 the Chinese seeking markets for their silk opened communication with Western Asia. A century later the Emperor Wu Ti sent a mission to the same regions. Greek designs appear on the earliest metal mirrors of China. It is possible that in the Chinese fable of the Paradise of the West the myths of the Greeks may be reflected."

The whole epoch beginning with Alexander's accession to the Greek throne and extending for at least three centuries may be presumed to have been one in which race-boundaries were being obliterated, cultural angularities were being rounded off, people's intellectual horizon was being enlarged, and the sense of universal humanity generated. It was a time when the Aristotelians, Platonists, "Cynics" and Stoics were likely to meet the Apocalyptists, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Taoists, *Nirvanists* and Yogaists on a common platform,—when the grammarians and logicians of Alexandria were probably comparing notes with the *Paninians* and *Darsanists* of India, when the herbalists of Asia Minor could hold debates with the Charakan Ayurvedists of Hindusthan, when, in one word, culture was being developed not

from national angles but from one international view-point and placed as far as possible on a universal basis. The courses of instruction offered at the great Universities of the world, e.g., those at Honanfu, Taxila, and Pataliputra, the Alexandrias, and Athens, comprehended the whole encyclopædia of arts and sciences known to both Asia and Europe.

The *literati*, *bhikshus*, magi and *sanyasins* of the East met the mystics, sophists, gnostics and peripatetics of the West at out-of-the-way inns or caravanserais or at the recognised academies and seats of learning. 'Universal-Races-Congresses' and International Conferences of Scientists may have been matters of course, and every man who was of any importance—Hindu, Chinese, Persian, Egyptian, Greek—was necessarily a student of world-culture and a citizen of the world. This intellectual expansion influenced the social systems also in every part of the civilised world. Inter-racial marriages may be believed to have been things of common occurrence, and everywhere there was a *rapprochement* in ideals of life and thought. The world was fast approaching a common consciousness, a common conscience and a common standard of civilisation.

A picture of this fusion of cultures though for a subsequent period is given by Laurence Binyon in his chapter on *Early Art Traditions in Asia*.

"What then do we find in this little, remote kingdom in the heart of Asia? We find sculpture and paintings, we find heaps of letters on tablets of wood; odds and ends of woven stuffs and furniture; and police notices on strips of bamboo. The police notices are in Chinese. The letters are written in a form of Sanskrit. But the string with which the wooden tablets are tied is sealed with a clay seal; and in most cases the seal is a Greek seal, the image of an Athena or a Heracles. Here, then, we touch three great civilisations at once: India, Greece, China....."

If we ask ourselves what affinities these paintings reveal, with what art we can connect them.....we are reminded of features in Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese Painting.....

Will the sculptures tell us more? They at once remind us of other sculpture.....We see what seems a Greek Apollo; and then little by little the Greek features become more Indian; Apollo transforms himself into a Buddha."

The marriage of Asia with Europe—that meeting of "the twain" which is never to be—was thus an accomplished fact in every department of human culture at least 2200 years ago!

IV. The Pioneers of Asiatic Unity.

The fortunes of Buddhism during the period of so-called anarchy in China may be thus described in the word of Hackmann:

"The most striking fact, to which too little notice has so far been given, is that it was not till the beginning of the fourth century A.D. that the Chinese were allowed to become monks in the Buddhist religion. The authorised representatives, therefore, of the new religion were foreigners during the first two and a half centuries. A roll of names of foreigners has been handed down to us who came from India, from the Himalayan states, and from Central Asia, to take charge of Buddhism in China. For a long time their most important labours consisted in translations of the books of the Buddhist Canon.....Till about A.D. 300 the translators were all foreigners (with the exception of one Chinese layman)."

The following is taken from Giles:

"It was not until A.D. 335 that the Chinese people were allowed to take Buddhist orders. This permission was due to the influence of a remarkable Indian priest, named Budhachinga, who reached the capital in A.D. 310.....Buddhism now began to take a firm hold; and under the year 381 we read of a special temple built for priests within the Imperial palace. A further great impetus to the spread of this religion was given by the arrival, about the year 385, of Kumarajiva.....He laboured for many years as a translator, dying in 417.....The work by which he is best known.....is the translation of what is called *The Diamond Sutra*.....which teaches that all objects, all phenomena are illusory, and have no real existence,.....seems to show that faith in Buddha through the Buddhist scriptures can also make a man 'wise unto salvation'.....While Kumarajiva was spreading the faith in China, and dictating commentaries on the sacred books of Buddhism to some eight hundred priests, the famous traveller, Fa Hien, was engaged upon his adventurous journey."

The heroic idealism as well as lofty spirituality which inspired Fa Hien in his arduous journey (A.D. 399-413) were characteristics of the Chinese converts of the day. The following is taken from Legge's translation of Fa-Hien's *Travels*:

"That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of, or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped."

Fa Hien's noble personality can be understood also from the following account of Giles:

"He brought with him a large number of books and sacred relics, all of which he nearly lost in the Bay of Bengal. There was a violent gale, and the ship sprang a leak. As he tells us in his own account of the journey, 'he took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into

the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants on board would throw over his books and images, and accordingly he fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan-shih-yin or Kuan Yin, the Hearer of the Prayers of the World, and prayed to the sainted priests of his own country, saying, 'Oh that by your awful prayer you would turn back the flow of the leak and grant us to reach some resting place!'"

These are the words of a real *bhakta* or lover, be he a Shaiva, a Vaishnava, a Ramaite, a Jaina, or a Buddhist. The Religion of Love and Faith was established in China by genuine Romanticists and self-abnegating devotees of the Fa Hien-type.

With Kumarajiva and Fa Hien, *i.e.*, towards the beginning of the 5th century, we enter a new era of Indo-Chinese relationships. It marks the beginning of an intimate cultural and spiritual union between the two peoples, which, backed by equally deep commercial and political intercourse, has given rise to that composite crystal of human thought known as Asiatic Culture. The land of Sakyasimha and the land of Confucius met at last in a real "Holy Alliance." For the next thousand years (*i.e.* down to about A.D. 1453, the year of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks), the life and activity of human beings from Kyoto to Cairo were governed by one Asiatic science, art and philosophy. This, carried to Europe by Arab intermediaries, became also the foster-mother of that Renaissance, the ultimate results of which we have been witnessing in the world since 1815. That chapter of world's mediæval history has yet to be written.

Hindu culture in general, and Buddhism in particular, may now be said to have come to stay in China. Indianism was no longer a mere "interest" of curious hunters and faddists; but on the fair way to be a permanent factor in Chinese civilisation. According to Hackmann, "perhaps the renown attained by the Chinese Buddhism of that period is best demonstrated by the striking event that in the year A.D. 526 the patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth in the list of the Buddha's successors, left his native land and migrated to China, which thence-forward became the seat of the patriarchate."

V. "World-sense" and Colonising Enterprises of the Hindus.

The Hindus of the fourth, fifth and sixth

centuries were not living in "splendid isolation," as it has been the fashion to suppose that the Asiatics have ever done. As in previous ages, so under the Guptas they kept up cultivating the "world-sense."

In the first place, it must be remembered that India alone is a world by herself—the whole of Europe minus Russia. Therefore, for the Hindus to be able to develop the "India-sense" in pre-steam days must be regarded as an expression of internationalism of high order. Considered territorially, and also in terms of population, the world-sense of the Roman Emperors was not greater than that of the Hindu Imperialists.

The Internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too. It is well-known that the world of Kalidasa's poetry includes the whole of India and also the Indian borderland and Persia. The fact that with the fifth century is augmented the stream of traffic between India and China both by land and sea is itself an indication of the "Asia-sense" they had been developing. It may be said that the Mauryas had cultivated mainly the relations with West-Asia, the Kushans had opened up the Central-Asian regions, and the Guptas developed the Far Eastern intercourse. The Hindus could now think not only in terms of India but of entire Asia.

The larger world beyond Asia was also to a certain extent within the purview of the Hindus. Ever since Alexander's opening up of the West-Asian route, the Hindus had kept touch with the "barbarians." About the first century A.D. Hindu trade with the Roman Empire was not a negligible item of international commerce. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (c. A.D. 100) is a document of that Indo-Roman Intercourse. Both the Kushans in the North and the Andhra Monarchs in the South were interested in Rome.

In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (India, Vol. II.) Sewall describes the foreign trade of the Hindus under the South Indian Andhras (B.C. 200—A.D. 250):

"The Andhra period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this he is confirmed by the author of the *Periplus*. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the peninsula, and especially

in the south. In A.D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge among the friendly coast people of South India and to have settled in Malabar."

The following picture of foreign settlements in Southern India is given by Vincent Smith:

"There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in southern India during the first two centuries of our era, that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, dumb Mlechhas (barbarians), clad in complete armour, acted as body-guards to Tamil kings."

According to the same authority Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya (A.D. 375-413) of the Gupta dynasty was "in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt."

Besides, intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which in Gupta times was nearing completion. In fact, with the fourth century A.D. really commences the foundation of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan in the East to Madagascar in the West. The romantic story of this Expansion of India has found its proper place in Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were all embodiments of the world-sense.

It would thus appear that the travels of Kumarajiva the Hindu Missionary (A.D. 405) and of Fa Hien the Celestial Apostle were facts of a nature to which the Indians had long been used. The Chinese monks came to a land through which the current of world-life regularly flowed. Hindusthan had never been shunted off from the main track of universal culture. To come to India in the age of the Guptas was to imbibe the internationalism of the atmosphere.

Regarding the Indo-Chinese intercourse of this age the following extracts from *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* are interesting:

"Of what took place in the Tartar regions of the north we know little, since their dynasties have not been recognised by Chinese historians as legitimate. The true Celestial annals, indeed the lore of Chinese genius, belong at this time to the stimulus afforded by the new southern conditions. The new capital, near the present Nanking, was on the great Yangtse.....The Southern seats of the Chinese were in closer proximity to a new part of India, the south through Burma, or along the opening lines of coast trade.....It was here, too, in the Southern

Chinese nests, that Buddhism could drop her most fertile germs."

It may be mentioned that the patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian Prince, reached Canton by sea and was then invited to Nanking (A.D. 520).

The above is a picture of the sea-traffic. References to this are to be found in the *Kwai-Yuen Catalogue* (A.D. 730) of the Chinese *Tripitaka* which has been drawn upon by Prof. Anesaki for his paper in the J.R.A.S. (April, 1903).

It must not be forgotten, besides, that Kucha and Khotan, the halfway house between India and China, remained all this while the great emporium of Hindu culture and Graeco-Buddhist art. Manuscripts, unearthed by Stein and others, both in Kharoshthi and Chinese scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from 3rd century A.D. to 8th or 9th. And it was the Central Asian land-route which was traversed by Fa Hien in A.D. 399 and later by Hsuen Tshang in A.D. 629 on their way to India, from which both returned home by sea.

VI. Comparative Chronology and Comparative History.

A parallel study of the dates and facts of political history of the Chinese and Hindu as well as the European races from earliest times down to 1815 (and even 1870) would bring out the facts:

1. That there have been at least as many instances of strong and centralised rule in the Orient as in the Occident; and necessarily as many periods of anarchy also.

2. That the durations of unified administrations have been equally long or short both in China and India as well as in Europe.

3. That Chinese and Hindu history as well as the history of other Asiatic peoples can present no fewer Alexanders and Napoleons than the history of European races.

4. That Asiatic aggressions upon Europe have been at least as frequent as the inroads of European races into the East.

5. That the defeat and expulsion of foreign invaders by Asiatic peoples are as solid facts of oriental history as the retreat of Persian, Saracen, Tartar and Turkish nationalities from the heart of Europe.

6. That the cases of successful resistance of enemies' military inroads in Asiatic or European history cannot be convenient-

ly explained away as instances of home-keeping conservatism, or desire for "splendid isolation," or absence of international spirit on the part of any people.

7. That the ability to bring within the pale of one culture three hundred or four hundred millions of people indicates as great "aggressiveness" on the part of the Hindus or the Chinese as the ability to spread a common civilisation among the heterogeneous races of Europe on the part of the Westerners.

8. That if twenty, thirty, or forty millions be the human basis of a 'nationality,' as has been the case in the West during the last forty years, Asiatic peoples have always given rise to such nation-states.

9. That fratricidal and internecine wars between peoples of the same race and religion have been at least as frequent in the West as in the East.

10. That instances of one Asiatic people dominating another have not been greater than those of the exploitation or "government of one people by another" in Europe.

11. That in ancient and mediæval times the nations of Asia have had knowledge about one another as much as or as little as the nations of Europe about themselves.

12. That the ignorance of Europeans regarding the Asiatics in ancient and mediæval times has been, to say the least, as profound as that of the Asiatics regarding the Europeans.

13. That 'splendid isolation' was equally true of both Asiatics and Europeans.

14. Hatred of foreigners was as powerful in the West as in the East; such terms as "barbarians" "heathens," "infidels," "vile Turk" "nigger," etc., are found in non-oriental languages.

15. Besides, the morals and manners of the Court of Peking have been out-Pekinged in lands other than Cathay. Thus Macaulay speaks of court-life in England under the Stuarts with his characteristic eloquence in his *Essay on Milton*:

"Then came those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave. The King cringed to his rival that he might trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insult, and her more degrading gold. The caresses of harlots and the jests of buffoons regulated

the policy of the state. The Government had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute. The principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the anathema maranatha of every fawning dean. In every high place, worship was paid to Charles and James, Belial and Moloch, and England propitiated those

obscene and cruel idols with the blood of her best and bravest children. Crime succeeded to crime, and disgrace to disgrace, till the race accursed of God and man was a second time driven forth, to wander on the face of the earth, and to be a by-word and a shaking of the head to the nations."

PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN INDIA—THEIR FATE

THE fourth centenary of the death of Affonso of Albuquerque was recently celebrated in the Portuguese Colonies in India. It was made the occasion for a demonstration of good feelings between the Portuguese in the Continent and the Colonies—feelings which, of course, arise from the sense of common citizenship.

The figure of Albuquerque still stands clear in the light of history over the wreck of the past. He is a man whom the Portuguese regard as the founder of a well-nigh forgotten empire, the establisher of their national faith in the East. The centenary made, therefore, its appeal on the one side to the patriotism of Portuguese and on the other side to the religious beliefs and aspirations and hopes of the majority of Portuguese.

It is interesting to note that a Provincial Congress met in Goa last April. It was attended by the representatives of the municipalities, village communities and other local bodies. The Congress was summoned by Dr. Couceiro da Costa the Governor-General of Portuguese India, whose administration has inspired a wide measure of general confidence. Imbued with a hearty sympathy for the grievances and aspirations of the people he governs, he appointed a Provincial Congress Committee selected impartially from men of all political opinions to promote this Congress; and it is significant, the fact that the Congress was to meet for the first time on the fourth centenary of the death of Albuquerque, whose memory ranks in the minds of the people of Portuguese India among the greatest of Portuguese who have fought to secure for them justice and privileges that they should enjoy as Portuguese.

Humiliating as is the confession, it

must be owned that Portugal with all which that word suggests, is haunted from time to time by heroic visions. Whenever the evils of her condition cry aloud for redress, there kindles in the mind of the nation the desire of emulating the renown of her great ancestors. Interested in past things, because they happened but not because they are still powerfully affecting the nation, Portugal remembers her ancient exploits of valour, and makes most of her annals—annals which attract the scholar and challenge the attention of the political inquirer, but nevertheless annals that portray at once the cradle and the grave of Portuguese greatness. This contemplation of the past, without penetrating the recesses of bygone ages with intelligent skill, has given birth to serious evils. It has, indeed, stood in the way of the development of a true and healthy national life. And if history be rightly defined as philosophy teaching by examples, there are not many instances such as Portugal affords of wilful disregard of its repeated lessons.

The East Indies enabled Portugal to keep up a certain grandeur. The expeditions of Vasco de Gama, the conquests of Albuquerque and the bravery of Duarte Pacheco raised Portugal to a pitch of wealth and power that excited the admiration of the whole world. But all at once, this ephemeral greatness vanished. The Portuguese dominion in the East rested upon two ruinous bases, a navy which could easily be equalled, and men who became insensible to the calls of honour.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, sought to subordinate all else to sea-power. "Almeida" says Osorio, the chronicler of King Manuel I,

"judged that there would be little security if the Portuguese assailed the cities of India from the danger of dividing their forces and weakening them. Therefore, his counsel was to hold the sea, for he considered that the master of the sea was master of the whole India." The policy of Almeida was supported at the Court of Lisbon by Duarte de Lemos and Goncalo de Sequeira. The Portuguese captains in India advocated it "in language," says Morse Stephens, "which vividly recalls that used by the English East India Company two centuries and a half later." These views, however, were not held by Albuquerque who had been entrusted by his sovereign with the scheme of founding an Empire in the East. "Animated by the higher hopes which great minds are usually accustomed to conceive," says the chronicler Osorio, "he thought of the means not only of assuring the affairs of the Portuguese for a few years, but also of gaining a firm footing for their domination, which he assured himself would be very widely extended in the future."

Albuquerque, within the short period of five years (1507-11), succeeded in establishing the Portuguese supremacy in the East. He took Goa, a flourishing place for commerce, by reason of the excellence of its harbour, which he chose for the capital of the Eastern Empire; he made himself master of Ormaz, which commanded the narrows through which the trade with Persia and through Persia with Europe had to pass; he captured Malacca, the key of the navigation of the Indian archipelago, which commanded the narrows between Sumatra and Malay Peninsula and thus let Portugal appropriate all the trade which the Arabs had carried for nearly six centuries. Brought up at the Court of King Affonso V, in whose palestra, "he strove emulously," to quote Barbosa Machado, "to become the rival of that African Mars," Albuquerque even hoped to induce the famous Prester John to divert the Nile into the Red Sea and so to starve Egypt. He also sketched the course of a campaign designed to redeem Palestine.

The Portuguese set out to break up the barriers which the followers of the Crescent had raised up between the people of Europe and the races inhabiting Asia. They were, therefore, so much accustomed to think of Portugal as supreme—a

supremacy which was but of Yesterday—that they sometimes forgot that they were confronted with a civilisation older than that of Europe. Vasco de Gama's gifts, for instance, to the Zamorin of Calicut comprised such articles as washing basins, casks of oil and strings of coral—goods which might be sent to an African chief but seemed hardly proper to a powerful Hindu ruler! Albuquerque's imperial policy, however, attested his profound respect for political morality and his knowledge of political obligations. He, no doubt, tortured prisoners surrendered at Goa, cut off the ears and noses of defenceless fishermen in the Red Sea and planned the murder of Rais Ahmad. But, nevertheless, he took into account the different social conditions and political necessities of India. The union of judicial and revenue functions which is today adopted by the British in India, had been adopted by Albuquerque in his scheme of settlement of Goa. The co-operation of the Indians with European officials was a part of his policy. Albuquerque likewise understood the value of Indian troops. In his expedition to the Red Sea, he employed 800 soldiers. He did away with the custom of the *Suttee*—the burning of the widow—a custom not abolished in British India until 1829. But above all Albuquerque maintained intact the constitution of the village communities into which Goa was divided; and shortly after his death a code called *Foral de Usos e Costumes* was compiled to serve as a guide to his successors.

But the conquests of the Portuguese ceased with Albuquerque. By 1505 the Empire he founded became dependent on subsidies from the Royal Treasury in Lisbon! Meantime the war between the Turks and Egyptians, which allowed the Portuguese to develop in the East had ended in 1517 with the overthrow of the Mameluke dynasty.

"Evils increased and good things diminished," wrote the chronicler Gaspar Correia in his *Lendas da India*, which embraces the events of the years 1494-1550, "so that almost the whole became a living evil and the historian of it would rather be called the imprecator than the writer of illustrious deeds." The administration of the Eastern Empire became a hotbed of knavery and corruption. Money was extorted for safe conducts at sea and trading licences and this formed, indeed, a very im-

portant portion of the revenue; the Portuguese exacted a considerable contribution from the native states; and the Crown lands in India yielded an enormous income. All this wealth, however, was no longer regarded as national revenue. "The royal revenue," says Faria e Sousa, the historian of the Portuguese deeds in the East, "should have been double but it was reduced by frauds"—frauds which cannot be remembered now without shame and sorrow. Bent on enriching themselves as speedily as possible the Portuguese officials resembled a flock of vultures battling over a corpse. "All the officers", says Faria e Sousa, "have great salaries besides their lawful profits and their more considerable frauds, though their salaries are enough to make them honest; but avarice knows no bounds." It was, indeed, disgraceful, the state into which Portuguese rule fell, when it began to be weak as well as wicked. "Robbery is so public and common", were the words of Francis Xavier the Apostle of the Indies, writing to a brother Jesuit on June 22, 1545 "that it hurts no one's character and is hardly counted a fault: people scarcely hesitate to think that what is done with impunity cannot be bad to do." These were the principles on which the Portuguese governed the East Indies.

But worse still, this unbridled tyranny went hand in hand with religious bigotry and crass ignorance. The affection the Portuguese formerly entertained for their municipal institutions and Cortes was transferred to the tribunal of the Inquisition, which destroyed the former manliness of Portuguese and fitted them for despotism. "I do not know," wrote the Viceroy Joao de Saldanha de Gama, "under what law the Inquisition pretends to have the right to try men who were never Catholics, but what I see is that on account of excessive number of prisoners of this description all the northern province is depopulated, the admirable factory of Thana is lost, and a corresponding one is commenced at Bombay from whence the English take silks, woolen goods and other merchandise which they introduce into Portugal." The Portuguese sank and stranded the ships of the so-called heathen, burned their temples, trampled on their books and threw them into flames. This truculent ruffianism pretended to be animated by the crusading spirit. But the Portuguese had sunk in more debasing idolatry. Martim Affonso

de Sousa, Governor of India from 1542 to 1545, when informed that the Conjeeveram Temples of Vijayanagar contained a fabulous treasure thought it was *not unchristian* to spoil the heathen of their ill-gotten gains.

Portugal owed her greatness to religious ideals. Her whole history shows no works of genius except such as were influenced by sacred enthusiasm. It was religion that formed the earliest basis of national union; it gave first the idea of an united Portugal. It was not merely cherished as a form of faith, but as a principle of honour. It was a part of national history. It is impossible not to note the religious faith which shines in the granite pillars in lands discovered by the Portuguese navigators, where are sculptured the Royal Arms of Portugal and a cross set up in sign that the territory belonged to a Christian King. In visiting Portugal to-day and asking to be directed to the greatest and the only works of Art the traveller is confronted with the monuments of this faith, monuments associated with a long and varied national life. When I approached these monuments I saw built and carven in stone the heroic age of Portugal. Time has scarcely touched the solid masonry. Alcobaca, which commemorates the origin of Portugal, was founded with the spoils gained by the first King of Portugal in his wars with the Moors. The Abbey of Batalha was built to commemorate the victory of the people and its chosen King; and here were preserved the helmet and sword worn by the Portuguese King at Aljubarrota. The Church of Jeronimos, that historical monument that calls up the soul of Portugal to those who now behold its corpse, was built in memory of the discovery of a new way to India.

But once the inspiring poetry of religion was destroyed the nation immersed itself in material facts. "The Portuguese," were the words of the great Viceroy Dom Jono de Castro, "entered India with the sword in one hand and the Crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the Crucifix to fill their pockets." Dom Jono de Castro died in the arms of his friend the Jesuit Francis Xavier. The cause of his death according to Faria e Sousa "was a disease which today kills no man.....for diseases also die. It was a keen sense of the wretched state to which

India had come and of his own inability to repair it."

The Portuguese supported with the edge of their swords their trembling Empire. Dom Francisco da Gama, the Viceroy of India, received orders to levy 2 per cent. consular duties at certain ports "with a view of raising a fund for the equipment of a fleet" to turn out of India the Dutch—a danger which was foreseen from the first by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of India. His presentiment was now an accomplished fact! Ormuz was lost to the combined Persian forces in 1622. Muscat was wrested from the Portuguese by the Arabs in 1650. Malacca was lost in 1641. Colombo fell in 1656. Ceylon was taken away in 1658. In 1673 the settlement of Hugli in Bengal was attacked by the forces of the Mogul Shah Jehan, which was a blow to the Portuguese prestige in the East.

The dream of Greater Portugal was over but the effects remained. The geographical discoveries and conquests in the East deprived Portugal of the best part of her population and also expended her resources almost to the verge of exhaustion. But while Portugal was drained of its best men, hordes of negro slaves were imported to fill the vacancies especially in the South. "It would have been interesting to learn the views of Senhor de Braganca Cunha upon the subject of miscegenation which some authorities have credited with a bearing upon the case," wrote the London daily, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, suggesting the short brilliance of the Portuguese in history as a phenomenon worthy of investigation. The Portuguese intermarried freely with the slaves and this infusion of foreign blood was, indeed, one of the most remarkable phenomena following the Age of the Heroes and one of the most momentous in its results. A degenerate race of half-castes was bred in the very heart of the Empire, while citizens of Portuguese blood, proud of their allegiance to the Portuguese throne and the right to the Portuguese flag, in dying to Portugal lived to mankind.

Portugal was long deprived of her colonial supremacy but her flag still flies in Africa and Asia, and these remnants of an Empire which found itself reckoned in history as the "Empire of Lost Opportunities" have even in her decline contributed something to her distinction. The Portu-

guese still speak of their remaining possessions in India as the "brightest jewels in the Portuguese diadem," but they use a metaphor which has come down to them from days which have long passed away.

What Vogel said in 1860 is still not inapplicable to the Portuguese colonies. "From whatever point of view one regards the Portuguese colonies, their present condition," he wrote, "appears more deplorable than that of the mother country. Their economical century is three centuries behind hand and the former grandeur of the Portuguese dominion in the Indies has left no traces but ruins. The invariably weak and imperfect development of their natural resources has not only remained stationary but everywhere it languishes for want of hands, industry and capital. The administration is badly ordered and too much abandoned to itself. The restraint of a vigilant and vigorous control is wanting. The elements of which it is composed are not entirely free from the reproach of venality and cupidity and they do wrong through want of energy and enlightenment"(a). The truth is that Portugal has not opened her eyes to a fact she still ignores; that Portugal cannot hold the heritage bequeathed her from a distant past, unless she expands her dominion from historic settlements, and outlines a policy consistent with the laws of colonial government or of political economy—a policy which will not lead to the flight of thousands of emigrants from Portuguese India to foreign lands. The jealous and monopolizing spirit which governs the conduct of Portugal towards her dependencies, has only served to enrich her rivals and retard their industrial development. Ferreira d'Almeida, however, proposed in Parliament the sale of Portuguese possessions which he thought increased Portugal's embarrassment rather than add to her prestige. The ex-Minister of Marine and Colonies had no argument to produce but that "colonies do not pay." Things were in this posture when the implantation of the Portuguese Republic came to announce that the new movement of regeneration under republican auspices, would inspire the Portuguese in the Continent with an appreciation at once proud and fond of those kindred communities from which they are divided by oceans but

(a) Vogel Le Portugal et les Colonies, Paris, 1860.

no longer by sentiment. The Revolution of 1910 was proclaimed as a new era in the Portuguese colonial history; a new and better order of things was announced and the colonies were promised colonial autonomy. But the disillusion which followed was sudden and complete. The Republic, people hoped, would lay bare the wounds of the Portuguese parasitism with a view to their treatment and cure. But the Portuguese Revolution had produced hundreds of "heroes" who in any country would have furnished the subject for a comic opera. The most promising shooting became an act of heroism worthy of Albuquerque, Castro and Pacheco in the everyday language of the Republican Press. They had to be accommodated. Duarte Leite, the Republican Minister of Finance, dramatically announced that he was unable to pay the "enormous salaries" assigned by the Revolutionary Government to the so-called "heroes" and others who prefer living upon politics to earning a livelihood by honest industry. Anyway, the Colonies soon discovered they were doomed to be an asylum for the vast and rapacious tribe of functionaries who devour the revenue of the State and the resources of the Colonies.

Comedy was, moreover, mingled with tragedy. The Portuguese Republicans precipitated themselves into the policy of an out-of-date Jacobinism. If any proof were needed that the real moving spirit at the back of the Republic was fanatically Jacobin, it would be found in the words of the Republican Minister who drafted the recent Separation Law of Church and State. He openly declared that "within three generations after the passing of the Separation Law, the Catholic religion will be annihilated in Portugal." These utterances need no comment. They recalled of course the inordinate vanity of the ignorant Portuguese knight-errant which appears to exercise so great an influence on the decisions of some Portuguese who still fight moorish phantoms in some national

assembly or political arena to win no prize but barren honour. Unfortunately the education the greater part of Portuguese politicians receive at the mediaeval University of Coimbra—on the anvil of which the Portuguese are still hammered into statesmen—is of the most cramping and bigoted character that turns them out narrow, intolerant, drunk with power and unscrupulous in using it. Be that as it may, Republican Portugal cut herself adrift as a nation from the Church but wished to enjoy the prestige and influence that came as a gift from Rome. The Portuguese Republicans broke the Concordat without any regard to the good faith due to treaties. But jealous of their prerogative they stooped to claim the rights of Patronage in the East, granted to Portugal in view of Apostolic Bulls dating back to the days of Popes Nicolas V, Alexander VI and Gregory XIII and secured to the nation in conformity with the Canons of the Roman Catholic Church. In other words, they still cling to the Concordat signed in 1859 which was slightly modified in 1886 by which it was agreed that the Portuguese rights of Patronage should be exercised as regards India and China over the Cathedrals of Goa, Cranganore, Mylapore, Cochin and Macau.

Such is the plight of the Portuguese Colonies, remnants of an Empire which drew some of the Mother Country's best blood and which is still regarded with a certain patriotic reverence as the best episode in Portuguese history. The Portuguese, to whose hands are now committed the destinies of the country, are perhaps to be commiserated even more than they are to be blamed. This sentiment of pity will, I am sure, gain strength as in the development of the Portuguese tragedy, it shall hereafter appear how in deluding themselves they have failed to delude anybody else.

V. de BRAGANCA CUNHA.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN JAPAN

BY RAI SARAT CHANDRA DAS BAHADUR.

BABYHOOD.

TO the Japanese the birth of a baby, whether it be a girl or a boy, is the cause of much rejoicing. As soon as the event takes place, a special messenger is sent to notify relatives and intimate friends. All persons thus notified must make an early visit to the new-comer, taking with them some present. Toys, pieces of cotton, silk, crepe for the baby's dress are regarded as suitable. Before the seventh day the baby receives its name. There is no special ceremony connected with it. The household keep a holiday in honour of the event. A festival dish of rice cooked with red beans denoting good fortune is partaken of on the 7th day. The father usually names the child. Names of beautiful objects in nature, such as plums, snow, sunshine, lotus, lilies, gold, &c., are commonly used for girls, while boys (generally among the lower classes) are given the appellations of stone, bear, tiger, &c.

The distinction between the dress of the boy and the girl is marked even in babyhood. A very young baby wears red and yellow, but soon the boy is dressed in blues, greys, greens, and browns; while the little girl still wears the most gorgeous of colours and the largest patterns in her garments, red being the predominant hue. The sex, even of a young baby, may be distinguished by the colour of its clothing.

To the Japanese the normal way for a baby to sit is with its knees bent under it, and so, at a very early age the muscles and tendons of the knees become flexible. The girls continue this habit of sitting on knees to young and old age but boys learn other methods of sitting as on chairs or squatting on the floor on cushions, but women never change their method of sitting, which must always be on the knees.

The Japanese baby's first lessons in walking are taken under favourable circumstances. With feet comfortably shod in mitten-like sock, they can tumble about as they like, with no bump or bruise, upon

the soft matted floors of the dwelling houses which are always devoid of stools, chairs, tables, &c.

After learning how to walk, the baby's first attempts out of door begin with the use of *geta*, a light straw sandal or small wooden clog attached to the foot by a strap passing between the toes. Babies of two or three trot about comfortably in *geta*, though they seem to give insecure footing.

GIRLHOOD.

The Japanese little girl's place in the family is a pleasant one: she is the pet and plaything of father and elder brothers, and she is never saluted by any one in the family, except her parents, without the title of respect due to her position. If she is the eldest daughter, to the servants she is *O Jo Sama*, literally, young lady; to her own brothers and sisters, *Ne San*, elder sister. Should she be one of the younger ones, her given name, preceded by the honorific *O* and followed by *San*, meaning Miss, will be the name by which she will be called by younger brothers and sisters, and by the servants. As she passes from babyhood to girlhood, and from girlhood to maidenhood she is the object of much love and solicitude; but she does not grow up irresponsible or untrained to meet the duties which maidenhood will surely bring to her. She must then learn all the duties that will fall upon the wife and mother of a Japanese household, as well as obtain the instruction in books and mathematics that is coming to be more and more a necessity for the woman of Japan. She must take a certain responsibility in the household; must see that tea is made for the guests who may be received by her parents. Every morning there are the beds to be rolled up and stored away in cells made in a bedside wall, the mosquito nets to be taken down, the rooms to be swept, dusted and aired before breakfast. Besides this, there is the washing and polishing of the *engawa* or piazza which runs

around the outside of a Japanese house between the *shoji* or paper screens that serve as windows, and the *amalo* or sliding shutters, that are closed only at night, or during heavy, driving rains. Breakfast is to be cooked and served, dishes to be washed; and then perhaps there is marketing to be done either at shops outside or from the vendors of fish and vegetables who bring their huge baskets of provisions to the door; but after these duties are performed, it is possible to sit down quietly to the day's work of sewing, studying, or whatever else may suit the taste or necessities of the housewife. Of sewing there is always a good deal to be done, for many Japanese dresses must be taken to pieces whenever they are washed, and are turned, dyed, and made over again and again, so long as there is a shred of the original materials left to work upon.

As our little girl emerges from babyhood she finds the life opening before her a bright and happy one, but one hedged about closely by the proprieties, and one in which, from babyhood to old age, she must expect to be always under the control of one of the stronger sex. Her position will be an honourable and respected one only as she learns in her youth the lesson of cheerful obedience, of pleasing manners and of personal cleanliness and neatness. Her duties must be always either within the house, or if she belongs to the peasant class, on the farm. There is no career or vocation open to her! She must be dependent always upon either father, husband or son, and her greatest happiness is to be gained not by cultivation of intellect, but by the early acquisition of self-control, which is expected of all Japanese women to an even greater degree than of the man. This self-control must consist not simply in the concealment of all the outward signs of any disagreeable emotion,—whether of grief, anger, or pain,—but in the assumption of a cheerful smile and agreeable manner under even the most distressing of circumstances. The duty of self-restraint is taught to the little girls of the family from the tenderest years; it is their great moral lesson, and is expatiated upon at all times by their elders. The little girl must sink herself entirely, must give in always to others, must never show emotions except such as will be pleasing to those about her: this is the secret of true politeness and must be

mastered if the woman wishes to be well thought of and to lead a happy life. The effect of this teaching is seen in the attractive but dignified manners of the Japanese women, and even of the very little girls. They are not forward nor pushing, neither are they awkwardly bashful; there is no self-consciousness, neither is there any lack of *savoir faire*; a childlike simplicity is united with a womanly consideration for the comfort of those around them.

MAIDENHOOD.

In the opinion of Lafcadio Hearn, the celebrated writer on Japan, a Japanese woman is "the sweetest type of woman the world has ever known." Now-a-days in Japan maidens generally remain engaged in study in Colleges and Schools. Among the humbler classes in farms and villages the maidens have domestic works to do. Leisure they have little. There is washing too, to be done, although neither with hot water nor soap; and in the places of ironing, the cotton garments which are usually washed without ripping, must be hung up on a bamboo pole passed through the arm holes and pulled smooth and straight before they dry; and the silk always ripped into breadth before washing must be smoothed while wet upon a board which is set in the sun until the silk is dry.

Then there are the everyday dishes which our Japanese maiden of better and richer class must learn to prepare. The proper boiling of rice is in itself a study. The construction of the various soups which form the staple in the Japanese bill of fare; the preparation of *mochi*, a kind of rice which is prepared at the New Year, or to send to friends on various festival occasions; these and many other branches of the culinary art must be mastered before the young girl is prepared to assume the cares of married life.

But though the maiden's life is not without its duties and responsibilities, it is also not at all lacking in simple, and innocent pleasures.

There are occasional all-day visits to the theatre, too, where, seated on the floor in a box, railed off from those adjoining, our maiden in company with her mother and sisters, enjoys, though with paroxysms of horror and fear, the heroic historical plays which are now almost all that is left

of the heroic old Japan. Here she catches the spirit of passionate loyalty that belonged to those days, forms her ideals of what a noble Japanese woman should be willing to do for her parents or husband, and comes away taught, as she could be by no other teachings, what the spirit was that animated her ancestors,—what spirit must animate her, should she wish to be a worthy descendant of the women of old.

Among these surroundings, with these duties and amusements, our maiden grows to womanhood. The unconscious and beautiful spirit of her childhood is not driven away at the dawn of womanhood by thoughts of beaux, of coming out in society, of a brief career of flirtation and conquest, and at the end as fine a marriage, either for love or money, as her imagination can picture. She takes no thought for these things herself, and her intercourse with young men, though free and unconstrained, has about it not a grain of flirtation. When the time comes to her to marry, her father will have her meet some eligible young man, and both she and the youngman will know, when they are brought together, what is the end in view, and will make up their minds about the matter. But until that time comes, the modest Japanese maiden carries on no flirtations, thinks little of men except as higher beings to be deferred to and waited on, and preserves the child-like innocence of manner, combined with serene dignity under all circumstances that is so noticeable a trait in the Japanese woman from childhood to old age.

The Japanese maiden is, under this discipline, a finished product at the age of sixteen or eighteen. She is pure, sweet and amiable, with great power of self-control and a knowledge of what to do upon all occasions. The higher part of her nature is little developed; no great religious truths have lifted her soul above the world into a clearer and higher atmosphere, but as far as she goes, in regard to all the little things of daily life she is bright, industrious, sweet-tempered, and attractive, and prepared to do well her duty, when that duty comes to her, as wife and mother and mistress of a household. The highest principle upon which she is taught to act is obedience, even to the point of violating all her finest feminine instincts, at the command of father

or husband; and acting under that principle, she is capable of an entire self-abnegation such as few women of any race can achieve.

With the close of her maidenhood the happiest period in the life of a Japanese woman closes. The discipline that she has received so far, repressive and constant as it has often been, has been from kind and loving parents. She has freedom to a certain degree, such as is unknown to any other country in Asia. In the home she is truly loved, often the pet and 'plaything of the household, though not receiving the caress and words of endearment that children in America expect as a right, for love in Japan is undemonstrative. *

WOMANHOOD.

When the Japanese maiden arrives at the age of sixteen, or thereabouts, she is expected as a matter of course to marry. She is usually allowed her choice in regard to whether she will or will not marry a certain man. Marriage is as much a matter of course in a woman's life as death, and is no more to be avoided. If she positively objects to the man who is proposed to her, she is seldom forced to marry him.

The courtship is somewhat after the following manner. A young man, who finds himself in a position to marry, speaks to some married friend, and asks him to be on the look-out for a beautiful

* Kisses are unknown, and regarded by conservative Japanese as an animal and disgusting way of expressing affection.

† To the Japanese, the ideal female face must be long and narrow; the forehead high and narrow in the middle, but widening and lowering at the sides. The hair should be straight and glossy black, and absolutely smooth. The Japanese ladies who have the misfortune to have any wave or ripple in their hair, as many of them do, are at as much pains to straighten it. The eyes should be long and narrow, slanting upward at the outer corners; and the eyebrows should be delicate lines, high above the eye itself. The distinctly acquiline nose should be low at the bridge, the curve outward beginning much lower down than upon the Caucasian face; and the eye-socket should not be outlined at all, either by the brow, the cheek, or by the nose. It is this flatness of the face about the eyes that gives the mildness of expression to all young people of Mongolian type that is so noticeable a trait always in their physiognomy. The mouth of an aristocratic Japanese lady must be small, and the lips full and red; the neck, a conspicuous feature always when the Japanese dress is worn, should be long and slender, and gracefully curved. The complexion should be light,—a clear ivory-white, with little color in the cheeks. The

and accomplished maiden, who would be willing to become his wife. The friend, acting rather as an advanced agent, makes a canvass of all young maidens of his acquaintance, inquiring among his friends; and finally decides that so-and-so (Miss Otenahe, let us say) will be a very good match for his friend.* Having arrived at this decision, he goes to Miss Otenahe's parents and lays the case of his friend before them. Should they approve of the suitor, a party is arranged at the house of some common friend, where the young people may have a chance to meet each other's merits. Should the folks find no fault with the match, presents are exchanged, a formal betrothal is entered into, and the marriage is hastened forward. All arrangements between the contracting parties are made by go-betweens, who hold themselves responsible for the success of the marriage, and must be concerned in the divorce proceedings, should divorce become desirable or necessary at a future time.

The marriage ceremony, which seems to be neither religious nor legal in its nature,* takes place at the house of the groom, to which the bride is carried,—accompanied by her go-betweens, and, if she be of the higher classes, by her own confidential maid, who will serve her as her personal attendant in the new life in her husband's house. The trousseau and household goods, which the bride is expected to bring with her, are sent before. The household goods required by custom as a part of the outfit of every bride are as follows:

A bureau; a low desk or table for writing; a work-box; two of the lacquer trays or tables on which meals are served, together with everything required for furnishing them, even to the chopsticks; and two or more complete sets of handsome bed furnishings.

figure should be slender, the waist long, but not especially small, and the hips narrow, to secure the best effect with the Japanese dress. The head and shoulders should be carried slightly forward, and the body should also be bent forward slightly at the waist, to secure the most womanly and aristocratic carriage. In walking, the step should be short and quick, with the toes turned in, and the foot lifted so lightly that either clog or sandal will scuff with every step. This is necessary for modesty, with the narrow skirt of the Japanese dress.

* Many women still blacken their teeth after marriage after the manner universal in the past; but this custom is rapidly going out of fashion.

The trousseau will contain, if the bride be of a well-to-do family, dresses for all seasons, and handsome sashes without number; for the ever-changing fashion of Japan, together with the durable quality of the dress material, make it possible for a woman, at the time of her marriage, to enter her husband's house with a supply of clothing that may last her through her life time. The parents of the bride, in giving up their daughter, as they do when she marries, show the estimation in which they have held her by the beauty and completeness of the trousseau with which they provide her. This is her very own; and in the event of a divorce, she brings back with her to her father's house the clothing and household goods that she carried away as a bride.

With the bride and her trousseau are sent a great number of presents from the family of the bride to the members of the groom's household. Each member of the family, from the aged grandfather to the youngest grandchild, receives some remembrance of the occasion; and even the servants and retainers, down to the *jinirikisha* men, and the *betto* in the stables, are not forgotten by the bride's relatives. Besides this present-giving, the friends and relatives of the bride and groom, send gifts to the young couple, often some article for use in the household, or crepe or silk for dresses.

In old times, the wedding took place in the afternoon, but it is now usually celebrated in the evening. The ceremony consists merely in a formal drinking of the native wine (*Sake*) from a two-spouted cup, which is presented to the mouths of the bride and groom alternately. The drinking from one cup is a symbol of the equal sharing of the joys and sorrows of married life. At the ceremony no one is present but the bride and bride-groom, their go-betweens, and a young girl, whose duty it is to present the cup to the lips of the contracting parties. When this is over the wedding guests, who have been assembled in the next room during the ceremony, join the wedding party, a grand feast is spread, and much merriment ensues.

On the third day after the wedding, the newly married couple are expected to make a visit to the bride's family, and for this great preparations are made. A large party is usually given by the bride's parents either in the afternoon, or in the evening in

honor of this occasion, to which the friends of the bride's family are invited. The young couple bring with them presents from the groom's family to the bride's, in return for the presents sent on the wedding day.

The festivities often begin early in the afternoon and keep up until late at night. A fine dinner is served, and music and dancing, by professional performers, or some other entertainment, serve to make the time pass pleasantly. The bride appears as hostess with her mother, entertaining the company, and receiving their congratulations, and must remain to speed the last departing guests, before leaving the paternal roof.

Within the course of two or three months, the newly married couple are expected to give an entertainment, or series of entertainments, to their friends, as an announcement of the marriage. As the wedding ceremony is private, and no notice is given, nor are cards sent out, this is sometimes the first intimation that is received of the marriage by many of the acquaintances, though the news of a wedding usually travels quickly. The entertainment, held at some tea-house, is similar in many ways to the one given at the bride's home by her parents.

Besides the entertainment, presents of red rice, or *mochi*, are sent as a token of thanks to all who have remembered the young couple. These are arranged even more elaborately than the ones sent after the birth of an heir.

The young people are not expected to set up house-keeping by themselves, and establish a new home. Marriages often take place early in life, even before the husband has any means of supporting a family; and as a matter of course, a son with his wife makes his abode with his parents, and forms simply a new branch of the household.

The only act required to make the marriage legal is the withdrawal of the bride's name from the list of her father's family as registered by the Government, and its entry upon the register of her husband's family. From that time forward she severs all ties with her father's house, save those of affection, and is more closely related by law and custom to her husband's relatives than to her own.

At present in Japan, the marriage relation, unlike that in olden times, is by no means a permanent one, as it is virtually

dissoluble at the will of either party, and the condition of public opinion is such among the lower classes, that, it is not an unknown occurrence for a man to marry and divorce several wives in succession; and for a woman, who has been divorced once or twice to be willing and able to marry well a second or even third time. Among the higher classes, the dread of the scandal and gossip that must attach themselves to troubles between man and wife, serves as a restraint upon a too free use of the power of divorce; but still, divorces among the higher classes are so common now that one meets numerous respectable and respected persons who have at some time in their lives gone through such an experience.

One provision of the law, which serves to make most mothers endure any evil of married life rather than sue for divorce, is the fact that the children belong to the father; and no matter how unfit a person he may be to have the care of them, the disposal of them in case of a divorce rests absolutely with him. A divorced woman returns childless to her father's house; and many women, in consequence of this law or custom, will do their best to keep the family together, working the more strenuously in this direction, the more brutal and worthless the husband proves himself to be.

The ancestor-worship, as found in Japan, the tracing of relationship in the male line only, and the generally accepted belief that children inherit their qualities from their father rather than from the mother, make them his children and not hers. Thus we often see children of noble rank on the father's side but ignoble on the mother's, inherit the rank of their father, and not permitted even to recognize their mother as in any way their equal. If she is plebeian, the children are not regarded as tainted by it.

In the case of divorce, even if the law allowed the mother to keep her children, it would be almost an impossibility for her to do so. She has no means of earning her bread and theirs, for only a few occupations are open to women, and she is forced to become a dependent on her father, or some male relative. Whatever they may be willing to do for her, it is quite likely that they would begrudge aid to the children of another family, with whom custom hardly recognizes any tie.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Laissez Faire in Indian Evolution.

I find from Mr. P. N. Bose's observations in the September number of the *Modern Review* that my article on his "Illusions of New India" has failed to please him, and I am not surprised. It is true that I have sometimes quoted him in support of my views, which are often precisely the views which he condemns. I may add that about half a dozen extracts in his book in praise of Indian civilisation, or depreciating Western civilisation, may be traced to articles contributed by me to the pages of this Review, and I refer to this only to show that just as Mr. Bose knows all about western civilisation and rejects it, so I may claim to know something about the greatness of Indian civilisation, and may yet desire to improve it by grafting on it what appears to me best in European civilisation. To know both sides of a case is not to accept them as equally true, for that would be absurd, and by pointing out that Mr. Bose occasionally recognised the seamy side of Indian life I never intended to convey that he was not thoroughly convinced of the superiority of Indian civilisation as a whole.

It is quite true that I have no first-hand knowledge of Europe like Mr. Bose, but on his own showing I have a more intimate and up-to-date knowledge of rural life in Bengal than he possesses, and I have travelled, though not extensively, in other parts of India. So far as I know, Mr. Bose moves in a higher,—or if Mr. Bose is too modest to admit it, then I shall say, a different—circle than myself, which is also more removed from the social life of the orthodox rural community than mine. Under the circumstances, I cannot but think that it is distance which lends enchantment to his view, and evokes the panyrics on Oriental civilisation of which his book is full.

I yield to none in my patriotism, for I spring from the soil of mother India, and it is my fervent hope to see my motherland great and glorious. Not for worlds would I abjure my national individuality and the cultural traditions of my race, an admirer of Western civilisation, in some of its aspects, though I am. I have seen too many instances of the indifference of orthodoxy to the humiliation of the national religion or the racial culture to imagine that blind conservatism is really more patriotic than reasoned admiration. Neither am I so obsessed by the glamour of Western civilisation as to ignore the grave evils that accompany it, and perhaps in my daily life and habits I shall be found to have come less under Western influence than even such a doughty champion of Indian civilisation as Mr. Bose himself.

I have read all the three books referred to in Mr. Bose's criticism of my article. I may say at once that I agree with much of what he says, and I can quite conceive the force of the argument that the dangers and the shoals ahead which he points out had to be pointed out, and the warnings he gives had to be given, in order to prevent us from losing our balance and rushing into a mad career of imitation. But though I often agree with his presentation of facts, I

emphatically demur to his conclusion, which, stripped of verbiage, is nothing short of this—hold fast to all that is, and don't try to improve what you have by borrowing from the West, lest you destroy the good with the bad, and get nothing substantial from the West into the bargain. That this is the sum and substance of his teaching, will also appear from his criticism of my article. Here he dwells on the extreme difficulty of determining what is good or bad in any civilisation, owing to the excessive complexity of sociological phenomena. But does it follow that we should desist from the investigation, and leave things as they are? This, however, we simply cannot, for whether we will it or not, things *will* move, circumstances *will* change, and the changes *will* have some effect on us. Is it the part of wisdom to let things take their course, instead of trying to control and regulate the movement to suit our special needs? Hindu civilisation has always absorbed something from its environments—in fact its elasticity and genius for assimilation have been regarded as important factors in its survival through the ages. The pre-Buddhist Brahmanism was very different from the Hinduism of the post-Buddhist age. During the long Muhammadan regime, we were largely influenced by our rulers in dress, speech and manners, and even our social customs underwent some modification. Some of the proud Rajput houses entered into matrimonial alliances with the Moguls without giving up their religion. Mr. Bose, in his "Epochs of Civilisation," tries to minimise the Muhammadan influence, but Sir Henry Elliot, in the preface to his monumental work on the historians of the Muhammadan period, says that even the Hindu historians of the times used to call their co-religionists 'infidels,' and speak of 'the light of Islam shedding its refulgence on the world.' No wonder that he calls them 'a slavish crew.' The process of imitation and absorption will therefore go on in spite of ourselves, and the only question is, whether it should be conscious or unconscious. To me it seems that the only way of making the contact of the West with the East fruitful of the best results for ourselves is consciously to guide the process of assimilation in our own interests.

I admit that evolution is sometimes regressive, but I do not therefore doubt the progressive character of evolution as a whole. The world spins for ever round the ringing grooves of change, and it is not surprising that there should be back-currents and eddies here and there. The Yuga doctrine of the Hindus, according to which we are deteriorating in geometric progression in this *Kali* age, is emphatically *not* the doctrine which will make for our salvation. In fact, to it, and to the fatalism of our popular philosophy, must be ascribed, in no small degree, our present sad condition. So long as Europe was in the grip of the blighting theological doctrine of the radical corruption of man, it was in no better plight than ourselves, but since the days of Comte the idea of the progress of Humanity has taken firm hold of the European mind, and has transfused it and given it a truer, brighter, and more fruitful outlook. Lord Morley in his latest essay recognises the regressive undercur-

rents prevailing in progressive human societies, but does not deny the generally progressive character of social evolution. Mr. Bose speaks of the 'moving or dynamic' equilibrium of Hindu society. This expression does not involve a contradiction in terms only it and in so far as we recognise that there can be nothing like stable equilibrium in human society, and that social equipoise is like two straight lines in space, which always tend to but never meet. In the same way society is everywhere trying to harmonise all its conflicting elements and reach an equilibrated condition, and at the same time it moves on, so that it is always trying to establish a state of stable equilibrium, but never actually does so, one element or the other preponderating in its composition.

Mr. Bose admits that the standard of living in old India was not quite so simple and primitive as some imagine. Quite so. The refinements of luxury which prevailed in the last great Hindu Kingdom of India, Vijaynagar, in the sixteenth century, before Moslem influence penetrated into southern India, have been well described by Sewall from contemporary Portuguese records, and show that when Hindus were great, they could fight as well as enjoy life, and produce men like Sayana and Madhva whose intellectual achievements any nation might be proud of.

As for Western materialism, I find that Sir Rabindranath, in a recent interview with a special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* at Tokio, says as follows:—

"Do I think that Eastern thought, the Eastern outlook can be reconciled with the mechanism of Western civilisation? I think it can and must be. In the East we have striven to disregard matter, to ignore hunger and thirst, and so escape from their tyranny and emancipate ourselves. But that is no longer possible, at best for the whole nation. You in the West have chosen to conquer matter, and the fine task of science is to enable all men to have enough to satisfy their material wants, and by subduing matter to achieve freedom for the soul. *The East will have to follow the same road, and call in science to its aid.*" (The italics are mine).

Mr. Bose asks us to stick to our simple standard of living, as it would be 'suicidal' for poor India to imitate the Western standard, for it would retard the growth of our indigenous industries. But if we keep to our simple scheme of life, the industries will not advance beyond their Vedic prototypes, and Mr. Bose himself admits that cottage industries cannot stand before Western machinery. Besides, with increasing wants will come the desire to remove them, and the desire will lead to action, and will in the end enable us to get rid of poverty. When the Hindu race is committing suicide by giving such generous hospitality to famine, plague, and malaria, and driving out large numbers from its pale by obnoxious social customs, when the birth-rate, as compared with the death-rate, handicaps it so heavily in the race of life, when the expectation of life both among males and females—and among Indian females the standard of of living is certainly not yet high—has been found on calculation to be at birth just one-half and even less of what it is in England, why fear so much the prospect of suicide from a rise in the standard of living alone? People will surely give up luxury when faced with starvation and death, but before they do so, they may perchance be led to make a supreme effort to raise their income, and thus solve the problem of poverty. Besides, a high standard of living connotes sanitary environments,

good nourishment, and sufficient protection against the inclemencies of the climate, and all these make for healthy growth.

The more I study the social organisation of India for the last ten centuries, the more do I feel convinced that the village community has got more praise from men like Munro, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone than it deserved; or rather, that they have emphasised only one side of it. H. G. Keene, an observant student of this period of Indian history, says that it no doubt facilitated the preservation of ancient customs and usages and thus helped to maintain the integrity and secure the continuity of the racial traditions, but that it had also 'its wholly deplorable side,' the unprogressive character of Indian society being largely due to it. "In a rejection of external influences and of the efforts necessary to adapt itself to their action, Indian society has shown a culpable negligence from which it has greatly suffered." The *Chach nama* is a contemporary record of the earliest Mussalman (Arab) invasion of Sind at the commencement of the eighth century. From it we find that all the Brahmins at the capital of the kingdom were employed to betray their countrymen, and bring them under Moslem rule. This service the intellectual leadership of the Brahmins enabled them to perform down to the times of Hyder Ali of Mysore, as I have found from contemporary publications which I have come across. The first two volumes of Elliot's History containing accounts of the Arab, Ghaznavite, and Ghorian invasions of India from the pen of Mahamudan historians, are deeply painful reading to Hindus. The massacres and plunders, the pillages of holy shrines and the humiliating fate of their idols, the reduction of millions of men, women and children to slavery, their forcible conversions and marriage, the immense wealth removed from the country,—all this was the permanent feature of the sacred land of Aryavarta, the holy Madhyadesha of Manu where the black antelope roamed, during the two centuries when Hinduism first came into contact with the forces of Islam; and yet Hinduism heeded not these dire catastrophes—'one rural generation dreamt out its existence after another, and all was forgotten;' the great Hindu text-writers some of whom were born during the subsequent political upheaval, went on elaborating their penances and absurd and fantastic rituals; and, in the eloquent language of Sir William Hunter, "dynasties struggled and fell, but the bulk of the people evinced neither sympathy nor surprise, nor did the pulse of village life in Bengal beat faster for all the calamities and panic of the outside world." The self-contained village communities could not save us from being cornered in our own land, and a reversion to that simple social organisation, even if it were possible in these days of steam and electricity, would certainly not contribute to our national solidarity and strength.

The squalor, brutality and degradation of the masses in the West have been described even more graphically by Taine than by Mr. Bose. Taine calls the British slum-dwellers human yahoos. But hard words, after all, break no bones, and the fact remains that with all its high standard of living, there is no death from starvation in Western Europe. We saw only the other day how the accidental death of a few Territorials from heat-stroke near Karachi created quite a sensation in the House of Commons, leading to the dismissal of high European officials in India. Here, Sir John Seeley finds "great populations cowering in abject

misery for centuries together.....if they cannot live, they die, and if they can only just live, then they just live, their sensibilities dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want." Their simple standard of living helps them but little to eke out even a miserable existence on the verge of dissolution. If need be, I would therefore go so far as to say, having regard to the welfare of the race as distinguished from individual members of it: better a brutal existence which can hold its own in the struggle against mortality raging through all Nature, than a docile, commonplace, and featureless existence ready to be blown out at the first blast of adversity; for your soul must have a fleshy tabernacle to thrive in, and so long as the body exists, the soul has a chance, but not otherwise. I know that according to the Evolutionary theory, the morally great are not necessarily physically the fittest to survive, and I shall be the first to condemn that social organisation where the spiritually great are not sheltered from the baneful effects of a weak constitution. I believe in Western countries such men have ampler scope for thriving than in India. Moreover, while in the case of individuals, a frail body does not necessarily prevent his mental growth, in the case of societies at large, physical deterioration leads inevitably to national ruin. Mr. Bose speaks of existing predatory organisations which exhibit the same 'wonderful scientific skill, brain power', &c., as the belligerent nations of Europe. I know of none such, and Mr. Bose mentions none. The point to note is that the high standard of living does not enervate us, and sap the foundation of our national virility; for the elemental virtues of courage and enterprise, strength and vigour, are as necessary to-day for national well-being as they ever were, and the 'maturity' which has attained the 'rigidity' Mr. Bose speaks of is more consistent with senile decay than with national greatness. We read in the Ramayana (Aranya-Kanda, I) that when Rama visited the great forest of Janasthan in Southern India after his exile, the Kishis who had settled there approached him with a request for protection against the terrible raids of the Rakshasas, adding that by leading a religious life they had become as incapable of self-help as the child in the mother's womb. So long as the whole human race has not attained the ethical stage of civilisation at which India has, according to Mr. Bose, arrived, a position like that of the sages of Janasthan can hardly be said to be conducive to the welfare of the body-politic; it is rather the speediest way to national extinction. Nietzsche is at a discount since the present world-war began and I have elsewhere tried to show that I only half agree with him. Nevertheless, his insistence on manliness is a lesson which we Indians can the least afford to forget. *

I would invite Mr. Bose's attention to a letter of Justice Woodroffe published in the *Bengalee* of the 21st June last, in which he says: "One must allow for free growth; and here some so-called 'orthodox' resistance may have to be overcome. Because bows and arrows were used in the days of the Mahabharata, it is no argument against the use of modern weapons because India did not evolve them. Foreign achievements and culture should be a food for each people—eaten and assimilated.....(It used to be said that Greece derived its art from Egypt; but only an expert archaeologist could detect this origin by examining Greek art in all its stages. In its finished product how different it seems from

Egypt, Hellas having absorbed into herself what she got elsewhere.....In India, there was a good deal of false asceticism and false 'Vairagya' which is nothing but the tired feeling of the surface consciousness.....a good deal of religious renunciation is mere slackness, the tired feeling of an organism which neither truly reacts to life nor is yet strong and sincere enough to truly negate it [this is what Vivekananda used to call our *Tamasie* torpor]..... One must do away with all this. Unless a man is by nature truly a yati who has forsaken the world, let him be truly of it and develop all his powers therein according to his 'Dharma'. This is the Religion of Power which India needs if she is to be herself again."

Lastly, Mr. Bose seems to be too hard on 'the limbs of the law.' If it be permitted to one belonging to that much-abused profession to put in a word in its favour, I may say that the British Courts of Justice have introduced in India a sense of fair dealing and security as between man and man, of equality in the eye of the law, and a love of constitutional methods which have in no small measure fostered the democratic spirit among us. "The habitual enforcement of civil rights is the best possible training for the temperate use of political privileges." I have admitted with regret the evils of unrestricted competition in the profession, but when we think of the judicial methods prevailing in India and elsewhere during the Middle Ages, of the trials by ordeal and the theological obsession of judicial tribunals, we may venture the remark that the ideal of dispensing justice under the village banyan tree by the rule of thumb had its defects. I have not the figures with me now, but I know from personal experience that the vast majority of lawsuits instituted are decreed *ex parte*, and of the rest which are contested, the majority again terminate successfully for the complainant. This does not seem to show that the British judicial system as implanted in India is a failure. It should and could certainly be made cheaper, but for political considerations necessitating the maintenance of a highly paid foreign judiciary; and the revenue from court-fee stamps may easily be considerably reduced. Our publicists speak of British Justice as the mainstay of British rule in India, and they are not far out of the mark. "Effective and expeditious" justice might have been in the days preceding the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, but the manner of its administration was hardly consonant with a high degree of development of the social conscience and public responsibility.

As regards the altruistic virtues of benevolence and charity, a perusal of Lala Lajpat Rai's recently published book on the United States of America is sure to knock the bottom off our conceit. Mr. Rai even holds that charity administered by organisations (as in America) and not by individuals (as in India) is the better kind of charity, in as much as it does not lower the recipient's self-respect. What the combination of scientific methods with humanitarian instincts can achieve even in a field which Mr. Bose seems to regard as peculiarly Indian, may be studied in the pages of that book.

The same writer, contrasting the civilisations of the East and the West, is satisfied with neither, but he adds that if a choice were given him he would prefer the latter to the former, which stand for "the negation of the world, a negation of its

reality, a refusal to face it by renouncing it, a contentment which might bring servility, and an idealism which might end in political bondage, humiliation and disgrace." He goes on to say that with the Hindus, "the choice lies between extinction and Europeanisation, unless they can find out a mean by which they may be able to retain the best parts of both and evolve a new and a more humane civilisation of their own. That is the problem before the East".....It is this problem which I am humbly trying to study and though I have not yet reached any definite conclusions capable of being formulated in the shape of a constructive programme, the little that I have learnt impels me to meet the position arrived at by Mr. Bose with a categorical negative, however much I may admire his learning, patriotism, and the courage with which he expresses his convictions.

POL.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have come across an extract from an article by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose which besides being characterised by the thoughtfulness and brilliance usually associated with the writings of that finished scholar and thinker, is so pertinent to our present discussion that I cannot help quoting a few lines from it. Mr. Ghose says:

The East "is able to nourish the illusion that it has not changed, that it is immoveably faithful to the ideas of remote forefathers, to their religion, their traditions, their institutions, their social ideals, that it has preserved either a divine or an animal immobility both in thought and in the routine of life and has been free from the human law of mutation by which man and his social organisations must either progress or degenerate but can in no case maintain themselves unchanged against the attack of time....It is only when we look close that we see the magnitude of the illusion....As a matter of fact, the double-cycle which India has described from the early vedic times to the India of Buddha and the philosophers, and again from the time of Buddha to the European irruption, was in its own way vast in change religious, social, cultural, even political and administrative; but because it preserved old names for new things, old formulas for new methods, and old coverings for new institutions, and because the change was always marked on the external, but quiet and unobtrusive in the internal, we have been able to create and preserve the fiction of the unchanging East. . . . the Eastern or rather the Indian conservative still imagines that stability may be the true law of mortal being, practises a sort of Yogic 'asana' on the flood of time, and because he does not move himself, thinks—for he keeps his eyes shut and is not in the habit of watching the banks—that he can prevent the stream also from moving on. . . . the hope of the world lies in the rearing up in the East of the old spiritual practicality and large and profound vision and power of organisation under the insistent contact of the West....If therefore the conservative mind in this country opens itself sufficiently to the necessity of transformation, the resulting culture born of a resurgent India may well bring about a profound modification in the future civilisation of the world. But if it remains shut up in dead fictions, or tries to meet the new needs with the mind of the schoolman and the sophist dealing with words and ideas in the air rather than actual fact and truth and potentiality, or struggles merely to avoid all but a scanty minimum of change, then, since the new ideas cannot fail to realise themselves, the future India will be formed in the crude mould of the Westernised social and political reformer and will

turn us all into halting apes of the West." If therefore, we are to avoid the wholesale imitation of the West, we must substitute a wise liberalism for our blind admiration of the past, and learn to recognise the true place of conservatism in a progressive scheme of conscious evolution.

POLITICUS.

This controversy is now closed.—Editor, M. R.

Mr. Gandhi on Ahimsa.

Had Lala Lajpat Rai first ascertained what I had actually said on Ahimsa, his remarks in the Modern Review for last July would not have seen the light of day. Lalaji rightly questions whether I actually made the statements imputed to me. He says, that if I did not, I should have contradicted them. In the first place, I have not yet seen the papers which have reported the remarks in question, or those in which my remarks were criticised. Secondly, I must confess that I would not undertake to correct all the errors that creep into reports that appear in the public press about my speeches. Lalaji's article has been much quoted in the Gujarati newspapers and magazines; and it is perhaps as well for me to explain my position. With due deference to Lalaji, I must join issue with him when he says that the elevation of the doctrine of Ahimsa to the highest position contributed to the downfall of India. There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of Ahimsa synchronised with our becoming bereft of manly virtues! During the past 1500 years we have as a nation given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of un-manliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a vaishnavite, and was taught Ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher Rajachand Kavi who was a Jain by birth. Thus though my views on Ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these works. They are a part of my life and if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had learnt to give them, I should still hold to the view of Ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our Shastras seem to teach that a man who really practises Ahimsa in its fullness has the world at his feet; he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed the proper practice of Ahimsa requires me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child.

It was therefore, most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill-will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. *Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands.* Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer.

In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of Ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. A man cannot deceive the loved one he does not fear or frighten him or her. अमरदान (Gift of life) is the greatest of all gifts. A man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must therefore be himself fearless. A man cannot then practise Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of soldier's virtues. General Gordon has been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to Ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. Such a one was Ambarish who stood his ground without lifting a finger though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors who were being powdered by the French gunners, rushed into the guns' mouths with 'Allah on their lips,' showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation. Ambarish's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waived their hats, ceased firing and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was Ahimsa in its active form. It never batters away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of Ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to

the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk to his victim over the dead body of her defender, in the second, he has but to over-power the defender; for it is assumed that the canon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied when the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance as the defender has matched his very soul against the mere body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl would stand an infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance barring, of course, that of her own personal courage.

If we are un-manly to-day, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it. He is no follower of Ahimsa (I agree with Lalaji) who does not care a straw, if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher, or who in order to do a supposed good to his country does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. Here love of the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity, or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa, truly understood, is, in my humble opinion, a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never over-do it. Just at present we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Lalaji need not fear the Ahimsa of his father's faith. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer into their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers, and this land of ours will once more be the abode of Gods.

M. K. GANDHI.

Jain Ahimsa.

Jainism occupies the foremost place amongst the Ahimsaist religions. Ahimsa Paramo Dharma is the watch-word of Jains. It is said that this Ahimsa has been a cause of the degradation of India or at least of the Jains. How can a people who regard it sinful to kill an ant defend themselves against the tyranny of a tyrant or the attacks of a ruffian? This is the argument put forth to show that Jains are a meek people born to suffer whatsoever fate or fortune may bring to them. This view, I submit, is based neither on any knowledge of the Jain principles of Ahimsa nor on the history of Jains. First let us see what history says about them.

There have been Jain kings, generals and soldiers not only mythical but historical as well, and the Jain acharyas make no mean mention of them in their sacred books, they do not call them (Mithyavadi) or heretics because of the blood they shed in wars. There have also been persons although not admitted by history but recognised as Jains in the Jain Shastras, who took part in the fiercest wars of those times—Chakravarties who fought for empires.

History shows that Chandra Gupta Maurya, the renowned emperor of Northern India was a Jain. His terror was enough to lead Selucus to make a treaty with him—"it is not wise to be on bad terms with

such a mighty foe." This was in the 4th century B.C., only two centuries after the Nirvana of Mahavira, the Ahinsaist teacher. Even in the time of Prithviraj, the armies of one of his foes from Gujrat were led by an Ahinsaist Jain, Bhamashah, the saviour of Alwar, was a Jain Oswal. He laid all his hoarded wealth at the disposal of Rana Pratap, to collect men and munitions for war against the Moghal emperor Akbar, in order to maintain the independence of his Native Land. Agam, Kumarpal, a king of Gujrat (12th Century) had Hemchandracharya the Jain encyclopedist as his Guru; even that Ahinsaist Guru never asked him to retire from his kingly duties so as to escape from Hinsa. These are some of the instances of men whose religion the modern historians have thought it worth their while to mention. India had innumerable kings; what religion they professed can be gathered only from the Shastras, and the Jain Shastras describe many Jain kings, persons of flesh and blood, who reigned over the various kingdoms in Behar, Malwa, Deccan etc.

Even so late as the 16th and 17th Centuries, we find in the Jain Historical Studies by U. S. Tank, in the Indian Antiquary and in Todd's Rajasthan as well as in the household tales of Indian bravery in Rajputana—alas they are becoming scarce with the introduction of modern histories of Rajput defeats and Hindu retreats—Oswal Jains serving their monarchs in the various capacities of generals, ministers and administrators; and for their services they have been awarded hereditary Jagirs and Puttas which exist unto this day. Even now, one finds in the capitals of Rajputana states Mehtas, Bachhawats, and Singhis, gotras of Oswal Jains whose immediate ancestors, i.e. grandfathers great-grand-fathers had led the forces of the Rajputana Chiefs, and the Oswals form an important part, a third of the Jain Community.

Now if we examine the Jain principles of Ahinsa, we find nothing that may make men unmanly and nations degraded and void of self-respect. We quote Jain Acharyas below.

While describing the Ahinsa for a Grihast i.e. a layman Vijay Laxmi Suri says :

आद्यव्रते गृहस्थानां सद्गुणदा विप्रोपकाः

दयाहि दर्शिता मूढैः नाधिका तु प्रकाशिता

i.e. : The sages have prescribed in the first Vrata for a Grihastha one and a quarter Biswa (out of 20 Biswas) of दया (Daya) and *not more*. That is, even the highest Grihastha should observe only one sixteenth of what is prescribed for a Sadhu (who, of course is quite away from all wordly turmoils, and whose business is only to elevate his own soul and to guard the morals of his flock). This is so because, as is explained by various Acharyas, a layman cannot help using water, fire etc, he can not help killing in matters like cooking, digging, house-building, tilling etc (because Jainism does not recommend its laymen to become mere beggars and to depend on others for their daily bread) and because they cannot (for they should not) abstain from using force which involve Hinsa in order that the weak should be protected against the strong and that the aggressor and the usurper, the thief and the scoundrel, the lustful villain and the infamous violator of woman's chastity, the ruffian and the cheat should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm. What is required is that he

should not kill *merely* to satisfy his whim, or for want of ordinary care, or to satisfy his passions. Says Hemchandracharya :

परा कुष्ठकुष्ठित्वादि दद्याद् हिंसा फलं दुष्प्रीः

निरागस्तद जंतुना हिंसासंकल्पतस्तज्जेत

i.e.—Seeing that defect in limbs leprosy etc. are the results of Hinsa a layman should refrain from doing Hinsa with the *determined intention of causing injury without any purpose to innocent moving-living-beings* (जंतु are moving-living-beings as opposed to स्थावर the stationary living-beings e.g. plants, vegetables, etc.) As to the Sthavara the same Acharya says :

निरर्थकां न कुर्वीत जीवेषु स्यादरेषुपि

हिंसामहिंसाधर्मज्ञः कांचन मोक्षमपासकः

i.e.—An Ahinsaist desirous of Moksha should not do Hinsa to Sthavara beings *without any purpose*.

Jain Ahinsa is not the "Perverted Ahinsa of which" as Lala Lajpat Rai says in the July number of the Modern Review, "his grandfather was a believer and which forbids the taking of any life under *any circumstances whatever*." Jains do not believe in that "Extreme Ahinsa" which might "throw in the background all other virtues which ennoble men and nations", "which might throw into shade honor and self-respect," "which might extinguish courage, bravery, heroism, patriotism, love of country, love of family, honor of the race." It cannot be said for certain what Lala Lajpat Rai means by "some good people thoroughly well intentioned and otherwise saintly" who "made a fad of Ahinsa; but certainly Jain Ahinsa does not teach "that it is sinful to use legitimate force for purpose of self-defence, or for protection of our honor and the honor of our wives, sisters, daughters, and mothers." It does not teach us "to guard the honor of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of men who would commit sacrilege."

It is only the innocent beings whom a Jain should not kill. Those who deserve punishment must get the right chastisement and the Jains are free to use the necessary force.

There are Kathas in which even the Sadhus have made use of force for the protection of innocent persons and to save women from sacrilege. In a Jain

Grantha निग्रह-चरिका Chapter X is related a story of Kalikacharya, who, in order to save a Sadhvi from being dishonoured by a prince, caused another prince to bring his forces to her rescue. There is another Katha of a Sadhu, Vishnu Kumar. He himself punished a king who intended to kill all the Jain Sadhus within his empire.

The Jain Ahinsa is not merely a negative precept—"Don't hurt." It is more. It is a positive moral commandment. It says—"Soothe Serve." It is not only "live and let live," "but also "help others to live."

No doubt there are weaknesses in modern Jains. Their community is not very healthy or flourishing. Much work and sacrifice is needed to raise them; and we hope young Jains will not lag in doing their duty, they are already alert. But Ahinsa is not the cause of their weakness. Modern Jains are mostly business men like the non-Jain Vaish Community. It is their contact with this Vaish Community that has

introduced in them most of the evils. We have evidence of the Vaish influence in the social rites and ceremonies of the Jains, most of which are quite inconsistent with Jain Principles. The same influence is at the root of Jain "dislike of force or fear" wherever it exists. It is not an "inherited fear" but "a borrowed fear." The Vaish fear is the indirect result of Brahmanic and Kshatriya supremacy, of the kind found in ancient India, when Vaishas could be treated despotically and with impunity, when they could not even raise a voice against the injustice of their masters for fear of incurring the rage of gods. Jainism recognises no such supremacy of any class nor the anger of gods to punish a man doing any right or just action.

If "India is bereft of manly virtues" it is not Ahinsa, Jain or non-Jain, that has contributed to this result, for we find non-Ahinsaist Indian communities equally void of those virtues. It is the general notion of inferiority of race that has, somehow, got into the Indian head, which is at the bottom of all evil. Give them liberal education. Teach them that their Ahinsaist ancestors achieved great successes in all spheres of life. Teach them that they are not inferior to other nations in every respect and that they are not incorrigibly so, if at all. Then the Ahinsaist nation, the Indian nation shall shine forth in her glory and shed lustre all around. Ahinsa shall make it all the more noble, manly, and glorious.

'AHINSAIST.'

RELIGION AND MODERN CIVILISATION

WITH regard to the question how religion and civilisation stand related to each other, the views maintained by the thinking minds of the modern age may roughly be brought under four classes :—

(i). Advocacy of Religion and opposition to Civilisation.

(ii). Advocacy of Civilisation and opposition to Religion.

(iii). The view that both are necessary but antagonistic to each other.

(iv). Attempts at reconciliation—viewing the two as different manifestations of one and the same spirit.

Let us consider these four stand-points one by one.

I. The first view generally takes the form of idealising the past or the future, and condemning the modern age and modern civilisation as destroyers of morality and religion. It conceives of an ideal state of society in the remote past when religion was the supreme factor in human life, when all the spiritual endeavours of man, science, art, morality, law and political organisation centred round the religious consciousness. In fact what goes under the name of civilisation is itself a child, which has been fostered at every stage of its development by Religion as by a mother. The sciences of chemistry, astronomy, geometry and the arts of poetry, painting and sculpture arose in close connection with the religious practices and ceremonies. The worship of ancestors, the priesthood of the King, sacrificial ceremonies, public assemblies in temples, consultation of auguries

and oracles—these and many other adjuncts of the religious beliefs marked the earliest beginnings of civilised society. All the details of human life were regulated by religious injunctions, which were afterwards compiled in legal codes or scriptures. One might establish this truth about the influence of religion on society by referring to the city fire and the Delphic oracle in ancient Greece, the spiritual conquest of half the world by the Buddhist missionaries, the vast ecclesiastical organisation of Rome, and the civilising activities of Christianity and Mahomedanism, spreading culture and learning, inaugurating moral and social reforms, helping the poor and uplifting the masses through cathedrals and mosques, monks and faquires, poor-houses and caravansaries during the ancient and the middle ages.

Modern civilisation, according to these votaries of religion, is guilty of patricide in so far as it is up in arms against religion, to which it owes its birth and growth. This crime of civilisation against religion is being avenged by Nature, it is said, in the materialistic tendencies of the modern age, as shown in the life of the peoples of Europe and America, in their greed and lust, their mad pursuit of comforts and conveniences, their physical view of human welfare as consisting of the pleasures of eating and drinking, of housing and clothing, bathing and sleeping; their low view of morality which justifies cutting each other's throat, usurping the rights of the weak, depriving the neighbouring states of their liberty; their appli-

cation of the results of the sciences and arts to the criminal end of robbing and killing each other, to the invention of the engines of destruction, reducing cathedrals and universities into ruins, to the exploitation of gold and silver hidden in the bowels of the earth from the more favoured countries, their degradation of divine philosophy into materialism, agnosticism, scepticism and atheism. With all their vaunted progress in science and civilisation, the sum total of human misery on the earth has rather been increased than diminished, as proved by the existence of slums and the white-slave traffic, drunkenness and gambling, adulteration of food and dishonesty in trade, increase of litigation and crime, insanity and suicide, infant mortality and scarcity of milk, the frequent visitations of famine, plague and natural catastrophies. So these religious extremists call the modern age the Kaliyuga (the dark age), and constantly apprehending the approach of the day of judgment and the final dissolution of the world, they turn their back towards the so-called advance of civilisation and retire into the caves and jungles or into the solitary recesses of the inner life, and devote themselves to chanting and singing of hymns, to meditation and prayer with their eyes fixed on the Heaven of Eternal Life or on the Nirvana of Eternal Rest.

II. The other extreme of this one-sided thinking is represented by the votaries of civilisation, who openly confess their enmity towards religion. In the march of civilisation they find the growth of the power and the freedom of the human race, the widening of the sphere of knowledge, the triumph over the forces of nature, the vastness and the permanence of social organisation and what not. Look at the railway trains and the motor cars, the ships and the aeroplanes, the postal services, telegraphs and telephones; think of the electric powers, the mills and the factories; are they not unmistakable proofs of the superiority of the modern age? Are we not making the seas and mountains, the clouds and the wind our slaves? Are we not overcoming space and time, conquering disease and death and liberating ourselves from the tyranny of nature, and of the customs and traditions of society, with the help of the numerous natural and mental sciences? Is not modern civilisation raising man into the rank of God and driving

the gods and goddesses into the regions of non-entity? The religion that you so blindly adhere to is only a product of ignorance and superstition, a child of fear and wonder, a creation of the imagination and dreams, a remnant of barbarism, and is bound to disappear like darkness at the dawn of the progressive civilisation. Our anthropologists and sociologists are collecting materials which convincingly prove the crudity of the origin and the futility of the end of religion. Psychologists are engaged in analysing the phenomenon of religious consciousness and in finding out what percentage of the sense of dependence and the weakness of will must be combined with what percentage of nervous disorder and insanity to give rise to that infirmity of the old age, or that pathological state of mind known as belief in God. Political philosophers are coming forward with their defence of this poor client on the plea that religion has a utility for the masses in so far as it develops the altruistic virtues and suppresses the selfish impulses of man, so that even if there were no God, we must invent one for the sake of political expediency. These extreme opponents of religion base their views on a philosophical system, according to which matter and motion are the fundamental realities, human life is only an automatic machine, mind and thought are nothing but the dancing of atoms, the whole cosmic order is the outcome of the play of blind forces, pushing and jostling with one another, man is the highest product of this world-demon or by far the most successful game ever hit upon by the Life-force in the course of its age-long experiments. According to these thinkers morality can serve as an adequate substitute for religion and ethical societies should take the place of churches.

III. The third class of thinkers realise that both the views represented above have elements of truth, but recognise at the same time that these elements of truth can never be reconciled by human reason and shown to follow from one principle or to lead to the same goal. There is, so to speak, a fundamental contradiction in human nature, because of its belonging to two absolutely different worlds, one sensible and the other super-sensible. Man has an animal life on earth, which is dependent on the physical conditions and the laws of nature. Science and civilisation

are concerned with the study of these conditions and laws with a view to improve man's earthly lot and as such they have certainly some claims on us. But man is also a member of the spiritual world, which is his true home, with which his eternal destiny is linked. Religion is concerned with this second aspect of human life, drawing our attention towards and preparing us for the hereafter. Hence it is that man finds himself at the mercy of two masters,—the world and religion, man and God, science and faith, reason and revelation, both of which are essential to him, however impossible it may be to harmonise them. Those who accept this dualistic position generally divide their mind into water-tight compartments. When they are in the scientific sphere, they give free play to their reason, are acute in their analysis and penetrating in their investigation, they would not accept a single proposition without proof and would confine themselves to the positive and certain relations of coexistence and succession. But when they enter into the religious sphere and put on their Sunday cloak, they are ready to believe in any nonsense and submit to all unreasonable superstitions, from the creation of the earth in six days to the ascension of the dead body of a Jesus. Their attitude towards these two spheres is therefore one of compromise. Here is the positive field of knowledge,—the region of ever increasing light, let us be masters over it; there is the unknown and the unknowable—the kingdom of eternal darkness—let us bow before it—such is their supreme maxim of conduct.

But the human soul cannot rest satisfied with this dualism and inconsistency and naturally seeks for a unity. If it does not find this unity in a harmony or reconciliation of the apparently opposing principles, it must abandon one or the other factor of the opposition and thus identify itself with either of the one-sided and extreme forms mentioned under I and II.

IV. Hence the demand for a synthesis of religion and civilisation to completely satisfy the dialectic of human reason. I propose to attempt a reconciliation of the two.

Religion and civilisation, truly understood, have a common source and origin as well as a common end and destiny. Both arise from man's consciousness of

bondage and finitude and both aim at the attainment of the soul's freedom or liberation and of its realisation of the Infinite. It is only in their corrupt and degraded forms that these two manifestations of the human spirit are found to come into conflict. The extremists of the votaries of religion and the extremists of the advocates of civilisation are each of them right in so far as they point out the defects and imperfections in the other, which result from an unhealthy and diseased condition of the latter, but they are equally wrong in so far as they ignore that there are also elements of infinite value on the other side.

If religion is at a discount in the modern age, it is not so much the materialistic civilisation of the day that is to blame. In fact the term "materialistic civilisation" is itself a contradiction in terms, for the two elements of this complex idea can never be brought together in thought. Civilisation can never be wholly materialistic, as it is always the self-expression of the spirit of humanity in art and literature, in science and philosophy, in social, political and economic life. In civilisation the spirit comes to the knowledge of itself, of its power and glory, through the conquest of matter and physical forces, rising above the laws of necessity and nature-determination, and moulding its own life as well as the life of the universe in which it dwells according to the ideals Truth and Beauty and Goodness. Science and art, morality and religion are the constant companions of civilisation, for they are the various stages or processes through which the spirit transcends its finite character and realises its freedom in nature and society. Civilisation in this sense can no more be materialistic than religion itself. The spirit cannot work in vacuum. It must either overcome, employ and organise material conditions, or reduce itself into an abstract idea, empty nothingness, and attain Nirvana or extinction of life and consciousness through spiritual drill or gymnastic. That is why a religion which divorces itself from the world of matter and life, and occupies itself too much with the disembodied ethereal state of the soul beyond the grave, is in sure danger of losing its hold on the living world and of becoming a dead weight of obsolete rites and ceremonies, and a repetition of meaningless words, till it meets

with natural death or decay and finds its honoured place in the museum of antiquarian researches. If 'civilisation' has become the catch-word of all idealistic and spiritualistic thinkers to-day, it is because they understand by it something more comprehensive and more real than the so-called 'spiritualism' of the historical religions, which are themselves the originators and the supporters of the materialism of the modern age, in so far as they oppose all progress in science and civilisation. For, (i) while all other spiritual endeavours of man are moving with the march of times, religion alone refused to advance even a single step forward in response to the growing needs of the hour and rested content with the so-called revelations made by God to a Prophet or Seer thousands of years ago; she accepted a Veda or a Bible, a Koran or a Zendavesta as the final word of God about the nature of man and of the world, about the history of creation and the destiny of human life. The followers of these historical religions would cling to the superstitious beliefs and erroneous cosmogonies of the scriptures against all the established truths of science, and retard the progress of knowledge based on a free and unprejudiced observation of and experiments on the processes of nature and mind. (ii) Religions maintained a class of priests and elevated them into self-contained and self-sufficient aristocrats, who instead of studying the scriptures and practising a godly life, spread ignorance, propagated false doctrines, forced their selfish claims on a credulous laity, encouraged stereotyped forms and ceremonies, supported the principles of caste and inequality and thereby cut at the root of the communal life. (iii) These fanatic believers fostered sectarian narrowness and dogmatic claims to finality and absolute truth on the part of one particular dispensation; they generated mutual hatred and jealousy, among religions and formulated elaborated codes of dogmas and creeds, stifling the liberty of thought, speech and action which is man's in virtue of his spiritual descent from God; they have blackened the pages of history by the impious persecution and burning of the martyrs who would not give up their honest convictions. (iv.) Religion divorced herself from all those fine arts and innocent enjoyments which make life holier, healthier and more beautiful; she promot-

ed anti-social and ascetic tendencies, which regarding the world as an evil and the social relations as the bondage of illusion turned man away from the home and family life, and led him to the opposite and far more destructive evil of *otherworldliness*; she was responsible for all those evils of impurity and dissolute life which necessarily accompanied monasticism and celibacy in most cases. (v). She produced in the mind of her followers on the one hand a craving for individual salvation which led to an egoistic spirit in all the affairs of the earthly life, and on the other hand a deterministic outlook which naturally led to the inactivity of fatalism and quietism; in either case religion retarded social progress and civilisation.

All these elements which are symptoms of the corruption and the disease of spiritualism in religion have combined to bring about modern materialism, agnosticism, scepticism and atheism.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the scientists, artists and politicians of the modern age have more of the truly religious spirit in them than the so-called missionaries, preachers and ministers who have made religion their special professions. Take for instance the case of the scientist, who is supposed to be as far removed from the sphere of religion as hell is from heaven. A scientific genius must learn to distinguish between appearance and reality, and go out in search of the Unseen, the Beyond, the Rational, which is at the same time the Real; he has to dive beneath the surface of things, to transcend the finite standpoint and go beyond the region of the senses, in order to understand the super-sensible. This however involves on his part: (1) meditation and concentration of mind on the essence of things, as divested from the irrelevant conditions and outer husks of phenomena;—which may be compared to the attitude of worship or communion on the part of religious minds towards the Supreme Being; (2) intense longing for the truth, earnest seeking after whatever may throw a little light on the subject of research—which resembles the religious man's habit of prayer; (3) lifelong devotion to the cause of knowledge, sacrificing all the comforts and pleasures of life, forgetting the self and the world—which is akin to the practise of austere penances and asceticism in the religious life; (4) again, if it is only the pure in heart that can

see God, no less is it true that the secret laws of nature are revealed only to a holy mind, for Nature is a jealous mistress, and an exacting queen who demands absolute chastity and purity of heart, undivided love and attention, utter self-abnegation and self-surrender, before she admits any one to her inner chamber and lays bare the invaluable treasures of her mysterious kingdom. Lastly (5) the scientists' communion with nature is fruitful only so far as he brings himself in line with or is at one with the course of nature, so far as he moves with and not against the current of the spirit, i.e., so far as he goes in the direction of the natural flow of the spiritual life or 'vital impulse' and this means that he must somehow be connected with the centre of the universe, have a deep insight and comprehensive grasp of the whole, or in other words, the whole world must be reflected in his self. Hence it is that all scientific inventions are mere imitations of nature, all scientific discoveries are mere refindings of what is already present within us, and all knowledge is memory, as Plato said long ago. This brings us to the recognition of the important philosophical truth that nature and mind are one, the microcosm mirrors the macrocosm. Now, is this not also the beatific vision or the highest religious experience as described in the writings and utterances of the religious saints and seers? Can we not identify the greatest scientific genius with the profoundest mystic in so far as both see the world in the soul and the soul in the world? If such an attitude of the scientist towards reality is not religion, I do not know what else is meant by religion. The same might be shown to be true of the artist and the statesman. If religion manifests itself in the triumph of the spirit over nature, the discovery of the unseen world of truth and beauty and goodness, the participation by men of the omniscience and omnipotence of God, then it is just under the favourable condition of modern civilisation with its progress in science, art and good government that such a religion is evolving. There is a providential dispensation even in the distribution of scientific, artistic and political geniuses in the human race, and the moral government of the universe is so constituted that only those nations, in which the spiritual life of its members has reached a very high stage of development, can give

birth to a number of seers and originators in science and art, so that physical and material improvements in a society, the progress of the sciences and arts in a nation, are dependent on the progress of the spiritual life of that society or nation. Thus the progress of civilisation means at the same time a higher degree of development of the spiritual principle or the religious consciousness in man. In this sense, a civilisation without religion or a materialistic civilisation is a monstrosity which may find a place in the imagination of some upstart in philosophical dabbling, but has certainly no claim to reality either in the history of human society or in the logical thought of metaphysics.

Such being the relation between religion and civilisation in general, it is worth while enquiring, in what special directions our conception of religion has been influenced and modified by the modern civilisation.

(i) First of all, the modern age has taught us to distinguish the essential from the accidental features of religion, the eternal verities that are the same to-day, yesterday and for ever, from their local and temporal forms and accompaniments. We have learnt now that the essence of religion does not consist in creeds and dogmas nor in the performance of certain rites and ceremonies; it is not to be sought in a faith in heaven and hell, where our virtues are rewarded and vices punished; nor does it necessarily involve a belief in gods and goddesses, in fairies and angels; it is not to be identified with "chanting and singing, and telling of beads," nor with the offering of meals to one's fore-fathers and the feeding of priests and saints, nor does it imply regular attendance in a church or confessions and alms with a view to make provision for the hereafter. No, the essence of religion must be sought elsewhere, viz., in a system of ideas and feelings which regulate the moral life of the individual as well as the spiritual life of society. As I have expressed it in another connection,

"Faith in a *spiritual world* beyond and above the visible world presented to our senses, and faith in a *Just Being* at the centre of this spiritual universe, the recognition of this supersensible kingdom as our true home, and of this *Just Being* as our *Father*—form the centre of the religious system and the root of the religious life, all other ideas and feelings being mere satellites around them or mere fibres that are sustained by them. Religion, pure and undefiled, lifts man beyond the region of shadows and appearances and translates him into a world where all the con-

licts and discords, all the evils and enigmas of our life are reconciled and solved. It affords us the only means of communing with the Higher than the Highest and the Holiest of the Holy. It evokes in our heart the sublimest and deepest feelings of wonder, admiration and reverence, which give birth to science and philosophy, art and morality, hero-worship and devotion to prophets and seers. It inspires us with a faith unshakable in the ultimate triumph of justice, with a hope indomitable for the realisation of our best and highest aims and aspirations. It generates in us an idealistic view of life and things and lends us the moral force of a reformer and the large-heartedness of a philanthropist. Hence the love of truth, purity and freedom, the sympathy for a charity to man and animals, the care for the poor and the homeless, the blind and the cripple, the widows and the orphans, the relief of the depressed, the up-lifting of the down-trodden, the resistance to evils in society, the tending of the sick, the consideration for the weaker and gentler members of the race, meekness and submission to the universal will, the patient endurance of the worries and evils that cannot be cured, the ardent appreciation of all that is noble and holy, even in our enemies, the forgiveness of and the reconciliation with the shortcomings and transgressions of our brethren,—which we find to be constant companions of the religious consciousness."

(*The Indian Messenger*, July 11, 1915).

(ii) All the qualities of head and heart I have just mentioned as the necessary correlates or concomitants of the religious life are at the same time the indispensable conditions for the evolution of human society and the essential requirements for the realisation of a higher spiritual life by the individual. Modern biology acquaints us with the law of evolution which governs the life of the individual and of society. The value and importance of religion according to the scientific minds of the modern age lie in the inculcation and cultivation by it of those virtues in man which enable him to go with the current of the universal life and to rise higher and higher in the scale of being, passing from the stage of animality through the gate of humanity to the rank of angels till he realises his perfection in divinity. As Benjamin Kidd says, religion is the supreme factor in social evolution insofar as it makes the individual subservient to the needs of the race, and insofar as nature selects those races, in which the individuals of the religious type predominate, as the fittest to survive in the struggle for existence, and eliminates those races which develop anti-religious and egoistic tendencies (Social Evolution). Equally important is the part played by Religion in the maintenance of the individual life, for it is the only medicine that can relieve us from the worries, the care and anxieties, from the fear and igno-

rance, the failures and disappointments, dangers and calamities that beset our earthly life. But for the faith, hope, love and spiritual idealism generated in us by religion, our life would have been unbearable. Religion is the staying power which maintains the balance and the equilibrium of the soul, keeping it always true to the centre of gravity which is in God, enabling it to fix its vision on the Infinite and the Eternal and thus to rise above the limitations of space and time.

This conception forces on us at once the recognition of the *vital* necessity of religion for the race and the individual in the biological sense, apart from its intellectual and moral necessity, which has long been realised.

We therefore need not trouble ourselves about the future of religion. The existence of the religious spirit cannot be threatened by modern civilisation, for religion is based on the adamantine rocks of reality and is one of the elemental forces of nature which govern human life and society. It cannot die even if we are indifferent to it. If it is neglected, civilisation will give place to barbarity, man will be replaced by animals; the life of the human race will be extinct from our planet. Such is the verdict of scientists who know the limitation of their sphere and the impotence of mere intellect without religion.

(iii) It may be asked, are not the feelings of wonder, admiration, and reverence, faith in the triumph of justice, hopefulness, the idealistic outlook, love of truth, purity, freedom, sympathy, charity and so on,—I mean, are not all these qualities, which are supposed to be essential to the life of society and of the individual,—possible without religion? Could we not be made fit to survive in the struggle for existence by means of morality alone? What then is the use of concerning ourselves with the transcendental world and asserting our belief in a Supreme Being? This question presses upon us to-day all the more formidably in view of the fact that the greatest world-religion *viz.*, Buddhism, does not seem to attach importance to the existence, or non-existence of a divine father, and also in view of the fact that many of the leaders of modern idealism and rationalism could lead an ideal life of purity, duty and public spirit without caring for God and religion. But, as I have already said, morality, as

well as art and science are alike manifestations of the same principle of spirituality and rationality in man, which reaches its highest culmination in religion. We cannot separate morality from religion; for the latter is the spirit that quickens, perfects and fructifies all those activities which are known to us as moral. A man who is moral is already religious without his knowing it; perhaps his ideal of goodness and purity is a truer substitute and representation of God than the idolator's visible object of worship made of clay or wood. No, in God's world, there is no atheism, although there are different ways of representing the faith in the spiritual principle according to the culture, the temperament, the surroundings, the age and the race of a man. By some, God is identified with mammon; to some the devil takes the place of the Deity; for others, God is represented by a particular metaphysical theory or artistic notion or moral ideal. We can give so wide and comprehensive an interpretation to the term 'religion' as to include all these various classes of man's attitude towards Reality as the different gradations of the manifestation of the religious consciousness. From this standpoint, the moment a man sacrifices himself and his interest for a higher end, the moment he recognises his ignorance and impotence before an external world, which is independent of his will and which offers him resistance at every step, he is already pledged to the belief in God, if he wants to be rational and consistent. In fact our God is revealing Himself in an infinite variety of ways, and training the most confirmed atheist in the most beautiful and sublime lessons of religious experience, by coming to him as his own father and mother, wife and child, and receiving his homage unawares in all forms of domestic duties, friendship and affection, virtuous practice and social service. So unless a man ceases to be a man and becomes a brute, he cannot escape being religious in some form or other, although the value of a man's religion is ultimately to be judged by the nature of the God he believes in or worships.

But we must go further and assert that without an explicit recognition of the specially religious elements of our spiritual life, morality is sure to lose its hold on the mind of man and to meet with decay and death. This admits of proof by reference

to the witness of history as well as to the verdicts of moral philosophers. For (1) although many men of culture in modern civilised societies lead a good moral life without adhering to religion in any form, yet it is undeniable that the advanced stage of civilisation in which morality can stand, unsupported by religion, has itself been brought into existence by long centuries of religious practices and teachings which began with the dawn of human society and were intensified by the rise of spiritual world-religions; (2) unless morality is sustained by the sense of one's own weakness and insignificance combined with a belief in the moral government of the universe and a power that helps us onward and pulls us upward, it runs the risk of bursting its own walls by a vague hankering for an unattainable ideal or degenerating into a refined form of egoism; (3) In religious consciousness alone man has an anticipatory glimpse of his origin and destiny. Man's thirst for the Infinite is at once the proof and the result of his bearing the stamp of his divine origin and the signal of his eternal life in the heart. In other words religion is the light which reveals our own weakness and imperfection and thereby awakens in us the need of salvation or freedom from the bondage of the fleshy vessel in which our spirit is locked up and into which our spirit is likely to be absorbed, unless purified and elevated by moral and religious practices; and religion is also the light that casts its rays upon the distant goal or God, through the right adjustment of our relation to whom alone we can rise to power and glory and to freedom and joy. Hence it is that such thorough-going rationalists in the sphere of ethic as Kant and Sidgwick found it impossible to systematise and rationalise our moral experiences without the help of the theological postulates of God and immortality.

(iv). Another important problem confronting the religious conception of the modern age is, how to reconcile the new facts brought to light and the new explanatory principles formulated by the scientists of to-day, with the old ideas of creation, incarnation, inspiration, miracles and so on, which are necessarily associated with religion. To answer this question would require more space and time than we can afford to spare for the present, but

I shall try to indicate as briefly as possible the line of thought along which the solution of the problem must be sought.

The indispensable minimum of religious faith which we can safely retain as incapable of being shaken by any advance of knowledge and which need not impose any limitation on the freedom of scientific investigation, may be expressed, I think, in the form of three propositions, which are of the nature of postulates, *viz*:—

(1) There is a Power behind phenomena, with an infinite knowledge and with a moral purpose,—a just holy, loving Being, best described as a Person, whom we may call our Father, without ascribing to Him the limitations which attach to human personality. This conception of the Supreme Reality is common to all the higher religions and although not amenable to scientific proof, it is confirmed by philosophical speculation,

(2) There is a spiritual world, beyond and above the Kingdom of nature, a world that is not in space and time and not subject to the mechanical laws, but is rather the supersensible region from which flow the Ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, which are *revealed* to the seers and the prophets and the pure in heart and realised by them in the sensible world.

(3) Man as a spiritual being can enter into a relationship with this spiritual world and commune with the Supreme Being at its centre—*prayer and meditation* being the means of communication between them.

In so far as the human soul identifies itself with God, it is *inspired* with the Ideals of the supersensible world and acquires supernatural powers. Such a man may be represented as a divine *incarnation* in the same sense in which the physical body of every man becomes an 'incarnation' of an indwelling spirit during his life-time.

In support of these three religious postulates I may mention that even the most acute scientists and the most radical empiricists who are unbiassed by any religious prejudices and have approached the dogmas of religion with the spirit of free scientific investigators are now coming to recognise more and more clearly the existence of a guiding, purposing and powerful mind behind the world-machine (*vide* William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, L. T. Hobhouse's *Development*

and Purpose' and Sir Oliver Lodge's 'Life and Matter'); where as the reality of the spiritual world and the infinite capacity of the human soul with regard to the realisation of its freedom in the world of nature are finding strong advocates among the leading philosophers of Europe, Eucken and Bergson. The progressive liberal religious movements throughout the world are also coming out triumphant after long years of fruitless controversies on 'Science *versus* Religion' and presenting before the scientific world the old concepts of religion under new forms, so that the ideas of Revelation, Incarnation, Inspiration, Miracles and Immortality are receiving new interpretations in their hands. And yet the modern religious man is far from claiming absolute finality with regard to the truths which concern the details of the three general postulates of Religion stated above. For example, the questions as to how the infinite power brings into being and sustains the world, what His final purpose may be, what the laws of His moral government exactly are, what form of life the soul will live hereafter,—these questions must necessarily remain shrouded in mystery and obscurity, till our sciences and philosophies attain a higher level of development, and till our experiences touch a deeper region of reality.

(v) Lastly, the question that naturally arises after these discussions is, which particular form of religion will survive the stress and the pressure of competition between thoughts and ideas, practices and institutions in the modern world? The answer ought to be evident to any one who has studied the spirit of modern civilization aright. It is the religion which can ally itself with morality, art, science and philosophy, the religion which has a clear vision of the future destiny of man in the light of the past history of his evolution, which will help man in understanding the laws of the development of human society and in gaining mastery over the conditions of his life and growth; the religion which has a deep insight into the spiritual world, a comprehensive grasp of the whole reality; the religion which embraces in its sympathy all the races of mankind and all the departments of human life and activity, the body and the soul, the family and the society, the religion which aims at nothing less than the realisation of the divine will and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven

on earth, the religion which is characterised by universality, catholicity, sociality and spirituality. This is the religion that is going to survive. The existing religions must all undergo greater or less transformations before they can become organically related to this world-religion. But sooner or later the transformations must come and then it will be realised that the small body of the religious liberals in India, who belong to the Brahmo Samaj, had already chalked out the path for approaching the new religion of the new world, and that

the details of local and temporal differences apart, this universal religion had already been revealed in its frame-work to Raja Rammohan Roy and practised and elaborated by generations of mighty souls like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. Whatever name may be given to this future religion of the world, the religion of the Brahmo Samaj represents its soul, its essence, its spirit.

S. C. Roy

HOW MOTION PICTURES ARE MADE.

THE features of the modern motion picture which are an improvement on the earlier form and which render it adoptable for its present amusement purposes are the production of the images by photography. Twenty years ago the motion picture was a child's play. To-day it is the basis of business, giving profitable employment to millions of people, offering education and amusements to billions, and evolving investment of capital, that places it among the world's greatest industries. The motion picture camera man sets up his whirling camera in the wilds and crowded cities alike. He records the downfall of the kings and the inauguration of the presidents, the horrors of great disasters and the deeds of popular heroes; he spreads before us in moving panorama all that is interesting in nature and in man's work in the drama and in real life.

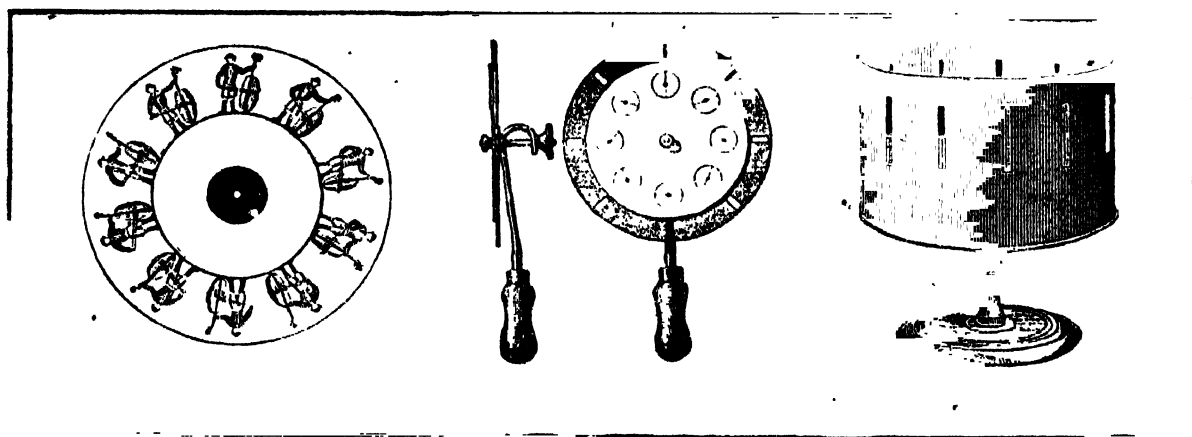
The flexible negative film permits a large number of pictures to be taken quickly in succession upon a single strip of negative film. This flexible negative film before use in the camera, consists of a long narrow strip of celluloid coated with gelatin photographic emulsion. The transparent support for the positive print or the positive film, permits the pictures to be projected on an enlarged scale upon a screen, so that they may be viewed by the large audiences. Motion pictures were well received by the public from the beginning and the industry grew rapidly from the first.

In the beginning it was sufficient to photograph anything which had a movement and the wonder of the projected feature was sufficient to hold the attention of the audience. The subjects which were confined to travel and science studies and occasional foolish comedies were enthusiastically received by the public; dramas were not then known.

The public soon discovered that the photoplay is more realistic than the plays produced on the stage and that the range of the subjects that can be covered by the film is almost limitless. Instead of using painted sceneries, it is possible to produce the act among the actual surroundings demanded by the play. When the producer needs a ship, he does not build one of painted canvas and a few boards, but goes and photographs the group of players on board an actual ship, that sails on an actual ocean or river. The photoplay fills actually the increasing demand for realism.

Sometimes it is necessary to play deceptions to curtail the expenses of the production, but it is played so cleverly, that very few of the frequenters of the picture theatre can detect it. For that reason the film-producer must be artful for he must get by ingenious contrivances the maximum of effects for the minimum of expense and trouble.

About this time the manufacturers have discovered that the foreign pictures or scenes are attractive to the average show-patrons, with the result that the travel



THE FIRST MOVING PICTURE MACHINE IS NOW A CHILD'S TOY.

The "wheel of life," or zootrope, in either form shown here, gave the effect of motion by an optical illusion.

pictures have come into being. The pictures are not only entertaining but are instructive as well.

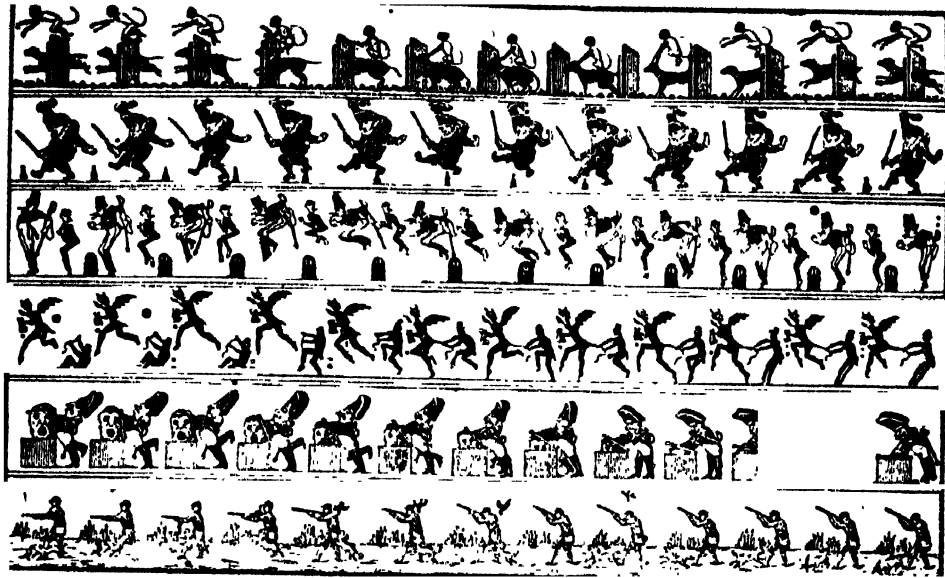
With the advent of the exclusively motion picture theatre, the demand for the drama grew. It became necessary for the motion picture manufacturer to acquire studios suitable for staging dramas to employ writers to furnish themes for motion picture plays, to employ actors and stage directors to present the theme properly before the motion camera and to employ scene painters and property-men in a manner very similar to the operation of a standard theatre except that the sitting capacity is absent and the play is produced but once in the studio.

Dramatic films which tell the story, through a series of related incidents are equivalent to a drama of the legitimate stage in all its essential details except of course that the action is expressed entirely in pantomime. The incidents in the film drama, like that of the legitimate drama, are based on a story or manuscript, known as scenerio. The players go through the play before the camera as in the ordinary theatrical performance, the camera playing the role of the audience. The interior scenes of these plays are enacted in the studio of the manufacturer. The exterior views are of course taken at the place designed by the scenerio which may be any place south of the Arctic or north of the Antarctic.

All parts of acting and stage fixing are directed by the producer, who is the principle factor in the management of the studios, and in the production of the

plays. From the time that the scenerio first falls into his hands until the negative has been delivered to the developing department he is constantly on the job in directing the work of the players and scenic mechanics. On the receipt of the scenerio the producer makes such additions and subtractions as he thinks necessary and notes the details of the scenes and the property required for the plays. In case of out of door scenes, the producer determines on the proper locality for the action. While all these are in progress, he selects the players and calls for a rehearsal. If the scene to be rehearsed is a studio act, the stage is set completely and the actors appear in full costume. The camera is set in position so that the operator may become familiar with the act, and the rehearsal proceeds. After a number of substitutions and additions made by the producer to improve the scene or to bring it within the time limits of the films, it finally receives his approval and the camera is started. An instant after follows the order, "start your action." The producer now starts his direction to the players "You are out of camera." "Kelly, faster, faster, faster," "cheer up, you with harem skirt, not so far" "roll your eyes" "be more serious" and so on. During the rehearsal the players are either assigned or assume a dialogue that corresponds in a rough way to the pantomime. While the speech is not produced by the projection, it is a great aid in attaining the correct facial expression, and makes the picture much more natural.

If any mistake is made during the



Twenty inches of pictures made the first cinematograph.



IN THE WELTER OF THE MOVIE STUDIO.

The actors, surrounded by a tangle of machinery, play only to the producing staff.

filming of the play, the film is destroyed and the act is repeated until it meets the approval of the producer.

In the case of the out of door scenes the play is generally rehearsed in the studios before going into the field. This practice



THE ACTOR CAUGHT-

IN THE ACT.

An actor is enacting a movie scene for the camera as the staff direct and register what seems to be a very solemn moment.

is always followed in case of the street scenes, where the throng of spectators would interfere with a prolonged rehearsal.

The players are frequently recruited from the theatres. It is customary to hire some actors for a day at a time, because of the fluctuations in the studio demands. One day the producer may require as many as five hundred players and the next day less than one twentieth of that number, depending on the character of the play then being produced. The company maintains a small body of players known as stock company, who are kept continuously in the service of the company at a fixed salary. The selection of actors and actresses is by no means an easy task, for they must not only be the masters of pantomime but must look their part as well. The camera is a merciless critic and exaggerates all the awkward gestures or facial peculiarities of the players, and the defects that would not be noticed on the

stage are glaringly apparent on the screen. It is almost impossible to doctor up a character with grease paint, for the magnification of the projector would make such an attempt ridiculous. It is almost impossible for an old man to take the part of a young or vice versa, which can be done in the legitimate theatre with success.

The company I am working with, as oriental assistant producer, have twenty-six different producers, and each maintains a stock company of its own. The company supplies scenerios and money and the producers make the picture. This company is the largest in the United States giving employment to twenty thousand people everyday. The place where they have their studios and factory is known as Universal City after the name of the company and occupies four thousand acres of land. This company maintains a menagerie of wild animals to produce hunting, wild animals and the African pictures.

The studio is the department of the producer and the factory is the department of the photographer. The factory superintendent or the photographer, does but little of the photographic work, with his own hands. The divisions of his factory, taken in the order in which they become useful in the making of the picture film, are as follows:

The raw sensitive films are purchased, cut to pieces and packed in the tin cans; a fireproof iron safe or iron vault for film storage holds the films until needed. From the vault the film is taken to the perforating room where holes are punched in the edges. Thence the negative film goes to the camera-man, who is the photographer's assistant, working under the order of the producer. From the camera-



UNDER HEAVY FIRE.

The tiring picture of Germans crossing a stream in the face of enemy shells is managed with the aid of powder-filled bladders exploded under water.

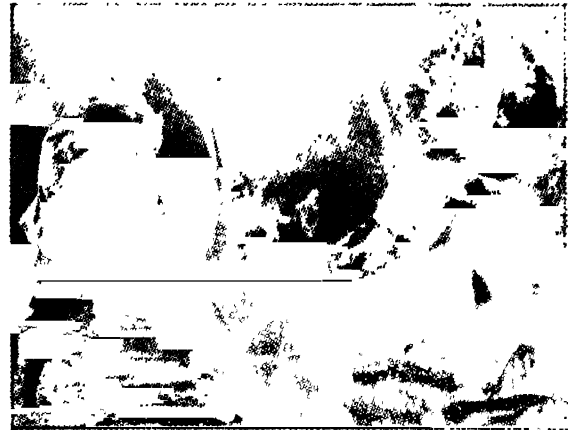
and spliced up according to copy, the film negative goes to the printing room and supplies of positive films also go from the perforating room to the printing room, where the positive film is printed from the negative. The negative after all prints are



THE CAUSE.

By showing alternately the photos of the gunners and their victims, we have a presentation far beyond the spoken drama.

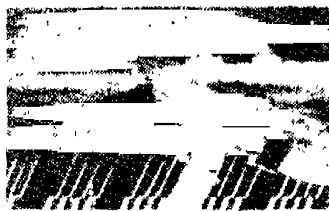
man, the exposed film goes to the developing room, where it is developed into a negative. Then titles are made, scenes and titles are finally approved



THE EFFECT.

The victims of the machine gun. The rapid alternation of the two scenes is called "switching there and back."

made goes to the film storage room permanently. The printed positive film goes from the printing room to the developing room, which develops the negative, then to the washing room, then to the drying room, and, when dry, to the inspection and

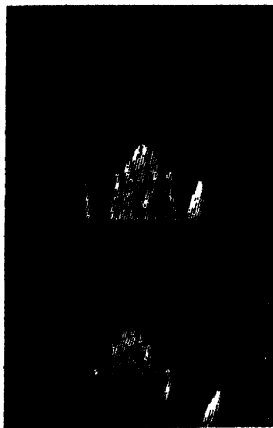


OFF TO THE WAR.

The "passing regiment" is manipulated by an assistant behind the scenes, while the heroine waves a touching farewell.

splicing room, and again to the fireproof storage vault, until the day for packing and shipment.

In brief the division of the photographer's factory are film storage, perforating, camera title making, developing, printing, washing and drying, inspecting and shipping. The total task of the photographer is to produce a creditable photographic film picture, when the producer has enacted the scenes and has written the titles. This task requires the photographer to have



THE BIRTH OF A FLOWER.

The pictures represent the stages of growth on the second, fourth, sixth and eighth days respectively.

his assistant the camera-man present, when the producer enacts a scene, and leaves the responsibility upon the photographer through his assistant, the camera-man, for the proper photographic record of the scene, upon the negative film of the camera.

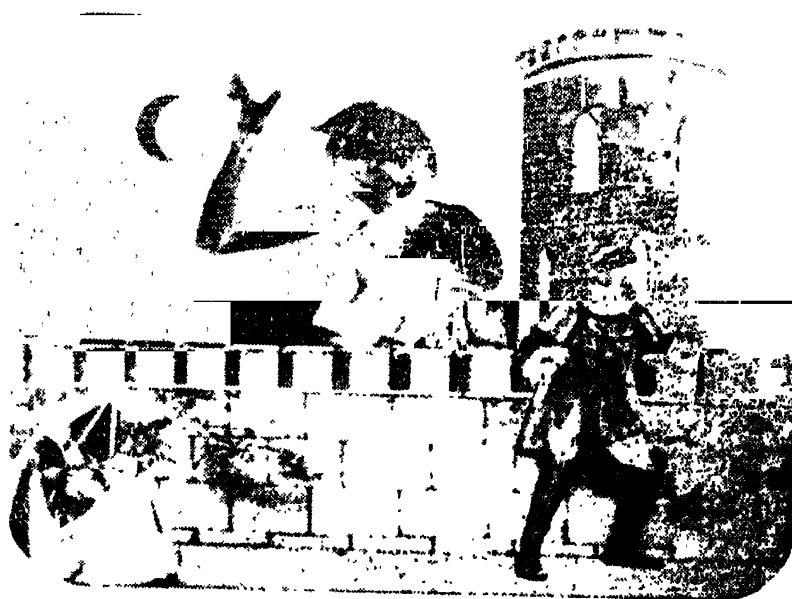
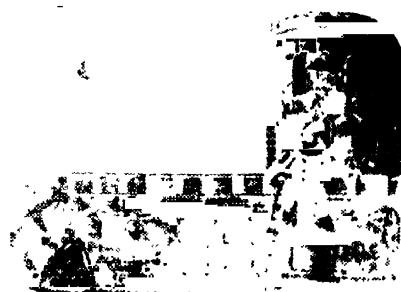


TRICK CINEMATOGRAPHY -THE AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT.

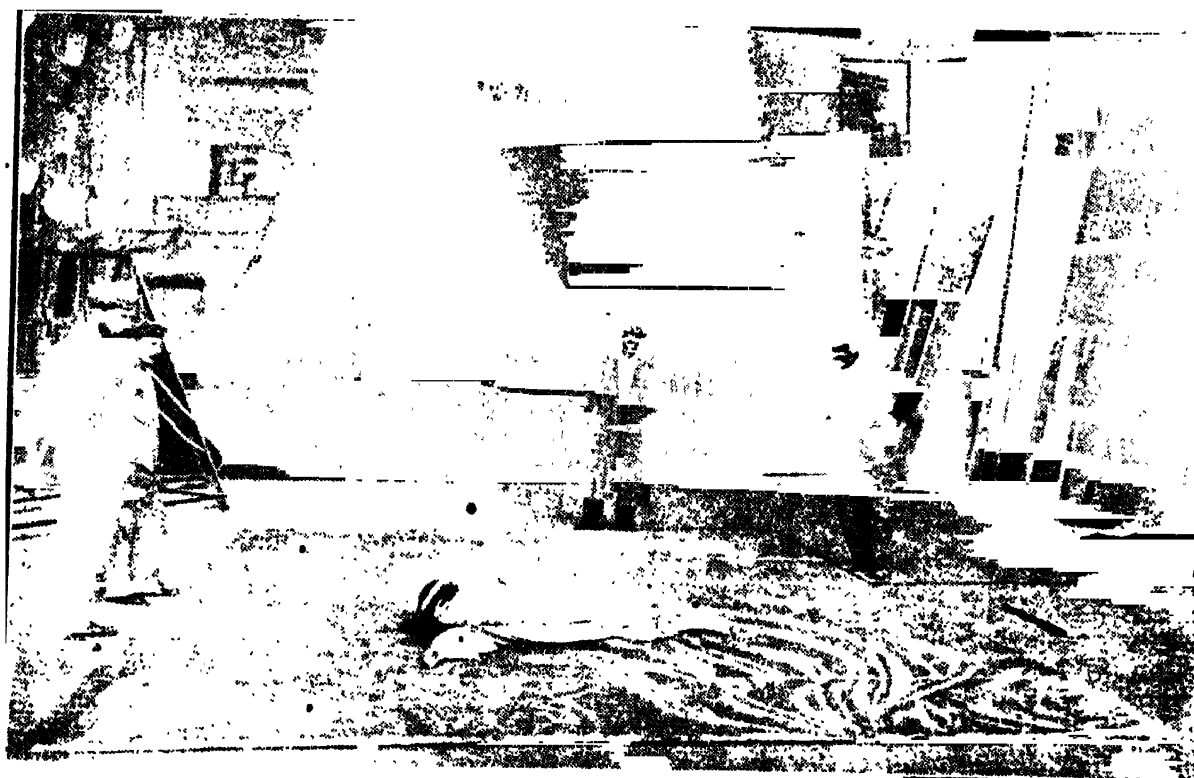
This is done by 'stop and substitution' method, the principal actor is made up as a double of a cripple. Here the actor is being replaced by the legless cripple with the dummy legs. The Taxicab will run over and displace the legless cripple's property legs.

The division of responsibility at this point is logical. If the negative is lost because the camera-man used the wrong stop in the lens, the failure is photographic in nature and the photographer is to blame because of the incompetency of his assistant. From this point to the delivery of the film for shipment the process is wholly photographic. The photographer assigns his camera-man to the producer as demanded, providing him with the negative film, and delivers proof print to the producer for criticism. From the approved proofs and the picture copy, the photographer prints finished film pictures as requested and delivers them by shipping them under salesman's order.

The field for the motion picture industry is unsurpassable, because it controls indefinite lives, and is more realistic than the legitimate drama. Merely on account of its educational value it will never grow old. "No device ever within the brain of man has such boundless educational, mind-transforming potency and powers, as the



The Appearance of a Demon explained. Scene A was photographed first. The ogre was photographed against a neutral background upon a second film B, the camera being brought very close to figure. When the two films were superimposed and printed the startling picture, C, was obtained.



THE MYSTERY OF THE SIREN REVEALED.

The camera was placed in the flies with the lens pointing downwards upon the actress moving on the painted floor.



THE MYSTERY OF "THE SIREN."

A beautiful woman is observed to be swimming gracefully in the depths of the sea, and the public is mystified as to how she can exist under water.

projection of moving pictures on a screen, where all can see. It will actually surpass literature in almost supreme power."

Motion pictures have entered into the educational programme of modern American and European schools and universities. Our people might call it the motion picture theatre university, or the picture civilizer; but its influence is real and sure just the same. People like pictures and they like stories, and the motion picture drama being a picture story, has therefore a double reason for its popularity, it is the latest in the series of human inventions which have made human history.

Young people as well as old can better remember history and mythological stories if the actual occurrence can be presented before them, than by merely reading the incidents. Historical scenes can be taken in the actual place of occurrence. Being a picture story this is extremely amusing and interesting even to the illiterate and common people.

The establishment of a motion picture producing company in India, will not only bring immense profit but will aid in the education of the people, and will provide work for thousands of the starving poor. If we go after it cautiously and sagaciously, we shall succeed, because the demands



WHERE THE PHOTO PLAY BEST THE STAGE DRAMA.

A young girl is shown ill at ease in the midst of gay company. Without further explanation a "cut in" of the lonely mother waiting at home (above) gives us in a glance a clearer insight into the depth of her soul than words could convey.

for the foreign pictures in the occident, specially for the oriental, is enormous, and also we have a great field in our own land. The production of oriental pictures in the orient will cost one-twentieth of the sum required to produce them in America, and can be made more perfect and pleasing to the occidental eye. American people think that all orientals are alike, they cannot make any discrimination between the Arabs and the East Indians, and Hindus and Mohamedans, though they are always willing to make pictures as perfect as possible under the circumstances.

The tropics are the ideal place to take the best motion picture, specially India, according to the report of the Pathe Frere, the foremost authority on the subject. A prominent film-manufacturing company, operated for years, without studios and painted scene sits, releasing a reel each week. On several occasions the film-manufacturer, whose headquarters and factories are located in the northern hemisphere have sent producing companies to the tropics in the winter, when many

complete dramas have been produced, before the camera, without studio and without artificial scenery. The beauty and attractiveness of a motion picture is enhanced by avoiding painted scenery and their artificial appearance, whenever possible. No painted scenery can equal the details and accuracy of the natural objects.

The few small companies, who are working on this line in India, can do better, if they can push their goods through the American market. It might seem a little hard in the beginning, but it could be done just the same with a little exertion. The American public always goes in for the novelty without caring what it is and is ready to pay enormous prices, specially for anything concerning the mysterious orient. Here is the chance for our picture film manufacturers to establish their companies on a firm basis, the only requisite is a little enterprising spirit. They ought to do it before it is too late, because many of the American film manufacturing companies are contemplating to start the oriental branch of their studios in India right after the war is over. Only in the city of Los Angeles, ten oriental, specially East Indian, film features (dramas) are being released every week; in the whole United States, not less than two hundred oriental features are being produced every week, and these are being directed and acted by the Americans, who are fully ignorant of the oriental characteristics. American people always love realism, all these releasing companies are fully aware of this fact, and are always willing to get real things. Having been interested in this subject, I am well known among the "movie circle," specially with some of the biggest releasing companies. These companies have always expressed their desire to buy some genuine oriental features. It is customary with these companies to witness the feature on the screen before the deal. If it is satisfactory

and reliable they are ready to pay a very big price and will make contracts on a weekly or monthly basis. Any person who is willing to push his goods through the American market, may communicate with me, or send a few reels of their positive films; I will do the rest very willingly to represent my country to the Americans; and will be able to say: "We are not so backward as you think."

The routine of manufacturing and selling motion pictures, can be compared very closely, with the routine of printing and selling a newspaper or a magazine. The amusement business is established upon a weekly or daily basis, in theatrical circles a year being spoken of as fifty-two weeks and a day as one-seventh of a week. The big theatres change their bills at the end of the week and vaudeville programs are changed weekly. Similarly in the motion picture theatres the program is made upon the weekly basis. The film-renter makes his schedule upon the weekly basis, and it best suits his convenience to receive his films from the manufacturer upon a weekly schedule. As the businessman gets his newspaper every morning, so the prominent daily change motion picture theatre gets its new film from the renter, who in turn gets the film every morning from the manufacturers. Orders are placed by the renter on the basis of weekly deliveries, that his schedule may run smoothly.

In view of the deliveries required by his customer of the renter, the manufacturer is obliged to issue his pictures as regularly and as punctually, as a publisher issues his newspaper. Each film manufacturer therefore establishes one or more less release days for each week according to the number of reels of films which he will manufacture per week, and advertises, that a full feature will be sold or released upon each of his release days.

NIRUPAM CHANDRA GUHA.

THE PLACE OF CINEMATOGRAPH IN EDUCATION

THE Indian Universities were not at the outset founded to impart education as we generally understand the term—viz., a harmonious development of the physical, intellectual and moral faculties combined with some practical training or technical knowledge, to fit the recipient of education for public and individual duties in life or a station in life which suits his aptitudes and interests. The only object of the university is to test proficiency.

Teaching in Indian Schools and Colleges implies coaching for examinations. In some it consists of only giving notes. While the evils of an examining English University are fully existing in Indian Universities, they are without the redeeming features or compensating influences that can be found in England. However defective the School, College, or University education of an English boy may be, the defect is made good by home influences and association. Send an Englishman to any part of the world, he will as a rule rise to the occasion and meet the situation, for his instincts and early practical education fit him for emergencies in life. The influences which educate a man at home, in the streets, and in the gatherings, either for games, sports or lectures, are very few in India.

There are lots of things one never learns at school. Education and knowledge do not necessarily mean the same thing. It might be very useful, for instance, to know that the sun is precisely so many millions of miles from the earth but it is more of an education to get an insight into the manners and customs of a foreign people, to follow the destinies of human beings, and to know life. The photo-play is going to do for the crowd what Ibsen and Bernard Shaw have done for the intellectuals. Those responsible for the education of the young in this country have not yet attempted to give the cinematograph its true place in the school where it may aid the teacher in imparting lessons in geography, natural history and other kindred subjects. But in the Western countries the turning has been reached in the long lane leading to the regular adop-

tion of the cinematograph as an educational instrument. A very interesting experiment in educational cinematography is in progress at a theatre at Balham. Seven secondary schools of the district have united for the purpose of giving the pupils one morning each week a cinema demonstration bearing upon the school lessons of the preceding week. The classes from the different schools go direct from the schools to the cinematograph theatre instead of having the usual geography, science, or Nature study lesson in the classroom and return again to the school after they have witnessed the particular films arranged for them.

At the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburg, the steel business is being taught by means of a series of films entitled "From Iron Ore to Finished Steel." The pictures show the ore mine "Hull-Rust," in the Mesaba District of Minnesota, the largest ore mine in the world; the digging of ore by gigantic steam shovels, and loading on peat freighters, and again, the unloading. The product is then followed to the United States Steel Corporation Mills, when every process of steel-making is most vividly portrayed. The films are described as being of exceptional educational value, as, besides showing steel-making, they also show the various processes of the by-products, coke-plants, and many other accessories.

Views of foreign countries and life add a living interest to the dull geography lesson. Films showing the process of manufacture of articles handled or seen by children every day and almost indispensable to modern civilisation, or films upon natural history and country life for town-bred children, or views of great ships sailing out of port for children bred remote from the seas—all these have their value. Again, the cinema has the power to gain the interest of the young in simple and instructive scientific experiments.

There is not the slightest doubt that plenty of room exists for films upon new educational subjects or upon the same subjects from different points of view. The cinematograph is an educational instru-

ment as valuable to the teacher as the telephone is to the business man.

In this connection it is interesting to note the activity of the London Teachers' Association. This society, mainly consisting of London teachers of all grades, has been investigating the question of films and has appointed a sub-committee to draw up a report and recommendation upon existing films, and offer suggestions for new films suitable for elementary schools.

The picture-play has great possibilities as a form of dramatic expression. Certain novels and plays lend themselves admirably to pictorial treatment. The growing im-

portance of film work on the literary side is proved when we see that everything distinguished in English literature is represented in cinematograph. A few hours in a cinema theatre which selects its subjects carefully can supply interest for king, peasant, queen and seamstress.

The cinema has won for itself a place of honour in the world's activities as a power for the entertainment and instruction of the masses. But what we do further hope is that it should become a great force in the educational system with enormous possibilities for the coming generations.

X.

REVIEWS

Mr. Gangoly on the South Indian Bronzes.

By S. KUMAR, M.R.A.S.

South Indian Bronzes. A historical survey of South Indian Sculpture with iconographical notes based on original sources. By O. C. Gangoly. With an introductory note by J. G. Woodroffe. Published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1915. 40. pp. i-xiii, 1-80; pl. I-XCV.

In the life-history of a nation, art is the greatest factor. It is art which marks out the standard of human civilization and it is art again which definitely points out the particular niche of culture in which any nation is to be placed; it is in fact the primary factor in the evolution of a nation's life and it may be said, with considerable emphasis, that art and life of a nation are interdependent on one another. The one moulds the other in as much as it is moulded by the other.

The work under review is a treatise on art. About the usefulness of the treatise and the qualifications of the author, who is an artist himself, there can be no gainsaying. The "project of the present publication" came to the mind of the author "during a hasty pilgrimage to the shrines" of South India and the discovery of the texts of the Silpa-Sastras contributed no less to the materials which he had been collecting during his travels for a treatise on the bronzes of South India.

In the preface the author takes his readers into confidence and speaks about his inability in obtaining "first-hand informations" for his want of knowledge in the Tamil language. These informations mainly relative to the history of the subject are not, in our humble judgment, to be regarded as of supreme importance in such a work as under review. It is art in all its technicalities and classical exposition that we expect from an artist of the author's calibre; and our

expectation, we are sure, has been adequately fulfilled.

The work is prefaced by an introduction from the pen of the Hon'ble Justice Sir John G. Woodroffe. We fully concur with what has been said in the very sympathetic and appreciative foreword; the work is likely to contribute a good deal to the dispelling of misconceptions of foreign critics and to refute unjust criticisms of prejudiced art connoisseurs. The so-called monstrosities of the Hindu Pauranic conceptions had been much decried by some self-styled art-critics of the West. The merits of Brahmanic sculpture have failed to appeal to some of the artists and connoisseurs of Europe and America and are still looked down upon as "a freak of Asiatic barbarism," not because there is anything which is monstrously absurd and devoid of æsthetic conceptions in the specimens hitherto collected, examined and studied, but because, above all, they are exclusively Indian. Preconceived notions and personal equation have much to answer for such deprecatory remarks from quarters wherefrom better and more appreciative criticisms would be expected. The case in point reminds us of the remarks from the pen of such a scholar as Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, in connection with the work under review, in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.* Dr. Barnett in his notice is not at all forgetful of the fact that the author is a Bengali; the admission of the author of his ignorance of Tamil has afforded him grounds enough to run him down. I wonder how much of Tamil Dr. Barnett knows himself! And to that single theme two full pages have been devoted.

"Tantaene animis coelestibus irae!"

Dr. Barnett should have had the good sense to discover that the work in question is neither a work on iconography, nor a historical treatise on the bronze art of South India, but that it is a work on the technics of the classical art of the South. Dr.

* Jan., 1916, p. 174

Barnett is misled by the subtitle which we think is a misnomer. The fault partly lies with the author.

The work opens with a discourse on the distinction between the Dravidian and the Brahmanic feature of civilization and a traditional account of the advent of the so-called Aryan culture into the South. We cannot and do not agree in all that has been said here. A curious medley has been made of myths, traditions and legends, of history and quasi-history, of facts unwarranted and unwarrantable, followed by a sketchy cultural history of South India. Thus the author could have spared himself the pains to put in without doing any very great injury to his work. Kasyapa, Agastya and Rama we can very well afford to banish to the realms of myth and folklore. The only matter of importance with regard to our old friend Agastya is that the Silpasastra is said to be his work; but this is only a tradition, and as such should have been left out of consideration as of no historical value. Dr. Barnett in his notice has alluded to this portion of the work and taken the author to task for his having set store by these traditions. But he is mysteriously reticent about the subject-matter proper of the work. There is, however, one thing that we should not lose sight of. These myths and traditions reflect, though very vaguely, the culture of the nation during a very extensive period. The spirit in which Dr. Barnett has wielded his trenchant pen against the work and its author, for the simple reason that the author happens to belong to a race which fails to commend itself to his good graces, is neither broad nor scholarly.

Mr. Gangoly, in the middle of the first chapter, gives an elaborate account of the manuscripts he had discovered and which afforded him materials to work with. Some of these works are attributed to their traditional author Agastya; but traditions like this and the colophons of manuscripts bearing out such myths and traditions should have no place in critical and historical studies. The author could have heightened the value of the historical and critical portion of his work by being a little more incredulous of traditional accounts of the introducer of so-called Aryan craft amongst the Dravidians. Agastya and his followers must be consigned to the dreamland of myths and folklore peopled by the shadows woven into being by the gossamer threads of imagination.

The second chapter introduces us to Saivism and the growth of the Sivite art in South India. The author holds that the exact time at which the doctrine was established in India as a definite cult is not at present ascertainable; but the creed is as old as the Vedas. The *Rudras* of the *Rig-Veda* were the gods of the howling storm. In some of the hymns, probably the earlier ones, the singular form, viz., *Rudra*, is to be found. *Rudra* is represented as the father of the *Maruts*. The Vedic pantheon perhaps at a later period felt the necessity of multiplying some of its divinities and probably *Rudra* shared in this multiplication. The conception of *Rudra* had certainly not much to do with the phallic Siva; neither are we ready to accept that the Sivite of the South took the idea up from the Vedas. The compromise between the two conceptions and the identification of the altogether different divinities are the results of that spirit of toleration which is found in India alone. To anyone who has made a serious study of the history of Indian religions and who has had the opportunity of devoting himself to the study of the cultural history of the so-called Aryans, as it is presented in the Vedas, we are sure, he will be convinced that in the present case

two separate conceptions, which were originally foreign to one another, were made to coincide at a comparatively later age and give birth to the phallic Sivitism. This amalgamation was certainly gradual and set afoot long before the *Mricchakatika* was written. What we contend is that it is doubtful whether the Phallic Sivitism was an exotic creed planted in the Dravidian land, or that it was an indigenous conception of the South which was afterwards elevated and rendered more dignified by grafting on it the superior spiritual and mythical conception of the North.

The remarks of Patanjali, viz., *Mouryair hiranyar-thibhir arcah Prakalpita*, referred to by the author, does not prove anything with regard to either the Sivite icons, or the introduction of the Sivite cult among the Southerners. The author then proceeds, in the rest of the chapter, to narrate in brief the history of the Sivite faith among the Tamil-speaking Dravidians.

The foregoing chapters form a sort of preliminary note to the main subject-matter treated in the work. The real treatise commences from the third chapter of the book. There would have been no discount on the value of the work if the two preceding chapters were never written. The chapter opens with a lucid exposition of the canons of the Silpasastras and in connection with this the various stages in the process of casting metal images have been illustrated and explained. Then follows the enumeration of preliminaries such as, preparation of wax models, taking of measurement, judging of dimensions and poses, etc. For the preparation of models the Silpasastras afford us formulæ which a novice has to learn by heart. These canons form the most important portion of the Sastras. They inculcate rules of proportion which once played not a very inconsiderable part in the development of the arts of sculpture and metal work in India. Certainly, they do limit the scope and the originality of the artist's genius and at times the representations become rather more conventional than suggestive. It is also true that they do not leave a very great latitude for the artist. But such limitations have often been necessary. And we cannot endorse in full all that the author wants to tell us in the following passage:—

"The rules and canons are only limitations for the mediocre and the incapacitated—and not the real artist, to whom the fixed convention of a particular theme is never a barrier to his artistic expression." (p. 31).

Generally and broadly speaking Mr. Gangoly is perhaps right; but by testing the statement in a closer light we must have to confess that the general statement quoted above is rather too vague and sanguine. Certain canons there are and will always be, which even a Raphael or a Guido have to abide by. Executions of Rodin or the paintings of Alma Tadema would fail to appeal to our senses and feelings if they did not conform to the elementary conventions of art. Of course, the Dhyanamantras are rather too rigid, but still the art which flourished in Northern India, under the regime of *Mahayanaism*, has not failed to supply us with specimens of exquisite beauty and finish. The Dhyanamantras of the Buddhists cannot be called less conventional and rigid than those of the Sivites. The Greeks had their canons and the Romans had theirs too; and judging from the specimens hitherto discovered and studied, none of the classical types have been found to strike up a very distinct note of revolt against their respective canons.

The author has very lucidly explained the subtle distinction between the *dhyanas* and the *lakṣanas*.^{*} The three 'poses' and the 'fingerplays' have been amply illustrated by means of figures, diagrams and drawings. The author's experience has also been noted, and we learn with regret how the art is dwindling away and how the craftsmen little care to know what has been enjoined by their predecessors whose works have become almost classical to the students of South Indian art. The author says "the modern practising sculptors however have generally forgotten the practice of these three poses and although I read to many of them the original text from Kasyapiya and Agastya giving the exact plumb lines with reference to the three *vaṅgas* [*sic*, for *bhūṅgas*] they were unable to illustrate the rules by a diagram" (p. 40). This plain statement of truth leads us to realise how gradual and how complete is the downfall of the Indian craft. The indolence and the mechanical and easy mode of living characteristic of inhabitants of the tropical East have much to do to bring about a sleepy indifference to what is little out of the way of their merry go-along life.

In chapter IV the relation between the Chola art and that of the earlier Sivite schools has been traced. Special studies of the evolution of certain images, as for instance that of Natarāja, have been given. A comparative study of the contemporary stone sculpture has been pronounced to be necessary, as the one and the same artist would sometimes cast the bronze images, and at others chisel the stone panels in the niches of temples. An account of the Sivite art as it flourished under the Pallavas (*sic*, for Pahlavas) has also been subjoined.

One thing that strikes us as out of place and far from the mark is the account of the Indian immigration in the East Indies. What we expect here to find is the oldest example of the images in South India; the authors' researches should have been circumscribed by the sea-bound coast lines of India. The Javanese art and the art of the ancient Indian colonies are manifold enough, in all their different stages of evolution, to be dealt with in volumes, each of which would be at least as big as the work under review.

A brief history of the bronze art of the South which follows will, no doubt, prove interesting to the students of the Indian artistic evolution. One regrets its being so short and the presentation of data so meagre. In one point we cannot but differ from what the author has said about the attribution of certain images "to the great sculptors of historical fame," Jaya, Parojaya and Bijaya [*sic*, for Vijaya]. These three names, I am sure, the author has found in Taranatha's history.† We do not think the author has any inscription to stand by. A particular image or any group of images can never be regarded as a specimen or specimens of artistic creation of any particular person or of persons, when there is nothing in the shape of inscription indicating the name or names of the artist or artists, or any other similar tangible and contemporary evidence. Assertions such as the one above, unsupported by evidence of tangible and contemporary nature, cannot be introduced into the sacred arena of history. Mere stylistic grouping of images can never help one to

trace the development of an art with definiteness and accuracy.

The author has also attempted to trace the relation between the Ceylonese and the South Indian art. On this point, we think, it is better to keep the question open. The study of the style and the history of the Ceylonese art has only begun. We are not yet sufficiently advanced to pronounce any definite opinion on the art of Ceylon. The conjecture which the author has ventured is rather too vague, and hence, unacceptable.

In the last chapter the author winds up his magnificent work with a comparative study of the art of various nations and sects. We fully agree with the author in what he says with regard to the Buddhistic art. About the effect of the canons, the author here only elucidates his own assertion in one of the preceding chapters, with regard to which we have only to refer to our remarks already made. The comparison between the Greek, the Egyptian, the Roman and the Indian artistic evolution as instituted by the author has not much to commend itself to our serious attention. Patriotism is good, no doubt, but there are times when proper moderation is to be exercised, and in no case it should be allowed to render one's reasoning cloudy. The classical, the Egyptian and the Indian art had each their excellence, their special features and characteristic ideals. One conception is as good as the other, so long as it is clearly and aesthetically expressed in the artist's execution. The physical idealism of the Hellenic art, the gross reality of the Romans, the remote and uncommunicative figures in the Egyptian monuments, the super-sensuous and mysterious conception of the Indian artists are all superbly magnificent and exquisitely beautiful. It would be martistic to judge one as superior to the other, and the judgment would depend much upon the individual liking and predisposition.

Lastly, we think we should be lacking in our duty, should we not point out to the author the unworkable nature of his system of transliteration. The system sanctioned by the Geneva Congress of the Orientalists is the best suited to the purpose of romanising Oriental languages and should have been adopted by the author.

In fine, we have only to say that in spite of difference of opinion on certain points which we have tried to argue in the course of our review, we have not the least hesitation to say that the work is a very valuable one and sure to prove useful to the students of Indian art. We tender our heartiest welcome to the work and our sincerest good wishes to the author and request him to have his treatise translated and published in Bengali, so that, the literature of his own province may boast of one more jewel added to her crown.

Rawlinson's Shivaji.

Shivaji the Maratha, his Life and Times, by H. G. Rawlinson. Pp. 125, 2 illustrations, and 1 Map. (Clarendon Press, 1915), 2-6 net.

This is the first life of Shivaji in English, apart from the translations of one or two old chronicles which have appeared before. During the last 30 years, a mass of historical materials has been collected and made available by the industry of a band of scholars in India, especially in the Deccan. The vernacular sources are all in print and most of them have been subjected to criticism and sifting in the pages of the Marathi magazines. The Persian sources have been mapped out and partly given

* Perhaps owing to the loose system of transliteration the word is spelled *lakṣanas* in the text.

† This is another instance of loose transliteration.

‡ *Gesch. d. Buddh. i. Ind.* Ueberset. v. A. Schiffner.

in translations in this Review from its very foundation in January 1907. The time has, therefore, come for a scientific study of these materials and the production of a trustworthy, minutely accurate, and documented life of Shivaji. Such a task has been attempted with an eminent degree of success by Mr. Govind Sakharām Sardesai, B.A., in his *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. I, published last winter in the vernacular.

Professor Rawlinson, on the other hand, seems to have undertaken the book under review in a dilettante and uncritical spirit. He has totally ignored the "other side," namely, the mass of Persian materials translated in this Review; and with regard to the Marathi *bakhar* he has made the strange selection of later and legendary works in preference to earlier and more reliable ones. The Marathi lives of Shivaji, arranged in order of time are:—

1. *Sabhasad bakhar*, written in 1694 by Shivaji's secretary Krishnaji Anant, (tr. by Mankar).

2. *Shiva-dig-vijaya*, composed in 1718 and ascribed to Khandō Ballal, the son of Shivaji's chitnis Balaji Avji, ed. by Nandurbar-Kar and Dandekar. (Baroda, 1895.)

3. *Chitrāgupta bakhar*, c. 1765.

4. The Raigarh Life, incorrectly translated by Frisset in Forrest's Selections, c. 1780.

5. *Chitnis bakhar*, written in 1810 and ed. by Kirtane.

As to the relative merits of these works, Mr. Sardesai writes: "Chitnis's *bakhar* is certainly inferior to Sabhasad's and to *Shiva-dig-vijaya*. The latter quotes original documents extensively and I am sure the author had full access to Shivaji's *dattar*. The *Chitrāgupta bakhar* is only an enlarged copy of Sabhasad with a mixture of self-composed Marathi verses here and there. The author, Raghunath Yadav, calls himself Chitrāgupta in order to show himself off as a Puranic. He had a fund of information from various sources, but no idea of accuracy or historical truth." (See also Rajawade, Vol. iv. 7-17). As for Chitnis's *bakhar*, Grant Duff writes (i. 120n): "Mulhrām Rao's life of Sivajee is very voluminous; but I do not think that he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession."

And yet Mr. Rawlinson has thought fit to rely on the most discredited of the above five sources, and "chiefly used the Chitnis *bakhar* and the *bakhar* known as Chitrāgupta's in the compilation of the present monograph"! Sabhasad's *bakhar* is referred to in three places only and *Shiva-dig-vijaya* is totally ignored by him.

It is clear that Mr. Rawlinson has not himself read any of the Maratha books he refers to in his Introduction. On page 7 he speaks of the Chitnis *bakhar* as edited by Mr. Sane,—while as a matter of fact Mr. Kirtane edited Chitnis's life of Shivaji and Mr. Sane edited the same author's lives of Shambhuji and Rajaram.

A still more glaring error disfigures his citation of English authorities. He repeatedly speaks of Briggs, *Ferishta* (1832) as one of "the English works on Maratha history," in entire oblivion of the fact that Ferishta never wrote a word about Shivaji or Shahji, for the excellent reason that his work was completed about 1600 A. D. What Mr. Rawlinson really means is Jonathan Scott's "History of the Deccan, miscalled Scott's *Ferishta*," (printed at Shrewsbury, 1794), which contains a long account of Shivaji and his descendants, translated from the Persian *Dilkasha* and there entitled "The Journal of a Boondelah officer.

Turning to the book itself, we meet with serious mistakes on almost every page. A few are noted below:

P. 18, l. 26. *Hala* the Andhra King has been confounded with *Harsha*, the Emperor of N. India. P. 21, bottom, Mr. Rawlinson repeats the myth that the Bahmani dynasty was named after the former Brahman master of its founder. Evidently he has never heard of Major Worsley Haig's refutation of this story in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" and his "Historical Landmarks of the Deccan." P. 33, bottom, Mulla Ahmad is represented as going to the court of Shah Jahan. Khafi Khan is, no doubt, responsible for the error; the correct name, which is supplied by the Bijapur official history, *Basatin-i-salatin* being "Adil Shah" and not "Shah Jahan." When Mulla Ahmad did desert to the Mughals (1665), not Shah Jahan but Aurangzib was on the throne. P. 37, Shivaji's officers never captured Mulla Ahmad himself, but only his daughter in law. Pp. 39-41, the correct dates of Shahji's arrest and release by the Bijapuris and the falsehood of the charge of "cowardly betrayal" brought against Bajji Ghorpade in this connection, have been established by me in this Review, (July 1916, pp. 9-10.)

P. 45, Aurangzib became viceroy of the Deccan for a second time in 1653 and not in 1650. P. 46, l. 9, *Kalyan* should be *Kaliyani*; Bijapur fort was not really threatened by Aurangzib in 1657. P. 47, the Bijapur official history represents Alzal Khan's army as 10,000 troopers and not 5,700 men. P. 57, note, the ballads are right in calling the Brahman envoy Krishnaji Bhaskar, as all the Maratha records give him that name, while Gopnath is the mistake of Grant Duff. P. 54, Mr. Rawlinson seems to have changed his opinion about Shivaji's innocence in the Alzal Khan affair, since writing his "Indian Historical Studies." There is no valid reason for holding that Dr. Fryer (who arrived at Bombay in Dec. 1673) "got his information from some one present on the spot," at Pratapggarh in 1659. The wild gossip of the bazar and the camp was more likely to reach the ears of the English doctor at far off Surat.

P. 62, l. 11. Siddi Jauhar had rebelled against Bijapur much earlier (about 1659) and he died of disease, as the *Basatin-i-Salatin* records (pp. 353-364 of Ms.), P. 67 l. 7, Shaista Khan opened his campaign against Shiva in 1660 and not in 1663 (*vide* official history of Aurangzib's reign.) P. 72, an authentic account of Jai Singh's campaign against Shivaji, based on his despatches has been published in this Review July, 1907. P. 72, l. 22, "Shivaji determined to go to Delhi to interview the Emperor." This is incorrect, as the interview took place at Agra. This fact has been established from contemporary records in this Review (Aug. 1907, p. 153) and is also mentioned in Irvine's *Travels of Manucci*. Mr. Rawlinson is pleased to add the note, "this point is much disputed." No scholar who cares for accuracy any longer disputes it. P. 80, bottom, it was not a "marvel" that the ex-king of Kashghar should have had a golden bed, seeing that he had received 11 lakhs of Rupees from the hospitable Aurangzib. P. 81, Ali Adil Shah II. died on 24 Nov. 1672 (old style) and not on 15 December. P. 88, l. 6, Jai Singh's campaign against Shiva occupied only 3 months in 1665 and not three years, 1662-5.

The strong point of the book is its attention to topography and the bearing of geography on strategy. Chapter VIII., which reviews the character and achievements of Shiva, is an excellent sketch in 12 pages. As for the style, it is as impossible for Pro-

fessor Rawlinson to write a dull page as it, evidently, is for him to use scholarly accuracy or critical discrimination in dealing with an Indian subject.

Kipling no doubt sings of

"A land east of Suez,

Where there aint no ten commandments ;"

but that is no reason why Mr. Rawlinson should jettison the laws of historic evidence in the case of a hero living "east of Suez."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HIGHER COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

IT was claimed at one time that the introduction of English education in India meant the death-knell of what Macaulay called "Absurd History and absurd Metaphysics" and the opening out to the Hindu the rich treasures of English literature and learning. Whatever truth there may have been in these claims in the infancy of University education in India, we no longer regard the sole aim of University education to be the unfolding of western literature and learning before the speculative and philosophic intelligence of the east. We have learnt to look to the Universities not merely to enable our youths to comprehend the writings and ideas of European scholars and authors, but to understand and get a grip of the world in which they are born and in which they have to live. Higher education of any other kind does not deserve that name, it does not stimulate thinking and impart the quality of forming sound judgment, and in short, if it does not equip a man to go out into the world and to meet it with rectitude and strength and with a certain measure of success. University education in India has undoubtedly produced individuals who have in their own person realised these expectations preeminently, but taking the bulk it will be hardly a matter of dispute that these expectations from higher education in India have been very imperfectly realised. Not only, that, but shrewd observers may discern a progressive deterioration, which must be stayed by robust and unflinching measures, if we are not to lose entirely even the small and partial benefits that we realise from higher education in these days.

The thing is writ large on the very surface of the economic and social life of

this country so that he who runs may read. But testimony to bear out the above, if needed, is to be had in abundance. Only the other day, Sir George Barnes, Member for Commerce and Industry, said :

"I have always already felt the great necessity which exists, not only on economic grounds, but for reasons which touch closely on problems of national character and development, of securing for the people of the country a greater share in the exploitation of her natural resources and of adding to the limited and somewhat unsatisfactory avenues of employment for your young men a greater share in those afforded by commerce and industry. At present the educated young men of this country seem to seek employment almost exclusively in Government service, at the Bar, or Journalism, and these three channels of employment do not give sufficient scope for the young men of this country. I should like to see a large part of the stream turned in the direction of commerce and industry."

Similar views mainly with reference to the need for active scientific research were expressed almost at the same time by Sir Thomas Holland, Chairman of the Industrial Commission at Madras. These ideas were corroborated in the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Legislative Council at Simla. His words were:

"I should like to impress this further fact on Indian parents. When they are planning the future of their sons they might well pause to consider whether instead of sending them to join the overstocked market of the legal and literary profession, it would not be better to turn their attention to the possibilities of employment in scientific agriculture. As the department expands, it will afford greater opportunities of advancement, and the man who elects this science may do well for himself and at the same time contribute to the prosperity of his country."

Whether the alternative suggested be commercial and industrial pursuits or close scientific research or probing into the possibilities of scientific agriculture, a note of disappointment with the present activities

in our University runs through all these. If the education at present imparted does not fit the young people out for anything but literary and legal careers, which have on all admissions become forbidding, something must be substituted. If there is such a great gulf between what is wanted in life and what is taught in our educational institutions, if the present day education does not bring—economically—harmony with the surroundings, and therefore a certain measure of success in them, it should be supplemented or supplanted by something that may set a man out with a more cheerful outlook, with better understanding of things and men he is going to meet in life. It follows that the education which we are imparting must be based on utilitarian grounds and if that is so, the reproach must be bravely faced and we should proceed to do something that will be more practical than the scheme devised by the early pioneers of education. We have had enough of the morbid self-glorification of seeking knowledge for its own sake and we as a poor country can no longer afford to offer our young men the literary oddities of the 17th century English authors or the varied fare given by English poets or items of that kind. The first important breach in the old system will have been made by the introduction of higher commercial education and it is perhaps just as well that instead of adopting a policy of violent reversal of the old educational order, we should attempt a new experiment on the small scale involved in the introduction of commercial education at the various seats of learning in India.

The unsatisfactory result from the education in vogue is not, however, the only ground for advocating Higher Commercial Education at our Universities. Even if we had an ideal system of education, the proposal for Commercial Education would still have to be considered on weighty economic grounds of its own. It is not perhaps generally realised that the consequences of so little part of the trade of India being in the hands of Indians themselves are very serious, resulting in a drain year by year which exceeds several times the much advertised "political drain" from this country. The reactions on the life of the people from extensive investments of foreign capital in India, from the so-called

development of the country, are also very imperfectly appreciated by the leaders of social thought. The growing problem of population with the concurrence of frequent famines and distress should also make us pause and think whether we can go on depending for ever on the bounty of nature in agriculture alone, even if it could be transformed by modern science. And if one considers how little of our much-vaunted agricultural prosperity due to the rise of our staple produce actually puts into the pockets of the people of this country, the urgency of taking a larger share of the vast trade of India in our hands would seem to be very great. The call for business ability also emerges from the ruins of many a concern which the new born spirit of Swadeshi enterprise brought into being, but which in most cases were sadly bungled by men endowed with more enthusiasm than the commonsense of business. And it is humiliating to remark that while the whole world has been fighting and covering itself with glory or riches, how little we in India have been able to make of the commercial and industrial opportunity offered by this war. The reason for this is not far to seek. The consumer of articles is not only at our door, but he is knocking insistently to be provided with things. In this country endowed with the greatest variety of soils and climatic conditions, there is not, nor will there ever be a dearth of raw materials of any kind that may be required. Besides, the accumulated wealth of this country, exaggerated perhaps by those, who from the West are casting a wistful glance towards it, is only partially and very imperfectly utilised in the economic activities of this nation. What was then wanting to enable us, if not to share a fraction of the vast wealth piled up by economically neutral nations like Japan and America during this war, at least to ward off the dumping invasions of Japan and to minister to our own needs. It was nothing but lack of initiative and business enterprise. Lest any one should be inclined to put this down as a permanent characteristic of the indolent East, let us hasten to assure them that all enterprise proceeds from knowledge and that the training and information which enable people of other countries to leave us behind in the race for business enterprise are not matters disposed of by Divine Providence,

but could be compassed by intelligent organisation and human efforts of our own.

In these days when economic ramifications are so wide-spread and so complex, the prosperity of a non-trading and purely agricultural community is rendered very risky indeed. We have perhaps still to realise the lesson involved in the presence of the Japanese cotton buyer buying for his principal on the spot in districts in the interior and away from the Port of Bombay. Nor do the people of Bengal seem to have grasped the full significance of the ousting of the indigenous Bengalee agency, which used at one time to collect jute from the districts and to bring it down to Calcutta and to bale it and even to ship it abroad. The want of trading instincts may still cost Bengal very dear. In the meanwhile the Marwari who has replaced the Bengalee seems himself to be doomed because of his extreme backwardness and extremely conservative ways of doing business. Capable in normal times, he is taken by storm, when faced by a new situation and the special proclivity to panic shown by the Marwari community at the outset of the war was only an unhealthy symptom of the same fact. Endowed by nature and assisted by business tradition and environment in his early life, even a Marwari, who is a great asset of this country in spite of all that can be said against him, cannot raise great hopes in the minds of those who look a generation or two ahead, unless he alters his ways. Modern business involving powerful rivalry must be done by modern methods. And to do this even the Marwari, the much abused aristocrat of the business world, must avail himself of every new agency of improvement that we can devise. Higher commercial education at the Universities is one of them.

In measuring the progress of a community, the condition of one class must be considered by itself over a period of time. And the class that has preeminently a claim for our serious consideration is the middle class. They produce the true national type and they preserve and extend the culture of the race. Even in communities that had politically a more undisturbed and prosperous history, the middle class provided leaders of thought and activity. In India in all departments of life we have, since the beginning of the

British rule, drawn almost too exclusively on the middle class for men to lead us. The economic condition of this class in India presents facts that ought to cause considerable anxiety. The middle class did not come unscathed for the economic policy of the East India Company, from the early blunders regarding land revenue policy or from the severe action of the Industrial Revolution through which the country is passing. As a result there is evident among them even in normal times economic distress of an acute character. The prices of things have been going up and appearances have to be maintained. The avenues for employment are severely limited. The budgets of many middle class families in large towns would reveal the distressing fact of habitual malnutrition predisposing to many wasting diseases. The unemployment among socially respectable classes—known as the Bhadralog in Bengal—is appalling. It is most noticeable in Bengal where there is no relief in small trades and business such as is found in other parts of the country. These are the classes that have availed themselves most of University education. They are now finding out that the sum spent on the education of their children does not even return reasonable interest in the earnings which the young men receive. These in the case of a graduate are often lower than what a good mason or a carpenter gets. If the direct and indirect evil consequences of this state of affairs were known more widely than they are, remedies for it would have been devised long ago. It would not be difficult to trace the connection of this economic fact about the life of the middle class in India, with the special problems in reference to young men which have arisen in Bengal or with the general feeling of melancholy dissatisfaction which is to be noticed elsewhere. If the lot of the educated middle classes is to be improved, they should be made to look beyond government service and the legal profession to commercial and business activity. And as a contributory to this end, commercial education should be established at the Universities.

The idea that the University should attempt to teach Commerce has been pooh-poohed. No University can guarantee to turn out a full-fledged businessman. All that can be done and is to be attempted is

that every item of study should be selected and taught in such a manner as to make the recipient possess the maximum amount of information likely to prove of use to him, so that by theoretical knowledge supplemented by the illustrations placed before him or observed by him, he may be enabled to acquire the quality of distinguishing in business what is sound from what is hollow, and of forming judgment generally with regard to business matters. What he would get in this way would be adaptability and the quality of making the most of the opportunities offered by his environment in whatever position he may be placed. It is not intended that University Education would supplant the recognised road to business success, viz., apprenticeship. Apprenticeship must remain, but the period of apprenticeship, the great trials and disappointments of apprenticeship, these would be very largely altered and instead of a man working by rule of thumb, the training at the University would produce a businessman with imagination and insight, knowing things in the world as they are and therefore enterprising.

Great men of business have no doubt been produced through the old system. But to argue on that account that systematized knowledge is of no value and to disparage the attempt to impart it in a readily accessible manner to a large number must be characterised as an unworthy attitude of mind in those incapable or unwilling to understand human progress. The old world with its many difficulties produced remarkable travellers but it has not been seriously suggested that for this reason means of communication should not be developed and when the progressively deteriorating material condition of a community requires urgent measures, we cannot afford the academic solace of showing our Jamshedji Tata or Rajendra Mookerjee produced without any careful collective forethought or plan. Let us remember that regular cultivation is more to be relied upon than collecting stray fruits however sweet the latter might be on some occasions. And the safest rule for the people of India to follow in this connection is what the wise man laid down: "What you want to see in the life of the people, put that first in their Schools."

It has been established that modern

business is a science by itself and is capable of being studied scientifically. There are people who believe that there is great cultural value in the study of modern commerce almost equal to the cultural advantage from the study of modern history or modern philosophy. And for Indian Universities to launch on this field will not be in any sense a leap in the dark. Advanced countries whose progress in other directions have been by no means contemptible have till now profited largely by the careful teaching of commerce at their Universities. America, Germany and Japan have been Pioneers of deliberate and well-planned commercial education in their seats of learning; and even in England, remarkable for great conservatism in many departments of life commercial education enjoys a growing popularity. The Universities in these countries have regarded commercial education as a legitimate field for their activity. They have placed it side by side with education in other branches of knowledge in an honourable position without suffering in their dignity or their usefulness.

Many reasons are assigned for the backwardness of this country. During Christmas a dozen platforms will ring with suggestions of all kinds. Official communiques, long departmental resolutions and occasional pronouncements from the highest officials inform us from time to time about the shortcomings of our economic life. If there was deep conviction behind the remedies suggested by popular and official oracles, we should expect them accompanied by some action. The question of putting our house in order in the way of reorganisation of the whole economic life of this country is a larger problem, but while we can, we might lay a few stones at the foundation. One of these rough and unattractive but very solid stones is the installation of Commercial Education at our Universities. The need for this is for reasons noted above very great indeed. Even in their character as consumers the whole community have an interest in low prices for the various commodities of commerce. So long as there is dearth of business ability, so long as only a few enterprising castes from the west of India engage in commerce and so long as the large bulk of it is handled by agencies which are not Indian at all, the community is robbed

in the way of enhanced prices from a million little openings. As one of the poorest people in the world, we should expend the money and the energy at our command with the greatest circumspection and even if we are to continue to waste in other directions, we should have at least those items in our system of education which we can well afford and which will not only repay what is spent on them but many hundred times over.

It is gratifying to find that a beginning in this direction has already been made in India and the University of Bombay has been working a scheme of commercial education for the last 3 years. The Universities of Madras and Calcutta are already feeling the first touch of those forces which are going ultimately to transform the educational system in this country and in response to it are proposing the establishment of Faculties of Commerce. What measure of popular

and official support their efforts will have, remains still to be seen. If our Universities are going to be centres of life and not merely centres for the study of dead knowledge, if they are going to be contributaries to the life of the nation that is to come in future, if the education imparted at our Universities is to enable our youths to face the world with greater strength and greater knowledge of the problems which life has in store for them, then they must read correctly the economic needs of the moment and must attempt to bring the system of education in harmony with those needs. And above all considerations, however mundane and uninteresting it may be, stands the problems of bread and butter, a dreadful reality for everybody in this poor country.

M. SUBEDAR.

University of Calcutta,
12th September, 1916.

GLEANINGS

Moving Pictures.

The moving picture is of British origin.

The so called 'wheel of life,' a mechanical device, represented the movement of a galloping horse as early as 1833. The machine is described as one consisting of a hollow cylinder turning on a vertical axis and having its surface pierced with a number of slots. Around the interior was arranged a series of pictures representing parts of the figure intended to be seen in motion, and when the cylinder was rotated the observer, looking through the slots, experienced the illusion of seeing the object in motion.

Fifty-two years later Mr. Friese-Greene was engaged in his experiments. These were of quite a different character from the 'wheel of life' figures, for his pictures were projected on a screen.

The cinematograph was made possible, in 1890, by the invention of the celluloid roll film.

The whole universe, or as much of it as he can reach, is enlisted by the latter-day "movie" director as his ally, for no part of the world is free from his invasion if he sets out to find the necessary and proper background for his story. When a town does not exist he builds it for himself.

War-pictures, are faked. Clever mechanical devices, the unstinted use of electricity, spring bayonets, gun-powder-bladders, and underground explosives are used in the production of these war-pictures, which are so realistic that they seem to bear the earmarks of the French and Belgian trench and the Polish battle-field.

"Agricultural laborers, farmer's sons, and village

youths, drest in the uniforms of the British and German armies, are drilled in their new duties and initiated into the mysteries of disappearing bayonets, exploding fake shells, trench-warfare, and make-believe 'gassing.' Stroll along a quiet, country foot-path bordering some rolling grassland sloping to the sea and you may come upon a horde of yelling men whose spiked helmets and wicked-looking bayonets glint in the sunshine as they charge toward you. If you take cover nimbly and watch, you will see they are rushing a trench filled with khaki-clad British soldiers. You shudder involuntarily as you see those glinting bayonets sinking into human flesh three or four inches, but you find later that the points are protected with little felt buttons and that they are attached to the barrel end of the rifle by a spring that allows them to retract several inches upon striking a solid substance.

"As the soldiers ford a stream in their mad charge, columns of water splash high into the air. After awhile you realise that these columns are caused by dropping shells from concealed artillery. You wonder how it is that all these country 'supers' are not maimed or even killed until you find out that the water-columns are caused by electrically exploded bladders filled with gunpowder and hidden beneath the surface of the stream. As the charging 'Germans' reach the opposite bank and make straight for the 'British' machine guns, terrible explosions occur. They are the shells still 'dropping' from the British artillery. The explosions are electrically controlled by a stage-director or producer, and are caused by

burying small cans of gunpowder here and there under the ground to be rushed. At the proper moment the fake mines are exploded by throwing a witch or pressing a button, thus sending clods of earth, a cloud of smoke, and a dummy figure or two into the air. All the vivid effects of a big shell bursting on the ground are thus obtained.

"To give to the moving picture patron an idea of the vast numbers of troops now in France, the producers used an ingenious leather-band machine, which, in conjunction with a broad window built into the scenery-wall, is all that is necessary. The spectators in the theater see women at the window waving out to the departing troops. The tops of rifles with bayonets fixt move past the window and bob up and down in a never-ending stream. Beneath the window, concealed from the spectators, an operator turns a leather band passing over two fly-wheels about twelve feet apart. Attached to the top of the band are rows of bayonets. As the handle is turned the bayonets move along with the realism of a marching regiment, rifles on shoulders, fastened, as they are, to the leather band, which can be moved at any speed.

"In 'close-up' pictures of big explosions, such as bridges, forts, and the like, it is not politic for the movie men to get too close; a chance projectile may come their way. To overcome this difficulty the camera is set up in some adjacent spot and focused upon the scene of the explosion. From a safe distance the operator controls his camera by electrical wires, the result being as satisfactory as if he had been on the brink of the scene himself.

"So excellent are the pictures of modern 'warfare' thus obtained by producers in rural Britain that the motion-picture-theater patrons cannot realize that the motion-picture men are not allowed near the firing-line in the theaters of war and that the restrictions imposed on the producers prevent them from obtaining the real thing in France."

No less a psychologist than Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, of Harvard, tell us in an article entitled "Why We Go to the Movies," contributed to *The Cosmopolitan* (New York, December), that the moving-picture play of the future is to be a popular study in psychology. It is to specialize in emotion, feeling, imagination. It is to carry to perfection the sort of thing whose rude beginnings we witness on the screen when the great financier, sitting dreamily before his study-fire, sees in memory his past life in a mining-camp; or when the villain's hand is stayed by the fantom of his murdered wife, rising to confront him. He reminds us that if the "movie" is to develop into a new form of artistic expression, it must specialize, not in the things that can be done better, or even as well on the stage, but in things that may be seen on the screen while the "legitimate" drama is unable to show them at all. Foremost among these are psychological effects, and this is why he believes that in the field of the mind lies the future domain of the moving-picture play. Already it is tending in this direction.

Liquid Fire as a Weapon.

A contributor to *The Scientific American Supplement* describes the flame-throwing device as follows:

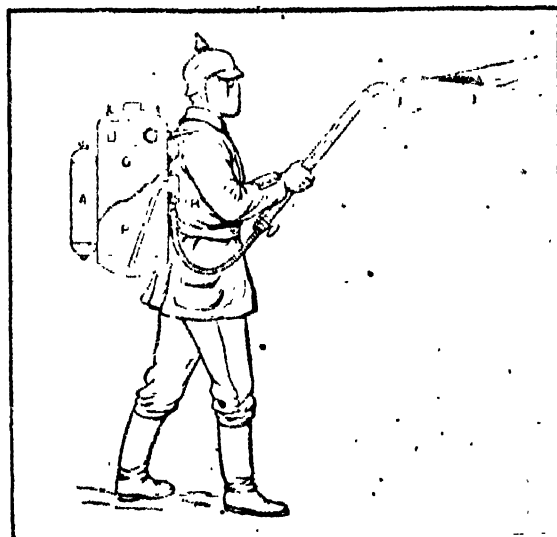
"Among the many scientific tools of destruction employed in the war, the so-called *Flammenwerfer* of the Germans—a more or less hose-like apparatus for hurling jets of flaming liquid—holds an important place, as much by virtue of the moral effect produced as by any material damage achieved, even tho the latter may be considerable. This idea of projecting

upon the adverse trenches and their occupants a rain of liquid fire was no sudden after-thought of the German mind. It was conceived, studied, and perfected for several years before the war.

"In the earliest models, the combustible liquid was propelled by a gas-condenser out of a portable or fixt reservoir, and was lighted by some automatic device as it escaped from the nozzle of the projecting instrument. Subsequent improvements have been made with the sole object of overcoming certain disadvantages inherent in this model.

"With the instrument described, the flaming jet can make its effects felt at a distance of forty or forty-five yards, but is not capable of exceeding that range effectively, because of the consumption of the liquid in transit. Further, with the main jet thus in ignition at the mouth of the apparatus, enough heat is given off to embarrass seriously the operator.

"These facts made clear the desirability of a method of ignition whereby the inflammable fluid would not begin to burn until it had almost, or quite, reached its objective. Not only would useless consumption of the fuel be thus avoided, but the effective range would be increased, and the effects of the instrument, at a given range, greatly heightened



PORTABLE APPARATUS FOR PROJECTING FLAMES.

A, carbonic acid; G, gas; P, gasoline; R, valve; I, igniter for lighting the inflammable liquid; J, flame.

"To meet these demands, a double-barreled liquid-gun was devised, having the upper barrel much smaller than the lower, and pivoted so as to turn independently. The fluid is shot from the two barrels simultaneously, but only that from the upper one ignites automatically. This small, burning stream is so directed that it unites with the larger, non-burning one at any desired point, and then, of course, ignites the large jet. The small stream is then shut off, the large one continuing to flow. The flames do not spread backward along the jet toward the nozzle, but are carried forward to the target, and, striking the ground, form a veritable sheet of fire, which continues to ignite the fluid as fast and as long as it falls.

"Only at this one point is the large jet in contact

with the flame. All combustion, therefore, takes place at the spot where it will do the most good—or harm; and at that point a very severe conflagration takes place, much more severe than is possible when the combustible fluid wastes its substance upon the air between gun and target. It is especially to be noted that flexibility of fire is not sacrificed. By gradual change in the trajectory, the objective can be shifted without interrupting the continuity of the ignition; so that the field may be developed in any direction desired, and a rain of fire of any sort whatever produced. Further, instead of allowing the liquid to burst into flame at the moment of impact, it is often advantageous to let it flow for some time 'cold,' until the entire objective region is saturated, then, turning on the kindling jet, to produce a holocaust throughout that region.

"The method of expulsion of the jet from the apparatus, as well as means of combustion, has been greatly improved. In the earliest *Flammenwerfers* devised by the Germans, the inflammable liquid was driven from its reservoir by pressure of carbonic acid or other gas. But, on account of the extraordinary powers of absorption manifested toward all gases by the hydrocarbons best adapted for use as the basis of liquid fire, the best part of the explosive gases was merely dissolved in the liquid. Not only did this cause a direct and serious diminution in pressure, but it led to mixing of liquid and gas; so that as the fluid issued from the nozzle it no longer exhibited the uniform and compact structure necessary for accurate aiming and efficient combustion, but was composed of a frothy, bubbling mixture of liquid and gas which, putting forth but feeble opposition to the atmospheric resistance, had its range materially shortened. All these difficulties are obviated by the substitution of a mechanical pump, or, if safety or convenience demand that the reservoir shall be at a considerable distance from the firing-line, several pumps in series as motive power in the expulsion of the liquid from the gun.

"The liquids most commonly employed in these *Flammenwerfers* are the low coal-tar oils resulting from the distillation of tar at a pressure of six atmospheres or more. The particular compound most used by the Germans is a mixture of gasoline and pitch. Under combustion this gives off a thick, grayish smoke, which not merely obscures the vision of those under fire, but has an intolerable odor."

Testing the Criminal's Mind.

Says a contributor to *The Journal of Heredity* (Washington, June):

"There are still plenty of people to be found who think that, given a proper chance, every child will turn out well. If the child grows up to become a pickpocket, or sets fire to an orphan asylum, it is assumed that society has sinned against him, at some time or other, by depriving him of the proper environment. We are at least expected to accept the idea that criminals are men and women who have deliberately or unknowingly broken some man-made law, and who, if given a stiff enough jolt in the way of a fine or imprisonment, will be brought to their senses and led to see that it pays better to walk within the limits of the statutes therein made and provided.

"Such a view, more or less modified, still influences a large part of law-making and the execution of laws. That view is based principally on metaphysical doc-

trines and theories of 'natural rights' and the equality of man.

"The way of modern science is to test these time-hallowed theories by exact observation, by classifying and measuring the facts. Criminology has undergone a good deal of this process, and the first results were a wide swing of the pendulum in the other direction. Lombroso and others put forward the idea of the 'born criminal,' the man who was predestined to become a murderer, or a forger, or whatever the signs might indicate. This extreme view is now largely discredited, but students of the subject nevertheless generally recognize nowadays that many per-



THE HEALEY PICTURE PUZZLE

The person examined must put in the board squares which will make the people pictured do suitable things, and thus, prove that he is able to observe and reason intelligently. Two boys in the middle of the picture, for instance, are evidently picking a football, and the square bearing a picture of a football should be put in the opening. If the person tested puts in a picture of a cart-wheel, or a pair of shears, it shows a lack of sense. Of course, the interpretation of the evidence furnished by such tests as this depends upon the previous experience of the individual examined.

sons are born with some inherent defect, which makes it impossible for them to be law-abiding citizens.

There is only one police department in the United States which maintains a laboratory for the examination of adult offenders, and that is New York, where since January, a well-equipped psychopathic department has been in operation.

"For measuring the mentality of the people who come to it, the psychopathic department uses thirty or more tests, picking out in each instance the ones which seem best adapted to the case. The tests are, for the most part, well known to those whose busi-

ness it is to handle such instruments. Simple questions are asked, and the subject's reasoning power and other abilities tested, not only by his answer, but by the time it takes him to evolve it.

"One of the tests used is the Trabue Language Scale D, which is given below. The subject is asked to write one appropriate word in each blank, and is given seven minutes for the task :

4. We are going.....school.
76. I.....to school each day.
11. The.....plays.....her dolls all day.
21. The rude child does not.....many friends.
63. Hard.....makes.....tired.
27. It is good to hear.....voice.....friend.
71. The happiest and.....contented man is the one.....lives a busy and useful.....
42. The best advice.....usually.....obtainedone's parents.
51.things are.....satisfying to any ordinary.....than congenial friends.
84.a rule one.....association.....friends.

"It does not follow that a person is abnormal simply because he fails on this or any other single test. It is highly essential that all tests be interpreted, and, naturally, such evaluation should be made only by persons having a wide experience in these matters.

"The 'Opposites' test is one which is being widely recognized as very useful. The patient is given a list of words such as

good	outside	quick
tall	big	loud
white	light	happy
false	like	rich
sick	glad	thin
empty	war	friend

"He must write down as rapidly as possible the words which mean the exact opposite of each of these. A normal person can write them almost as rapidly as his hand can move the pencil; but a feeble-minded individual, even tho he has spent a number of years in school, becomes bewildered at such a task.

"In examining the higher levels of intelligence the manner in which the individual reacts to complicated directions is frequently suggestive.

"The useful 'form boards'.....are much employed; they require the person examined to fit blocks into their proper places in a frame. Some people insist on putting round pegs into square holes, and that in itself is significant....."

"Writing with the aid of a mirror gives an idea of the subject's ability to learn, and of his motor control. Memory, concentration, and other easily tested abilities are also observed."

Crime, says Dr. Bisch, the director of the laboratory, should never be considered apart from mentality. In addition to evidence of guilt, the New York Police Department now also furnishes certain facts regarding the mental responsibility of the offender. This is logical and is another proof of the practical value of psychology. If a man is feeble-minded at his fifth conviction, he was just as feeble-minded at his first conviction; it will pay the community, therefore, to examine, segregate, and properly treat prisoners before arraigning them, instead of waiting until they reach the court or penitentiary. The psychopathic laboratory is regarded by Dr. Bisch as a huge sieve, for the selective classification and disposition of the criminal population. It is not a sentimental undertaking—it is scientific, wise, and humane.

A "Thinking-Machine"

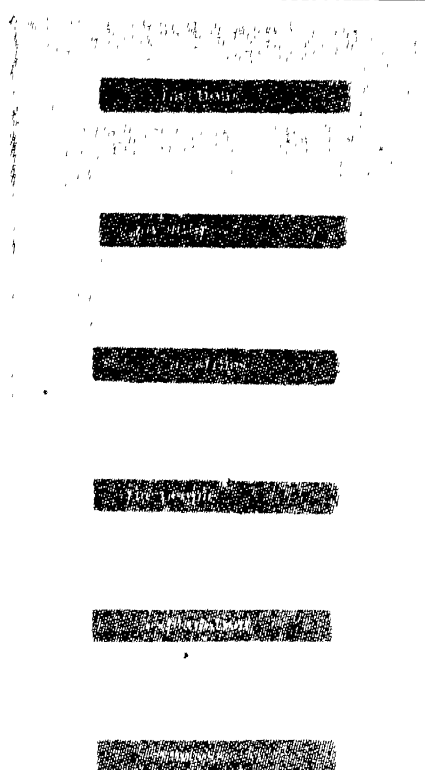
Says a writer in the "Export American Industries" (New York):

"In the future, authors of moving-picture scenarios, stories, and plays may use their thumbs and fingers instead of their brains. The idea is the thing in story and play-writing, and the more novel the idea, the greater the success.

"With this thought in mind, a clever young man has invented what he calls a 'Thinking-Machine.' It took a smart Yankee boy to realise the wildest dreams of inventors except that dream of accomplishing perpetual motion.

"The thinking-machine is simplicity itself. Mr. Blanchard decided that there are never more than six situations to be comprehended in a well-rounded story or play. All the thoughts and actions, he says, can be reduced to a simple formula of words, and these words are mechanically drawn from his machine and arranged by it.

"The device is a pasteboard box, 3 by 6 inches and 2 inches deep, containing six printed paper rolls, each wound on a pair of spindles. The ends of the spindles extend through the box and are turned by hand. In the upper part of the box, above each paper roll, is a slot, in which appears one word after another as the roll is turned. On the six rolls are printed, respective-



IT THINKS OUT A PLOT FOR THE WRITER.

The machine invented by Mr. Blanchard which mechanically creates the skeleton of a story or motion-picture scenario.

ly, six remarkably grouped classifications of words. The rolls are arranged in such a manner that, as they are turned a story is unfolded and recorded on the face of the box. There are 1,200 different words used, and the inventor says, considering the surprising number of synonyms in our language, these are sufficient to describe any action necessary.

"The effects wrought by a manipulation of this machine are truly wonderful. For instance, suppose you were a story- or scenario-writer and you got up this morning with a vacant head, but you had to 'put across' a story a day and you did not know what to write about. The little thinking-machine is brought from its closet and set up before you. You start to turn the top spindle and you come to the word

'BEAUTIFUL.'

"That's a good place to stop in, in the early morning under such circumstances. Then you give spindle No. 2 a few twists, and you come to the word

'CANDIDATE.'

"Now this makes sense, and starts the imagination. In these feminist days, you conjure up all sorts of thoughts about a beautiful candidate. It is now time to twist spindle No. 3, and presently there flash the words

'APPEALS TO,'

and you accept the situation because it is so perfectly natural for a beautiful candidate to be appealing.

"Turning spindle No. 4 through a maze of words, you will ultimately come to the line

'THE PEOPLE.'

"Your beautiful candidate is now appealing to the voters. You can't stop there, and you go on with spindle No. 5. Supposing you permit the spindle to stop at the word

'ADMIRATION.'

"It would be a very delicate and delightful situation for your beautiful candidate to be admired by the people to whom she is appealing, and if you will continue to turn the spindle No. 6 to its logical stopping-point, you will find there the happy climax word,

'ELECTION.'

"Here, then, is the idea for a scenario or story, fit for the embellishing pen of any fiction-writer. The idea is complete, and all that the tired author needs to do to win his daily stipend is fill in the gaps with descriptive words."

"In testing the machine, the inventor turned out the following story-skeletons in less time than the average author would take on a park bench in observation of the throng to dredge up from his mental depths an idea for one magazine yarn.

"Impudent—Player—Taunts—Umpire—Brawl—Expulsion.

"Literary—Adviser—Borrows—From—Author—Explanation—Restoration.

"Brilliant—Atheist—Corrupts—Clergyman—Change—Outcast.

"Parvenu—Backwoodsman—Disowns—Chum—Feud—Poisoned.

"Frisky—Bachelor—Compromises—Housemaid—Chivalry—Betrothal.

"Gullible—Banker—Consults—Humorist—Prank—Bankruptcy.

"Fibulous—Janitor—Encounters—Ghost—Hysteria—Vow.

"Reformed—Burglar—Visits—Banker—Envy—Poverty.

"Repulsive—Jarate—Wrongs—Cannibal—Retaliation—Feast.

"Cynical—Foster-parent—Sells—Foundling—Conscience—Atonement.

"Enterprising—Publisher—Buys—Plagiariist—Cooperation—Profit.

"Indulgent—Warden—Entertains—Prisoner—Opportunity—Escape.

"Beautiful—Widow—Marries—President—Inspiration—Election.

"There is undeniably a great, wide field of opportunity, says the inventor, to reap a rich harvest for earnest endeavors on those who carry originality and individuality.



Mr. Arthur Blanchard whose device was adopted by the Harvard University for teaching story writing.

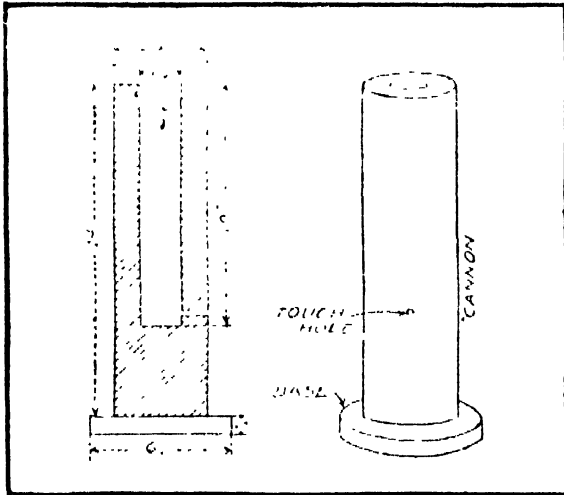
"The device has brevity and wit, telling the story with but six words. The inventor is the organizer of the play-writing course at Harvard University, where students are now thumbing spindles and fiction by the bushel. But the public will never dream that these works of art were born in the brain of a pasteboard box."

Gunpowder as a Chimney-sweep.

Mr. S. R. Russell in an article entitled "Shooting Soot from Stacks," contributed to *The Du Pont Magazine* (Wilmington, Del.) tells us that in many industrial plants large smoke-stacks or

kiln-stacks frequently become clogged, and must be freed from soot in order to maintain draft. He advocates "shooting them up" in order to attain this result, and the method, tho' violent, would appear to be effective and harmless. Writes Mr. Russell:

"A simple, economical, and most efficient method to accomplish this is to shoot the stack with the 'Stack gun' and blasting-powder. This gun can be used in cleaning either lined or unlined stacks



THE STACK GUN.

Three or four shots from this gun will clean the soot out of a large factory-chimney, unless it is uncommonly dirty

brick or steel, without any fear of injury to the stack or lining

"The gun can be made out of an old piece of shafting about 4 inches in diameter and 14 inches to 16 inches long. Bore a hole $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and 10 inches long in the center of the piece. Then bore a small horizontal hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter through the piece to the bottom of the center-bore. This hole serves as a touch-hole for inserting the fuse.

"The whole thing can be mounted on a pedestal about 6 inches in diameter so that it will stand in an upright position.

"The method of operation is as follows: Pour some FFF blasting-powder into the mouth of the cannon to about 2 inches from the top. Tamp to the collar with dry clay. A short piece of fuse is inserted in the touch-hole and in contact with the main powder-charge. Open the flue-door at the bottom of the stack, set the cannon on the bottom and in the center of the stack, light the fuse, and close the flue-door.

"The explosion shakes and loosens the soot adhering to the sides, causing it to fall to the bottom. It can then be removed through the flue opening.

"A charge of 8 inches of FFF powder, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, is sufficient for a stack up to 100 feet high and 4 feet in diameter, or over. The number of shots necessary to clean a stack thoroughly depends upon its condition. Ordinarily, three or four shots will clean a stack, but if very dirty it may require more. The size of the charge and length of the cannon can be regulated to suit the height and diameter of the stack.

"There is no doubt about the efficiency of this 'gun' for cleaning smoke-stacks. One of the largest manufacturing concerns in the country has used this method for several years, without an accident or injury in any way to the stacks."

FORMS AND TYPES OF STATES IN ANCIENT INDIA

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II

THE *Aitareya-Brahmana* uses a series of terms some of which signify overlordship, and some other distinction in the form of government. At times a few of these may be used as mere complimentary epithets, but not always. They are *Rājya*, *Sāmrājya*, *Bhāujya*, *Svārājya*, *Vairājya*, and *Pārameshthya*¹. *Adhipatyā*² (lit., supreme power), *Jānarājya*,³

Svāvasya,⁴ and *Ātishtha* are also found.

quoting 'Vajasaneyi-Samhita, X, 9, 'Kāthaka-Samhita,' XV, 7 and 'Maitrayani-Samhita II, 6, 9

4 'Aitareya-Brahmana,' VIII, 6. It means, according to Sāyana, 'aparatantra' i. e. lit., 'absence of dependence on others.'

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the 'Modern Review, 1913, p. 538) derives the name Surat (the modern town of Western India) from Svarat (republic), which he says the 'Vrishni-Sangha' was, in that part of the country. But I think it is a mere phonetic resemblance, the word having real affinity with 'Surashtra', the ancient name of the place, of which the present Surat was a town (or perhaps the capital). It is a well known fact that a town or a capital very often takes its name after the country in which it is located.

1 'Aitareya-Brahmana,' VIII, 1: 4, 5. Cf. 'Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra' XVII, 16, 3.

2 'Panchaviṃśa-Brahmana,' XV, 3, 35; 'Chhāndogya-Upanishad,' V, 2, 6.

3 See Weber's 'Über den Rājasuya,' p. 31, f. n. 5

5 See 'infra.'

The explanation of the words given by Sāyana¹, the commentator, in connexion with a certain passage in the *Āitareya-Brahmana*, is based more or less upon their literal meanings, and partake, to some extent, of a spiritual character akin to that of Śrīdharaśvāmin's comment on a similar passage in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*². A subsequent passage of the aforesaid *Brahmana*³ and Sāyana's comments thereon, give us more secular details. Indra, it is stated, was installed in the east by the

divine Vasus for *sāmraja*. Hence the several kings of the east are consecrated after the divine practice, and the people call them *Samrāt*. Next, He was consecrated in the south by the divine Rudras to *bhauja*, for which the sovereigns of the *Satvants* in the south are consecrated after the divine practice and receive the title *Bhoja*. The divine Adityas installed Him in the west to ensure His *Svārāja*. Hence the sovereigns of the *Nichyas* and *Apchyas* in the west are similarly installed and denominated *Svarāt*. Afterwards, the Visvedevāh consecrated Him in the north to *vairāja*. That is why the sovereigns of the countries Uttara Kuru and Uttara Madra in the north, beyond the Himalāyas, are similarly consecrated and termed *virāt*. Next, the divine *Sādhyas* and *Apchyas* anointed Him for *raja* in the central region, for which the kings of that region i.e. of Kuru and Pāṇchāla as well as of *Vasa* and *Uśinara* are similarly anointed and called *Rājā*⁴.

Some of the terms seen in the light of the later historical discoveries have been explained by Messrs Macdonell and Keith. *Svarāj*⁵ (lit. self-ruler) probably stands "for the republican form of Government of which traces are found in the Buddhist literature by Mr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* (p. 19)." *Vairāja* (lit. absence of kings) also points perhaps to autonomous people like the *Irāshtrakas* (the kingless) signifying, as noticed before, the self-ruled communities.

THE GRADATION ACCORDING TO THE SUKRA-NITI.

In later times, both the terms *svarāt* and *virāt* are found to be used as signifying monarchies of a particular grade determined by their incomes. *The *Sukra-Niti* gives the

1. Next follows Indra's consecration in the upper regions to the other worldly positions called 'parameshthya,' 'maharaja,' 'ādhipatya,' 'svavasya,' 'ātishtha'. See Weber's 'Über den Rājasūya,' pp. 115, 116. Messrs. Macdonell and Keith look upon the above epithets of sovereigns of the several regions as embodying probably a sound tradition. 'V. I.' II, 433.

2. 'Rig-Veda,' I, 39, 7; 51, 15; 61, 9 &c., (of gods). 'Atharva-Veda,' XVII, 1, 22; 'Taittiriya-Saṁhita' II, 3, 6, 2; IV, 4, 81 &c.

3. 'V. I., II, 494.

4. 'Sukra-Niti' (Jivānanda's ed.) ch. I, slks. 184—187. Such classification of monarchs is also found in other late works, like the 'Varadātāntra' (2nd patala, quoted in the 'Sadbakalpadruma') where a *rāja* is said to have an income of 100 lacs, 'samrāt,' 10 lacs, and a 'mahasamrat,' 100 lacs.

1. 'Āitareya-Brahmana' with Sāyana's commentary (Bibl. Indica) vol. IV, p. 188. "Here 'raja' 'desādhipatyam' (rule over a country); 'Sāmrajyam' 'dharma-pālana' (righteous government); 'bhaujyam' 'bhoga samiddhi' (increase of enjoyment); 'svarajyam' 'apratadhinatvam' (absence of dependence on others); 'vairajyam' 'itacchhyo bhupatibhyo vaisishtyam' (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than those possessed by other kings)." [See Weber's 'Über den Rājasūya,' pp. 111, 112; Goldstucker's 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' under 'rahishtakā'; Haug's translation of the 'Āitareya-Brahmana'; Mitra's 'Indo-Aryans,' II, 47, and Colebrooke's 'Miscellaneous Essays,' I, 39 ff.] These terms, the commentary says, relate to this world while the following to the other world: 'parameshthiyam' 'prapat lokapāṭh' i. e. (attainment of the world of Prapāt), 'rajyam' (obtaining dominion there), 'maharajyam' (mighty rule), 'svavasyam' (independence) and 'ātishthatvam' (long residence) these three also taking place in the other world. The 'Gopatha-Brahmana' [pt. I, v, para 8, pp. 77, 78 (Bibl. Indica)] says about Prapāt that he became 'Rājā' by 'Rājasūya,' 'Samrāt' by 'Vajapeya,' 'Svarāt' by 'Asvamedha,' 'Virāt' by 'Puruṣamedha' and 'Svarāt' by 'Sarvamedha.'

2. Śrīdharaśvāmin's comment on 'Skand' to ch. 83, slk. 41 attaches spiritual significance to many of the terms, as will be apparent from the following. — 'Sāmrajyam' 'sārvabhaumam padam' (position of an overlord); 'svarajyam' position of Indra; 'bhaujyam' enjoyment of the previous two positions; 'virāt' possession of qualities such as 'anant' (i. e. the power of becoming as small as an atom) etc., 'parameshthiyam' position of Brahman; and so forth.

3. He further states that the four terms 'sāmraja,' 'bhauja,' 'svārāja' and 'vairāja' follow the order in which the four cardinal points are mentioned in the 'Vahvricha-brahmana,' viz. east, south, west and north, and are applied to the presiding deities thereof,—Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kuvera. (For the order of the directions, of 'Amarakosha'—"Indra vanhiḥ pūṣi-pati nāritto varuno matut, Kuvera isapatayo purvādinaṁ disām kramat.") Indra is also mentioned as 'samrāt' and Varuna as 'Svarāt' in the 'Rig-Veda' (see VII, 82, 2). It is difficult to state whether the titles used in connection with the gods were subsequently applied to the sovereigns in the respective directions, or vice versa.

4. The 'Āitareya-Brahmana' (Bibl. Indica) with Sāyana's comments, Vol. IV, pp. 230 ff. Weber 'Über den Rājasūya,' pp. 115, and f. n. 2.

following ascending order of the monarchs based on their incomes in silver *karshas* :—

<i>Silver-Karshas</i>			
<i>Sāmanta</i>	having	1 to	3 lacs
<i>Māṇḍalika</i>	"	4 "	10 "
<i>Rājā</i>	"	11 "	20 "
<i>Mahārāja</i>	"	21 "	50 "
<i>Svarāt</i>	"	51 "	100 "
<i>Samrāt</i>	"	1 "	10 crores
<i>Virāt</i>	"	11 "	50 "
<i>Sārvabhauma</i>	"	51	crores or upwards.

THE AMARAKOŚHA.

The *Amarakośha*¹ gives three significations of *Samrāt*: (1) the performer of the *rājasuya*, (2) the monarch exercising his control over a mandala ("circuit") consisting of twelve kings, and (3) the monarch who can have his mandates obeyed by the kings under his supremacy.

EPITHETS FOR PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNTY.

We meet with other epithets such as *chakravartin*, *paramesvara*, *paramabhattāraka*, *maharajādhiraj*, *sarvabhūma*, *akhandabhumipā*, *rajaraj*, *visvaraj*, *chaturantesa*, &c.² Monier Williams explains *chakravartin* as a "ruler, the wheels (*chakras*) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction, emperor; sovereign of the world; ruler of a *chakra* i.e. country extending from sea to sea"³. It is also explained another way: "a discus (*chakra*), the sign of the god Vishnu

(Lakṣādhipatyam rājyam syat,
Sāmrajyam dasalakṣake,
Satalakṣe, mahesari,
Mahāsamrajyam uchyate).

¹ Yenashtam rājasūyena mandalasyesvaraschayah, Sāsti yaschājūrya rājnah samādāttha rājakam.

See 'Amarakośha' under 'Samrāt.'

The 'Saddakalpavidhana' says in connexion with the above passage that a *Samrāt* is (I) a monarch who has performed the *rājasuya*; or (II) the ruler supreme over a 'mandala' of twelve kings; or (III) the sovereign who can command the kings under his supremacy as his officials. It also adds "as the opinion of others" who take it as (IV) a ruler whose sway extends over the earth from sea to sea.

² In the Buddhist literature, *chakkavatti* is sometimes used in the sense of a universal monarch. See Childer's 'Pali Dictionary' quoting, 'Abhidhānapadipikā,' 335 and Turnour's 'Mithras' 27. There are three sorts of 'chakkavatti' viz. 'chakkavāba-chakkavatti', 'Dipachakkavatti' and 'padesachakkavatti', the first ruling over the four great continents, the second over one only, and the third over a portion of one.

³ Monier Williams' 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary.'

is to be found among the marks on the hands of all *chakravartins*; and such a ruler is one whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods"⁴. Some of the other epithets such as *Paramabhattāraka*⁵, *Paramesvara*,⁶ *Mahārājādhiraj* are found in close connexion with one another in the inscriptions, and very elastic in their application⁴, the other titles in the above list being but synonyms of these. A distinction is however observed between the use of this set of titles with another comprising such terms as *Mahārāja*, *Bhattāraka*, &c., found in use with the names of tributary kings⁵.

The Supreme rulers enumerated in the *Āitareya-Brahmana*⁶ are :—

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE ĀITAREYA BRAHMANA

<i>Supreme Ruler</i>	<i>Lineage</i>	<i>Consecrating Priest</i>
Janamejaya	son of Parikshit	Tura, son of Kavasha
Saryata	of the race of Manu	Chyavana, son of Bhṛigu

¹ H. H. Wilson's Translation of the 'Vishnu-Purāṇa' (Bl. I, ch. XIII, verse 46) Vol. I, p. 183 and n. Dr. Fleet adds ('Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,' Vol. III, p. 183 f. n. 4) that the word 'chakravartin' denotes a universal ruler and is one of the technical terms of "paramount sovereignty" though it is not so frequently used in the inscriptions as the others are. The expression "paramount sovereign" is used by him in the sense of "a sovereign supreme in his own dominion but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India" (Ibid.; Index p. 332), from which it seems that it signifies nothing more than an independent sovereign as opposed to one whose control over his dominion is under a limitation, e. g., a feudatory king. Hence all the titles found in the 'Corpus' and described as implying paramount sovereignty may apply to any independent ruler ranging from a sovereign of the position of Samudra Gupta whose power and territory were imperial to one of a much lower rank, e.g., Sarvavarman, the Maukhari (Fleet, 'op. cit.' p. 221) who is called Mahārājādhirāja.

² I.e. "most worshipful one."

³ I.e. 'Supreme lord.'

⁴ See fn. in connexion with 'Chakravartin.'

⁵ See Fleet, 'op. cit.'

Like the above titles we meet with others applied to the wives of the sovereigns, and indicative of the ranks they enjoyed by virtue of those of their husbands, e.g., 'Paramabhattārikā', 'Paramadevi' 'Bhattārikā' &c. 'Mahādevi' applies to the wife of a 'Mahārājādhiraj' as in the case of Kumaradevi (Fleet, op. cit., p. 221), but the simple Devi serves the same purpose at a later period (Ibid., p. 232).

⁶ 'Āitareya-Brahmana,' viii, 21—23 where the great unction ('mahabhisheka') is mentioned. Cf. Weber, 'Erisches, myedischen Ritual,' 8; 'Über den Rajasuya,' pp. 117, 118, f. n. n. and Colebrook, 'Miscellaneous Essays,' I. 39—43.

Sātānika	son of Satrajita	Somasushman, grand son of Vajaratna
Ambāshthya		Parvata and Nirada
Yudhamisra	grandson of Ugrasena	Parvata and Narada
ushti		
Visvakarman	son of Bhuvana	Kasyapa
Sudāsa	son of Pijavana	Vasishtha
Marutta	son of Avikshit	Sāhvarta, son of Anguasa
Anga	son of Virochana	Udaṁvā, son of Atri
Bharata	son of Duhshanta	Dirghatamas, son of Mamata
Durmukha, king of Panchala		Brihaduktha
Atvarāti	son of Jananapati	son of Satyahavya sprung from the race of Vasishtha

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RAJASUYA

It is stated in the *Āitareya-Brahmana* that all the kings in the above list "subdued the earth" by virtue of the *rajasuya* (royal sacrifice) which they had performed. The performance of this sacrifice cannot however be always taken as a mark of paramount sovereignty; for it was a ceremony for the inauguration of a king and "a state ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled."¹ Dr. Mitra however states, "from its very nature, a ceremony like the *rajasuya* could not be common anywhere or at any time, much less during the Hindu period when India was never held by a single monarch" basing his statement upon a passage from the *Taittiriya-Brahmana*—"r jā Svārājyavāno r jasyena yajeta" which he interprets as "none but a king who wishes to be a universal monarch exercising supremacy over a large number of princes can perform the sacrifice"². These differences may perhaps be reconciled by keeping in view that in later times the sacrifice lost its simplicity and changed into a complex state function performable by suzerains³.

The ceremony of the conquest of the four quarters forming part of the *rajasuya* was for

conferring upon the king a prospective blessing, and did not imply at least in the earlier periods a condition precedent to the ceremonial⁴.

THE Vajapeya.

The *Vajapeya*, a Soma sacrifice, was at one time of lesser importance than the *rajasuya* followed in the case of a king by the latter sacrifice, and in the case of a Brāhmana by the *Brihaspatisava* (i.e. festival for his appointment as a royal *purohita*)⁵.

But the *Satapatha-Brāhmana*⁶ exalts the *Vajapeya* over the *rajasuya* maintaining that the latter confers on the sacrificer mere royal dignity, while the former overlordship.

THE Asvamedha.

The performance of the *asvamedha* (or horse-sacrifice) involved "an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without humiliation"⁷. In its earliest phase, however, it was very simple. The horse was let loose after some preliminary rituals to wander for some time, and, on return, was anointed and slaughtered⁸. Its complex formalities in its fully developed form were later accretions.

Prof. Eggeling remarks that as a rule the

1. For the deviations of the '*rajasuya*' in the epic and 'paurāṇika' periods from the Vedic type in regard to rituals, see Goldstucker's 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' under 'Abhisheka.'

There is a sacrifice named 'Prithi-Sava' celebrated for the attainment of supremacy. It comprehends some of the rituals of the '*rajasuya*' but lasts only about a day. [*Taittiriya-Brahmana*, Kāṇḍa 2, prapathaka 7, Anuvaka 5 (vol. II, Bibl. Indica, pp. 315, 316 and 361, 362).]

2. V. I., II, 256. See also Eggeling (S.B.E.) Vol. XLI pp. xxiv, xxv, quoting '*Taittiriya-Samhitā*, V, 6, 2, 1; '*Taittiriya-Brahmana*, II, 7, 6, 1; '*Lātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, viii, 11, 1 and '*Asvārāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, ix, 9, 19.

3. V. I., I, 1, ff.; 2, 1, 10; Cf. *Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, XV, 1, 1-2 Weber, 'Über den Vajapeya,' interprets the situation differently from Eggeling; V. I., II, 256 and Eggeling (S. B. E.) vol. XLI, p. XXIV.

4. Eggeling (S. B. E.) vol. XLIV, Introduction, p. XV.

Cf. '*Taittiriya-Brahmana*, III, 8, 9, 4;

'*Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra*, XX, 1, 1.

— "A king ruling the whole land ('*sarvabhauma*') may perform the '*asvamedha*'; also one not ruling the whole land."

5. See Eggeling 'op. cit.' and V. S. Dalal's 'History of India,' pp. 132, 133.

1. See Eggeling (S.B.E.), vol. XLIV, Introduction, p. XV.

2. See R. L. Mitra's 'Indo-Aryans' vol. II, pp. 2, 5, cf. 'J. A. O. S.', xiii, pp. 145, 146 (Hopkins). Dr. Mitra states that the rituals of the '*Āitareya-Brahmana*' recommends three kinds of bathing; 1st called 'Abhisheka' for kings, and 2nd 'Punarabhisheka' for superior kings, and 3rd 'Mahabhisheka' for emperors. Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, pp. 46, 47.

3. Cf. V. S. Dalal's 'History of India' vol. I, pp. 131, 133.

closely watched animal would not probably range very far from the place where sacrifice would be performed, and though the officers in charge were not allowed at any time to force it to retrace its steps, they could have had little difficulty in keeping it within a certain range of grazing. Not to take up the challenge implied in the progress of the horse was regarded as a mark of cowardice. In any case, a strong ruler who had already made his power felt among his neighbours would run little risk of having his horse kidnapped even if it had strayed beyond his dominions, while a weak prince might find it very difficult to keep it secure even within his own territory. ¹²

THE LIST OF NAMES OF ASVAMEDHA SACRIFICERS
IN THE SATAPATHA-BRAHMANA.

The list of performers of the horse-sacrifice given by the *Satapatha Brahmana* ¹ contains the following names:

1. Janamejaya Pārikshita having as his priest Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka ;
2. Bhīmasena
3. Ugrasena
4. Srutasena
5. Para Atnāta, the Kausalya king ;
6. Purukutsa, the Aikshvāku king ;
7. Marutta Avikshita, the Āyogava king ;
8. Kraivya, the Pāṇchāla king ;
9. Dhvasan Daitavana, the king of the Matsyas ;
10. Bharata Dauhshanti ;
11. Rishabha Yājñatura ;
12. Sātrāsāha, the Pāṇchāla king ;
13. Sātānika Sātrājita. ²

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE
PURANAS.

I next proceed to enumerate from the *Purānas* and other Sanskrit works a few names associated either with extensive conquests or with the performance of sacrifices indicative of supreme political position.

We find Prithu in the *Agni-Purāna*, ⁴

as also in the *Bhāgavata*, ¹ *Brahma*, ² *Brahma-mānda*, ³ and *Siva* ; ⁴ Sagara in the *Vāyu*, ⁵ *Vishnu*. ⁶

Bhāgavata, ⁷ *Brahma* ⁸ and *Padma* ; ⁹ Marutta in the *Markandeya* ¹⁰ and *Padma* ; ¹¹ Bharata, son of Dushmanta, in the *Vāyu*, ¹² *Vishnu*, ¹³ *Brahma*, ¹⁴ and *Agni* ¹⁵ ; Dushmanta

Mullah kakutssthaschānena yuvanāsvo jayadrathah,
Mandhata muchukuntischā panta tvancha pururavah.

'Ibid.' ch. 219, slk. 51.

These two couplets contain the following names :
Prithu, Dilpa, Bharata, Dushmanta, Satrujit, Vah, Malla, Kakutsstha, Anena, Yuvanāsvo, Jayadratha, Mandhata, Muchukunda and Pururava. These names form part of the 'Mantras' recited at the coronation described in the 'Agni-Purāna.' The names are evidently those of renowned emperors invoked to bless the king who is being inaugurated.

1. Bhagavata-Purāna, Skanda 4, ch. 21, slks. 9 and 10.

2. Brahma-Purāna, ch. 2, slk. 24.

3. Brahmānda-Purāna, ch. 69, slk. 3.

4. Chakravartu mahāvryah prithu rajādhipo' bhavat. Siva-Purāna (Dharma-samhitā), Ch. 24, slk. 65.

See also 'Ibid', slk. 66.

5. Sa dharmavijaya raja vijitvemam vasundhānam,
Asvam vichārayāmāsa vajmedhāya dīkshitah.

Vāyu Purāna, ch. 88, slk. 144.

6. Akhilabhumandalapatnattvinyaparakramo
'nekayajnakouda-ratipaksha-kshayakanta
tavodare 'chakravartu' tisthati.

Vishnu-Purāna Pt. IV, ch. 3.

7. Saha tenaiva sanjatah sagarakhyo mahāyāsah,
Sagaraschakravartit āsit sāgaro yatsutah kūtsh.

'Bhāgavata-Purāna,' Skanda 9, ch. 8, slk. 4.

8. Jigāya prithvīm hatvā tālajāghān sahābhayān,
Sakānām pahlavānām cha dharmam nirasada-
chryutah,
Kshatriyānām munisteshthah paradānām cha
dharmavit.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 32.

9. Manuscha sagaro raja paruto nāhushatmajah,
Ete te purvajah sarve yajnam kritva padam gatah.
'Padma-Purāna (pātala-khanda),' ch. 4, slk. 116.

10. Vubhuje prithvīm kritsnām marutta kshatriyā-
shabhan.

See 'Markandeya-Purāna,' ch. 32, slk. 4.

11. See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna
(pātala-khanda)' in connexion with Sagara.

12. Chakravartu tato jajne daushmantirnipasattamah.
See 'Vāyu-Purāna,' ch. 99, slk. 133.

13. Dushmantachakravartu bharato bhavat. Yannā-
maheturdevah sloko giyate.

'Vishnu-Purāna,' Pt. 4, ch. 19, Para 2.

14. Chakravartu suto jajne dushmantasya mahat-
manah, Sakuntalāyām bharato yasya nāmna tu
bhāratah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 13, slk. 57.

15. See the quotation from 'the Agni-Purāna' in
connexion with Prithu.

¹ See Eggeling, 'op. cit.,' Introduction, xxviii, xxix, xxx.

² 'Satapatha-Brahmana,' xiii, 5,4, 1-19.

³ The list in the 'Sāṅkhayana-Srauta-Sutra' (XVI, 9) has Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena, Srutasena, Rishabha Yājñatura, Vaideha, Alhara, and Marutta Avikshita.

⁴ Valakhilyādimunayo vyāsavāṇmiki-mukhyakāh,
Prithudilipo bharato dushmantah satrujidalī.
Agni-Purāna, ch. 219, slk. 50

in the *Agni*; ¹ Māndhātā in the *Bhāṣavata*,² *Agni*³ and *Brahma*,⁴ with his father Yuvanāśva in the *Agni*; ⁵ Muchukunda, son of Māndhātā, in the *Agni*⁶ and *Bhāṣavata*; ⁷ Yayāti in the *Brahma*⁸ *Linga*⁹ and *Padma*; ¹⁰ Purūravāh in the *Matsya*,¹¹ *Agni*,¹² *Mārkaṇḍeya*,¹³ and *Brahma*; ¹⁴ Harischandra in the *Brahma*¹⁵ and *Siva*,¹⁶ while his great-grandson Vijaya in the former *Purāna*; ¹⁷ Kāttavāya in the

Vāyu,¹ *Skanda*,² *Mārkaṇḍeya*,³ *Linga*⁴ and *Brahma*; ⁵

Chitrāratha in the *Siva*⁶, Chandra in the *Viṣṇu*⁷, Vasumanā in the *Kurma*,⁸ Manu in the *Padma*,⁹ Bhima (a grandson of Purūravā) and Samīka, a Bhoja sovereign, (son of Svāna), in the *Brahma*¹⁰, and Usanā in the *Vāyu*¹¹ and *Linga*.¹²

Malla, Kakutstha, Anenā, Jayadratha and others have already been referred to in the quotation from the *Agni Purāna* in connexion with Prithu. The *Matsya Purāna*¹

1 Ibid.

2 Yauvanasvo'thamāndhātā chakravarttyavanim prabhuh, Saptadvipavatumekah sa sarahyutatejaśa 'Bhāṣavata-Purāna,' skanda 9, ch. 6, slk. 34

3 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

4 'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 7, slk. 92

5 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

6 'Agni-Purāna,' loc. cit.

7 Nirpitya dikchakramabhuṭavigraho, Varāsa nāsthi samarājavandih

'Bhāṣavata-Purāna,' skanda 10, ch. 51, slk. 51, 1st couplet. Slokas 52 and 58 (Ibid.) call him 'svarat' and 'sambhauṇa.'

8 Saptadvipam Yayāstajitva prithvīm saśarāṇam, Vibhaya panchadhā rāyam putrāṇam nabhusastadā.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 12, slk. 18

9 Sa tena rathamukhyena Shannāshenāyanama him.

Linga-Purāna (Pārva-Khanda), ch. 66, slk. 68.

10 See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna' (Pāṇḍavakhandā, ch. 4, slk. 116 in connection with Sagara.

11 Asvamedhasatam sāgramakīrod yah svatejasa, Pururava iti khyatāh sarvalokanamaskritāh.

'Matsya-Purāna,' ch. 23, slk. 10.

12 Himabachchhikhare ranje samāradhya janāddanam, Lokasvaryyamagādṛaja saptadvipa-patistadā

'Ibid.,' slk. 11.

13 See the quotation from the 'Agni-Purāna' in connection with Prithu.

14 Pururavasangmānam chakravartinamurjitam, Janayamasa tanayam yatri somasuto vudhah.

'Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna,' ch. 111, slk. 13.

15 Dese punyatame chaiva maharshibhirabhishtute, Rāyam si karayamasa prayage prithivipath.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 10, slk. 9.

Evamprabhavo rajāsīd ulastu naraśattamah

'Ibid.,' slk. 10.

16 Sa vai rāj harischandrastraśankava iti smritah, Aharttā rājasuyasya samraditi viśutah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 25.

17 The same verses as above occur in the 'Siva-Purāna' (Dharmasambhita) ch. 61 slk. 21.

18 Vijayaschamunisreshthoschanchuputro vabhava ha Jeta sa sarvapṛithivim vijayastena sa smritah.

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 8, slk. 27.

1 Krit yātaschaturthabhuṭ kṛitavnyayattatoṛjjunah, Jāme vāhus chasrena saptadvīpeshvaro nripah

'Vāyu-Purāna,' ch. 94, slk. 9.

2 Sa saptadvīpavāṇa smṛat chakravartti vabhava ha.

'Skanda-Purāna' (Prabhāsa-khanda) ch. 20, slk. 12.

3 Prithivyam sastradhinimnasyastvabhameva, Tāto bhavishye nātmanam karishye pāpabhāginam

'Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna,' ch. 18, slk. 9.

4 Jajne bahusahasena saptadvīpeshvarottamah.

'Linga-Purāna' (Pārva-khanda), ch. 68, slk. 9.

5 Yo'sau vāhusahasena saptadvīpeshvaro bhavat, Jigaya prithivimeko rathenadityavarochhasa

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 13, slk. 160

Teneyam prithivisaṁ saptadvīpa sapattana.

Sasamudra sanagara ugten vidhinā jita.

'Ibid.,' slk. 166.

Sa svaratnabhak samrat chakravartti vabhava ha

'Ibid.,' slk. 175.

6 Vubhuje sakalan bhogān saptadvīpavatim mahim, Samarubhya gatah so'pi surathastṛiṣṭāyam

'Siva-Purāna' (Dharmasambhita), Uttarabhāga,

ch. 24 slk. 3.

7 Sa cha rājasuyamakarot. Tatprabhāvadatyutkri-
shṭādhipatyābhishtānītvachechānam mada āvi-
vesa.

'Viṣṇu-Purāna,' Pt. 4, ch. 6, para 6

8 Ajayachchhasvamedhena satruṇjyā dvijottamah,
See 'Kurma-Purāna,' ch. 20, slk. 31.

9 See the quotation from the 'Padma-Purāna' (Pāṇḍavakhandā) ch. 4, slk. 116 in connection with Sagara.

10 Amavasostu dāvālo bhimo rājātha rajarat
Sīmān bhīmasya dāvālo rājāsīt kanchanaprabhah

'Brahma-Purāna,' ch. 10, slk. 13.

Syāmaputra samikastu samiko rājyamāvahat,

Jugupsamāno bhojatvā rājasuyamāvapa sah.

'Ibid.,' ch. 14, slk. 33.

11 Usanā si tu dharmatma avāpya pṛithivīmāgam,
Ajahāsvamedhanam satamuttamadharmikah

'Vāyu-Purāna,' ch. 95, slk. 23.

12 Usanastasya tanayah samprāpya tu mahim imam,
Ajahāsvamedhanam satamuttamadharmikah,

Linga-Purāna (Pārva-Khanda), ch. 68, slk. 26.

13 'Matsya-Purāna,' ch. 47, slks. 55-57. See also 'Skanda-Purāna,' (Pāṇḍavakhandā) ch. 20, slks. 1, 2.

mentions some *asuras* such as Hiranyakasipu, Vali etc., as overlords, while the *Devī-Purāṇa*¹ describes the *daiṭya* named Ghora as an Ekarāt. Sasavindu, son of Chitraratha, became a Chakravartti according to the *Linga Purāṇa*.² Yudhishtira figures in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*³ as the performer of a *Rajasuya* and five *Asvamedha* sacrifices, and as the conqueror of a good many independent princes, while Dilpa is mentioned in the *Agni*⁴ and *Pādma Purāṇas*⁵, as also in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ which enumerates a good many great kings of yore:—

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE
Mahābhārata.

1. Marutta, son of Avikshita.
2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
3. Vrihadratha, the king of the Angas.
4. Sivi, son of Uśinara, who brought the whole earth under subjection.
5. Bharata, son of Dushmanta.
6. Rāma son of Dasaratha.
7. Bhagīratha, son of Sagara.
8. Dilpa.
9. Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva, who subdued the whole earth extending from the place of sunrise to that of sunset.
10. Yayāti, son of Nahusha.
11. Amvarīsha, son of Nābhāga, under whom were hundreds of tributary kings.
12. Sasavindu, son of Chitraratha.
13. Gaya, son of Amurttarayas.
14. Rantideva, son of Sankriti.
15. Sagara of the Ikshāku dynasty, during whose reign "there was but *his* umbrella opened on the whole earth."
16. Prithu, son of Vena.

1. 'Devī-Purāṇa,' ch. 2, slks. 39 ff.

2. Sasavindustu vai rāja anvaḍvratamuttamam, Chakravartti mahāsatto mahāvīryyo bahuprajāh. 'Linga-Purāṇa' ('Purva-khanda') ch 68, slk. 25.

3. Rājasuyo makho yena ishtah sampurnadakhinah, Saivān blumipatin viyyat samvidhāya kara-pradān.

4. 'Skanda-Purāṇa' ('Nagara-khanda'), ch. 140, slk. 3. 'Asvamedhah kritah pancha tathā sampurnadakhinah, Bhīṣmayitā hayam blumau paschat prapa sa sadgatiṁ.

5. 'Ibid.,' slk. 4. See also 'Ibid.,' ch. 21, slk. 51

6. See the quotation from the 'Agni-Purāṇa' in connexion with Prithu.

7. 'Padma-Purāṇa' ('Patala-khanda') ch. 4, slk. 114.

8. 'Śānti-Parva,' ch. 29

NAMES OF PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS IN THE
Kautilya.

The *Kautilya*¹ mentions a few emperors who though *chaturanta* lost their high positions through one or other of the vices. The list contains the following names:—

Dāndyākya-bhoja, Janamejaya, Aila, Rāvana, Dambhobhava, Vātāpi, Vaidehakarāla, Tālajangha, Ajavindu-sau-ira, Duryodhana, Haihaya-Arjuna. Vrishni-Sangha (the autonomous community of the Vrishnis) is also mentioned. Jāmadagnya, Amvarīsha and Nābhāga long "ruled the earth" through righteousness.

Of these, the first six and the last two as well as the Vrishni-Sangha are found in the *Kāmandakiya*² and *Sukra-Nīti*³.

EXAMPLE OF DIVISION OF SOVEREIGNTY
BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PEOPLE
IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

According to Mr. Kanakasabhai, India has seen not merely pure democracies or pure monarchies but also constitutions in which there were hereditary monarchs, between whom and the subjects there were distinct organs to restrict the powers of the former, and act as buffers. In this arrangement, there was an organized institution of the state to voice for the people's views. We find examples of such an organization in each of the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya of the extreme south about eighteen centuries ago. There the hereditary monarch along with the "Five Great Assemblies"⁴ consisting of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers, and ministers respectively wielded the sovereign power, and not the monarch alone. The first council safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people, the second directed all religious ceremonies, and the third all matters affecting the health of the king and the public. The fourth like the Roman

1. 'Kautilya,' Bk. I, p. 11. See also p. 338 for the extent of 'Chakravartti-kshetra.'

2. 'Kāmandakiya,' sarga 1, 54, 56, 57, 58.

3. It has the same verses as the 'Kāmandakiya.' See in this connexion Prof R. K. Mukerji's excellent work, the 'Fundamental Unity of India' ('from Hindu Sources'), which utilizes the lists of emperors from its special point of view.

4. 'The Tamils 1800 years Ago,' by V. Kanakasabhai, pp. 109, 110 quoting 'Chilapp-athikaram' II, 126; V, 157 and XXVI, 38; and 'Manimekhalai,' I. 17.

augurs fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events, while the fifth attended to the administration of justice, and collection and expenditure of revenue.¹ This system of government, there is

reason to believe, as Mr. Kanakāsabhai says, was not peculiar to the south but had its original in the Magadhan Empire of the North, from which the founders of the three kingdoms had formerly migrated.

metropolis for the transaction of its business and for holding its meetings. (Kanakāsabhai, p. 110).

1. Each council has a separate place in the

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Modern Ideas on Charity

is the theme on which Prof. M. Subedar writes thoughtfully in the pages of the *Social Service Quarterly* for July. A few sane ideas and methods of charitable relief have been set forth in the course of the article which should not fail to draw the serious attention of all interested in this very important and interesting phase of sociology.

The present day charity in India is unorganised and chaotic.

The aims of charity are perverted and its methods have become mischievous. Moulded as it is by traditions, there is little idea in the mind of the giver of gifts regarding his place in the great social machine. Nor does he think much of the true needs or the deserts of the man relieved. Anybody who will, can be a *sunyasīn* by merely donning a coloured garment. Anybody can plead misfortune or feign infirmity. The indiscriminate and thoughtless charity of these days has called into existence a large parasitic class, who are often able but always unwilling to do any work. Those who are supported by charity live on the borderland between gentile society and the criminal classes. They are the great recruiting ground for juvenile crime and prostitution. They have rendered by their persistent entreaties the streets of big cities difficult to pass through for honest and decent people. The common beggar is the most efficient carrier of physical and moral taint which he very often breeds. The places of pilgrimage have become centres of vice and crime. The priests have multiplied in quantity and degenerated in quality. Whether the Brahmin is paid the donor's weight in gold or silver, or whether he has to be content with a more modest gift befitting the impoverished condition of his *yajman*, the claims of hereditary priesthood, no longer regarded as a legitimate share from the social income but looked upon as charity, represent some of the most uneconomically spent resources of the country. Apart from the waste, the demoralisation resulting from these conditions is enormous.

The giving of gifts is not an individual's affair. It has important social aspects.

No one should be allowed to ruin the lives of

others by giving charity thoughtlessly. The end of true charity is not only to relieve people effectively from their immediate trouble, but to set them on a way to lead an honest, self-respecting, and independent existence; not only to give men the pleasure which comes from the satisfaction of urgent primary wants, but to bring them 'kalyana' or true happiness which never comes to those who are dependent and who have not done honest work. The individual donor who gives in the conventional manner on conventional occasions has neither the time nor the ability to think out all this. It is for those that shape law and social opinion to decide when and how and how much an individual should give. Restricted benevolence which does not touch the social misery is as much a sign of moral decay as lavish and indiscriminate bounty, which while keeping alive the edge of charity, equally falls short of the objects and is a symptom of social ill health.

The joint family system which secures great relief at present to a large number, who would otherwise be thrown on the charity of the community, is a doomed institution.

We should therefore prepare ourselves to meet these changes by adopting a sound system of charity. There should be registration of all charitable institutions and publicity for the work they do. We should have a Society for the Prevention of Mendicancy in India, which through law and opinion should make alms-giving obsolete. All *sadabratas* should be directed into socially useful channels. Above all, we should realise that charity is not an affair solely concerning the heart of the donor. It may be even better to knock the bottom out of the donor's pride by making him feel that what is given by him in charity is not always his own but what he has managed to steal from the community and that he shall restore it back, not when it pleases him but when and how the community demands it.

"The cry for educational reform is not confined to India alone. Countries far more advanced have their educational defects and drawbacks, for which they are eagerly seeking remedies." This is what V.

Subramaniya Iyer says in the course of a short article entitled

Education East and West contributed to the *Mysore Economical Journal* for July.

The writer is quite correct when he says that

the type of a University, especially in an old country, is to be determined not by the creative fancies of political theorists, but by the hard realities of various local conditions and other practical considerations, a fact which has been well put by the Central Provinces and Berar University Committee, in the words—"The University should grow naturally out of existing institutions rather than spring ready made from the brains of some University constructors."

Mr. Iyer then describes at some length the discussions going on in England for the introduction of more scientific teaching in the curriculum of the technical and other institutions. Turning from Europe to America one is struck by the growing importance of laboratory work there.

The days of those who say "This is what I *think*" are at an end, and of those who say 'this is what I *find and know*' are coming on. Still not a few of the Indian Educationists act in the belief that they have an instinctive genius for hitting upon the right remedies for India's Educational ills, without any of scientific enquiry. But in America we find ourselves in company with a different sort altogether. They are ever after experiments and results. Two valuable heads under which very useful information has been recently collected are:

- (1) Why children dropout of school early.
- (2) The ideals of Western children.

Unless a thorough enquiry is made under the former, no satisfactory scheme of universal or compulsory education, can be drawn up and no satisfactory curricula under modern conditions which are characterised by the socialistic and democratic tendencies can be formulated. The latter subject is of the greatest practical importance, in developing character which, as has been so often pointed out, is the highest object of education.

Tuberculosis and Social Reform

is the title of a very ably-written article contributed to the *Young Men of India* by Dr. Arthur Lankester and we commend it to the serious attention of the social reformer and the layman alike.

Civilization has doubtless given us many beautiful things but it has also brought evils in its train. The association between tuberculosis and what we may call the evils of civilization is very close indeed.

If civilization gives the palace and the beautiful suburb, it also brings the hovel and the slum. Warmth, fine clothing, and the other amenities of life, are purchased at the expense of the coal mine,

the factory and the weaving mill, and it is with this darker aspect of civilization that we find the disease of tuberculosis continually connected. Nowhere is this connection so obvious as in the numerous cases where savage races have been brought under the influences of "civilization" in a rapid and artificial manner, instead of the change being permitted to occur as a process of gradual, spontaneous development. It is tuberculosis which has been mainly responsible for the practical extinction of the Red Indian, the Maori of New Zealand, the aboriginal Australian, and many other savage races.

The deplorable state of things in Bombay and Calcutta which help the spread of tuberculosis is thus set forth by the writer:

In the Bombay *chawl*, the Calcutta *basti* hut, or the crowded dark houses of many an Indian city, we shall find everything that makes it easy for consumption to spread from man to man. We find dirty, airless rooms, opening by windows far too small upon side-streets, so narrow as to shut out all sunlight from the houses. We find inner rooms crowded with sleeping inmates at night-time, with windows or other apertures for ventilation either non-existent or entirely closed; and in most cases the relations of consumptive patients seem to be taking no precautions whatever to prevent the spread of infection. As we proceed with our inquiry, we shall find that it is amongst people whose constitutions are already weakly that cases of phthisis tend to be most frequent, and we shall realize that the conditions which are favourable to the spread of consumption are not limited to those which help the multiplication and distribution of the tubercle bacilli, but they include all factors which in any way tend to depress the vital powers and thus cause a predisposition to the disease.....

The selfishness of land owners, who utilize every square foot of available area for rent-producing dwellings, crowding storey above storey where the pressure of population gives hope of their being occupied; of the supineness of Municipal Committees, who are too often slow to take advantage of opportunities for acquiring sites which might be opened out for public use; of the joint-family system, which frequently results in houses being divided and subdivided in order to meet the needs of a gradually increasing family group, until both ventilation and privacy become almost impossible.

The problems of town-planning and of city improvement schemes, the difficulty of opening out over-crowded slum areas without causing still further congestion of the neighbouring habitations, the problem of how to provide for the poorest of the people dwellings which are free from the most glaring hygienic defects, while at the same time providing a due return on the capital expended with a rental which does not place them beyond the reach of those for whom they are intended; these, and many other similar problems of social importance, are all found to have a close vital connection with the spread of tuberculosis.

Our countrymen who are zealous advocates of *purdah* and who stick to insensible old usages should take note of the following:

Here, in India, tens of thousands of the very women, who should be the leaders of society, examples in hygienic living to the less fortunate members

of their own sex, are compelled by their social code to forfeit the blessing of robust health, and at the same time to sacrifice boundless influence which they might be exerting for the good of their country. That the results, as far as the prevalence of consumption is concerned, of this social custom are fully as serious as might naturally have been expected, is proved by the vital statistics of many Indian cities, which show twice, or even three times, as many deaths from the disease amongst women as amongst men, in communities where *purdah* is strictly observed; whilst in *non purdah* communities under similar climatic and other conditions, the numbers may be equal for the sexes.

Upon those who favour the retention of the system of *purdah*, there lies a heavy burden of responsibility to use every possible effort to provide, for those who live in seclusion, such accommodation as to ventilation, open spaces, and the like, that they shall not be deprived of the blessings of fresh air and exercise.

In many parts of India one cause, which was very frequently mentioned by experienced Indian doctors and others, of the prevalence of consumption amongst young women, was that they have to endure the physical strains consequent upon marriage and maternity at an age when, as yet, their constitutions are not fully developed. The diminution of the power of resistance to disease thus coincides in too many cases with an exposure to conditions fraught with danger to any who are in the least degree predisposed to tuberculosis. The almost universal practice of excluding all fresh air from the lying-in chamber results in a young girl being kept for days in an atmosphere insupportably close, and in which infective organisms must abound, just at the very crisis of her life when her vital powers are at their lowest. Out of sixty-four women, whose deaths from consumption were recently reported in a certain city, in no less than twenty of the cases there was the clearest history of the disease commencing immediately after child-birth.

Harischandra and the Place of the Drama in Indian Life.

K. T. Paul writing on the above theme in the *Young Men of India* for August says :

Harischandra, the Surya Vamshi, the Raja Adi Raja of Ayodhya! He had gone from the throne to the Mayana, not like Nala in well deserved failure at gambling, not like many another in consequence of ill government or defeat in war, not even like Rama in momentary obedience to an uxorious father's wish, but step by step of long drawn suffering, at every step, because he would not compromise principle for expediency. It is a great and thrilling message. The whole career a *via dolorosa* in which the brave man, of his own will, bore the cross on his shoulder right through even to the bitter end.

The tragedy of Hamlet is vacillation: the tragedy of Harischandra is the will that does execute. The tragedy of Macbeth is regnant passion: the tragedy of Harischandra is in self-control. The tragedy of Lear is in consequence of misplaced doting affection: the tragedy of Harischandra, in his deliberate willingness to sacrifice home and family, the tender fibres in his manly heart only serving to make the tragic trebly bitter. The tragedy of Othello is in the inequality of the noble soul to the wiles of the wicked: Harischandra did not suffer by ignorance, his was a deliberate choosing of the tragic—for to choose the other was to choose the false. Harischandra is the tragedy of the adamant will, which would not deviate to the smallest degree from principle and duty, paying for consistency every price demanded. Nor does he juggle with his intellect and emotions, and soothe himself by interpreting the sacrifice of power and family as religious renunciation. His regal soul loves power, his manly heart cherishes affection to the last. His are deliberate sacrifices, which continue to rankle in his mind. It is the crown of thorns with none of the points blunted. Harischandra finds suffering the inevitable consequence of righteousness in a world of evil. It all comes to him in the pathway of daily task, and accumulates naturally and normally.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Shaikh M. H. Kidwai continuing his interesting series on *Woman Under Different Social and Religious Laws* writes about

Woman Under Christianity

in the August number of the *Islamic Review and Muslim India*.

To save any misunderstanding the

writer says the following at the very outset, and we thoroughly agree with him.

We believe that human nature, as animal nature, is the same in the East and the West, the North and the South. The difference in latitude and longitude, in colour or even in creed, does not change human nature. There are good men and women and bad men and women everywhere. Woman as a woman is virtue-loving, sentimental, affectionate, gentle, sympathetic all over the world even when she is in

barbarous countries and under savage laws. Our respect and love for European woman, Christian woman, as a woman, i.e., when she is not unsexed, is great. We have no doubt that in a few respects the civilization that goes by the name of Western civilization is somewhat superior to that civilization which goes today under the name of Eastern civilization. In fact, we think that a union of the two civilizations, which can perhaps be quickened by intermarriages between the people under these two different civilizations, would evolve a very good civilization if it takes some of the good of the one and some of the good of the other to weaken the failings of the two.

Then the writer goes on to show "how Christianity, as a religion, a moral power, a social institution, has treated woman."

Christians do not recognize the immaculate conception of Lords Krishna and Buddha, but they feel proud of the immaculate conception of their "Saviour." Although they deny a father to their God or part of a God, they do not deny him a mother. And the major portion of them almost adore that mother too. Roman Catholics give a high place to the Virgin Mary in their pantheon of saints and gods. Yet all the Christians, reformed or unreformed, Catholics or Protestants, have based the very foundation of their religion on the criminality of woman. They have not only accepted the Hebrew story of the "fall of Adam," but have gone so far as to weave a network of blasphemous superstition round about it: that Eve ate the forbidden fruit first, and then instigated Adam to do so, who out of his love for her complied with her wishes so that she might not suffer alone the punishment of a revengeful God; that God sent them both down on the earth and the curse of their sin became ineradicable, so much so that every man born of woman is born in sin and the whole humanity required a saviour to satisfy by his own blood the wrath of a relentless, unforgiving, vindictive God; that the saviour, although a part and parcel of God Himself, came in the human form on this earth, was born of the Virgin Mary, lived for a few years among the fishermen of Galilee, claimed to be the King of Jews who put him on the cross, although he himself made every human effort to save himself from that ignoble death which was inflicted upon thieves and murderers, and with which his gospel—the Old Testament, in which he implicitly believed, had threatened false prophets. Thus the whole fabric of Christianity rests upon the criminality of woman. Pious and saintly Christians like St. Antony, St. Bonaventure, St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Cyprian, all cursed woman, and showered such abuses upon the sex as "the organ of the devil," "the foundation of the arms of the devil," "a scorpion ever ready to sting," "the gate of the devil and the road of iniquity," "the poison of an asp, the malice of a dragon," and "the instrument which the devil uses to gain possession of our souls."

Up to this day, under the marriage law of the Christian Church, a woman, when getting married, has to pledge solemnly to obey her husband. Both in Great and Little Russia, even to-day, the ceremony of the bride taking off the bridegroom's boots for the first time is very important. In certain parts of Great Russia the old custom still clings, that as the bridegroom is about to take the bride from her house, her father takes a specially prepared whip, strikes his daughter gently with it, saying he has done it for the last time. He then presents the whip to the bridegroom.

Jesus said that he had come to fulfil the Law, so he accepted "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee" as the maxim of a married life for women. Jesus himself, it is said, was disrespectful to his own saintly mother, and addressed her in a way which would never be allowed in any respectable society to-day. St. Paul, to whom modern Christianity is much more indebted than it is to Jesus himself, and whose personality, too, is much more historical, dictates: "Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man;" and again: "Let the woman, learn in silence, with all subjection, for I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." Woman cannot touch the pulpit and the altar. In the Church of England, by law, she is in practice counted a thing unclean. The gulf between the sexes in non-Catholic churches is as wide as in the Catholic.

Because of woman's criminality and the transmitted guilt, even the new-born infant of a Christian himself is subject to condemnation to the eternal torture of undying fire, until baptism has united it to the Church, for although it had committed no sin by its own will, it had nevertheless by its carnal conception drawn with it the condemnation of original sin.

The charge sheet, according to Christianity, against her is as follows:—

- (1) That woman was the first to disobey God.
- (2) That woman prompted Adam to follow her in disobedience.
- (3) That woman was the cause of the fall of Adam.
- (4) That women's guilt has been transmitted to the whole of mankind, and every child is born in sin.
- (5) That owing to woman's crime all humanity except a number of Christians is condemned to eternal perdition.
- (6) That woman is responsible if she is a Christian, is responsible to see that her own unbaptized infant goes to eternal fire.
- (7) That God had to send Jesus to be sacrificed because of the first crime of woman, so she is responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus.
- (8) That those who believe that Jesus was more than human have every reason to curse woman more for having caused "the death of their Lord."

Sensitiveness versus Independence.

The following cuttings from an article appearing in the *Spectator* under the above heading would be found interesting:

One is apt at first sight to decide that what we usually call sensitiveness is a weakness, unfortunate in private, disastrous in public life. We doubt very much whether this generally received opinion is correct. A man indifferent to report has probably some great qualities, but serious defects not infrequently appertain to them. The sensitive man has, no doubt, some weakness in his character, but he may have powers which the man made of sterner stuff is without. He can accept suggestion, and appropriate not only in appearance but in reality the moral and mental inspirations of other men. He has more power of development than stiffer natures possess. He is subject to change—more often for better than for worse. Even among public men we should imagine that in a democratic country it is uncertain which

type is the more useful. A man sensitive to criticism is sure to study his critics, and is likely to have more intuitive knowledge of their mental processes than one for whom they do not exist. He is a better representative than a more naturally independent person can be, and representatives are quite as necessary as leaders. Also, he may have a stronger feeling for justice. Unless he is an ill conditioned man, he will try not to give to the innocent the pain which he, being innocent, has received. He may try very hard to be just, even though he yields, when his resentment becomes excruciating, to the temptations of that malignant justice which we call revenge. On the other hand, the man who does not mind injustice will sometimes do injustice. Strong men are not always just men. In this respect they get far more credit than they deserve. Indomitable prejudice is a common corollary of strength. The man who is above resenting what is said of him is above revenging himself. He will not take offense, but he will not unscolded take the offensive, and that unjustly.

There are people who are absolutely indifferent to what even their friends say of them, because custom has made them content to be misunderstood. This very often happens where a particular member of a family is unlike all the rest. From his cradle he has learned not to expect sympathy. He may have been surrounded by love and be without the slightest bitterness, but he has learned to live alone, and to be tolerant of incomprehension. He does not think that any man's goodness or badness, ability or stupidity, depends upon the power to enter into his particular ideas. He would as soon have his mind to himself. He may even have come to value his mental solitude, and almost, if it were possible, to regard injustice as an extra lock upon the door of his castle. Complete reserve of this kind is rare, but it exists.

A few men and women who do demand sympathy, and do care about making a favorable impression, are too naturally exclusive to mind about public criticism in the least. They may belong to the great world, or they may be poor people living in the crowd, but their real life is among the few. Perhaps as many as half-a-dozen persons in the circle of their acquaintance are quite real to them—and to their criticism they may even be morbidly sensitive. As for the world, it beth in artificiality, and its joys and its sorrows, its anger, its wit, and its hate, are counterfeited. This view of life proves a man to be ill-endowed with imagination, but that is what absolute indifference to criticism more often than not means. But sometimes it goes with a singleness of purpose, a penetration, an enthusiasm, and a courage which are greater things than that idolatrously worshiped gift.

Newton Anticipated by Muslims.

Al-Qidwai writing in the *Islamic Review and Muslim India* for August asserts that the principle of gravitation was discovered by the Muslims long before Newton. They had discovered both the spiritual gravitation and the physical gravitation. Even their philosophical poets discussed it which will be evidenced from the following few verses of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi:

*Jumla apai jahan san hukme paish
Just just o ashqane jette kharsh.*

It is owing to a law that all the components of the world
Are in pairs and couples, one loving and attracting the other.

*Hast h o ju way ba alam jutt khwah
Kast hamcho kahruba o berge kah.*

Every material body or part attracts the other in the world
Exactly as *kahruba* (amber) attracts a piece of straw.

*Asman gayad amin ra makhaba
Ba ta am hoon aban o ahamuba.*

The celestial bodies (sun and stars, etc.) greet the earth saying
We stand with you in the relation of magnet to iron (i. e. attracting each other).

*Gust val choon bimmet cen khakdan
Dermiane en methed asman.*

Somebody asked how it is that this dusty earth remains
Suspended in the circumscribing atmosphere.

*Hamcho qandile maslaq der hava
Ney ber asal mirast ney ber ada.*

Like a round lantern floating in the air,
Neither it falls down nor goes upwards.

*An hakimach guff ke jabe sama
A jehate shish binund under hava.*

The philosopher replied that it is because of the celestial gravitation
That the earth is suspended in the air from all the six directions.

*Choon i magnit'es quash raithta
Dermian mund shan amakhta.*

Just as in the centre of a hollow globe of magnet
If a piece of iron were put, it would remain floating.

Raffi—the Armenian National Writer.

The travails of unhappy Armenia have for long drawn the sympathy of the civilised world but very few people know the inner life of Armenia or the men of note she has produced.

In an informing article in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* Zabelle C. Boyajian tells the story of Raffi who, more than anybody else, reawakened the ideals of liberty and independence amongst his people.

We are told that

The whole of his literary work was one passionate cry for release from the terrible yoke that was weighing them down. In the remotest corners of Armenia, where his works were prohibited on pain of death, they were eagerly procured, read by torch-light in dark cellars, and passed on from house to house through secret passages. Armenia began to know herself.

Of the mass of novels, poems, and essays that he has left much is still unpublished. He was practically the founder of modern Armenian literature. The

Armenians possess a school of classical literature written in ancient Armenian—a language as different from the dialects spoken at the present day as from Italian.

Raffi formed a graceful and supple literary language out of the Armenian dialect spoken in the Caucasus. The pictures of Armenian life in his novels are drawn with truth and humour although they are rendered with a few simple strokes of the brush. They are fragrant with the scent of the mountain thyme and the odours of wet earth. But all this is made subservient to the main idea—that of liberty for his people.

The life-story of Raffi is thus set forth:

At the time of Raffi's birth, in 1837, Persian Armenia was so unsettled that it was impossible for the Armenians to export the produce of their lands themselves. The Persian merchants came once a year and bought up all the fruits of their labour at a nominal price. Raffi's grandfather was evidently a man of spirit, for he determined to take his goods through to Persia and sell them there himself. His caravans returned loaded with charcoal for burning in the newly-invented samovars, and at the bottom of each sack lay a handful of gold—the real guerdon which he was bringing back. So from his very earliest years Raffi was surrounded by the atmosphere of injustice and danger which is the lot of the Armenian peasant.

At the age of thirteen he was sent to the Russian Gymnasium at Tiflis, where he studied the Armenian classics. He wanted to become a doctor, but his father's affairs needed looking after, and he had to return home and attend to business. Living amongst his people, and seeing their sufferings, filled him with a desire to free them, a desire intensified by a journey into Turkish Armenia, where he visited the scenes of Armenian history, and met Muggeditch Khrimian, then a young monk at the convent of Varak, who was already working for the people by publishing an important newspaper and teaching them, amongst other things, modern methods of agriculture. Khrimian afterwards became the most beloved and influential Catholicos that the Armenian Church has ever had; and the friendship of the two young men lasted through life.

On his return to Persia Raffi wrote his novel 'Harem' which aroused the feelings of the Persians so much that he had to leave the country and go to Russia for safety. He settled in Tiflis where he spent the rest of his life in writing his novels and collaborating with Grigor Ardzrouni, the editor of the 'Mschak' (Labourer)—a paper which greatly assisted in forming the mentality of the younger generation.

Raffi died at the comparatively early age of fifty-one, and was mourned by the whole nation.

Intensely fond of Armenia as he was, Raffi was no lenient critic of his own people. The following taken from his historical novel *David Beg* is an instance in point:

—God knows that this nation deserves to have its throat cut, and I would do it myself if I could! I hate her, and yet I love her. She has been a wanton for nearly four thousand years. She was a slave to the passions of Assyria for centuries; during thousands of years she has thrown herself alternately into the arms of Greece, Rome, and Persia—even the black

Arab of the desert has touched her cheek with his thick lips. Which nation has she not been in love with, to whom was she not subjected? She gave herself to all, and was unfaithful to her own husband alone! And in spite of everything, I love this wanton, who has wasted herself through ages past, until there is nothing of her former beauty left. I love this skeleton—this envenomed body, contaminated, as it is, with a thousand diseases, and breathing death—diseases that she has contracted from the lovers she has exchanged for each other as one changes a shirt. I love her, but 'why' I do not know myself. I detest and loathe her but still I love her.

After centuries of inaction there is again a stir in the dead bones of Asia. Japan has already achieved great things and has found a place in the comity of the advanced nations of the world. Even in slothful China the young generation is no longer content to sit idle and let the grass grow under their feet. Their views on many a problem, on which they did not cast a thought up till recently, are undergoing considerable change. This is evidenced from a short article contributed to *China's Young Men* by Koo Ching Tjuan, a Chinese, on the

Moral Aspect of Physical Education.

The writer tells us that "it was regarded, in China, as beneath the dignity of scholars to engage in vigorous exercises, like running and jumping, which they thought were actions suited to naughty boys." But the writer holds that physical training and moral education must go side by side.

Bushido in Japan firmly grasped the moral ideals in bodily competition, and hence it fostered the spirit of daring and bearing, and above all it brought up the spirit of indifference to death, which pervaded the whole nation and laid the corner-stone of patriotism.

A close investigation into physical education reveals four fundamental characteristics, which are the essential foundations of a patriotic people.

First—Rectitude, or the absolute conformity to the rules of right principle or practice. Rectitude, I say, is the most cogent precept in physical education.

Second—courage, or the spirit of daring and bearing. Courage, in its real sense, means doing what is right. Confucius, in his *Analects*, defines courage by explaining what its negative side is. "Perceiving what is right," he says, "and doing it not, argues a lamentable lack of courage." So courage, in my opinion, is one of the most important requisites in physical education, as in everything else.

Third—Veracity, or truthfulness. Truth or falsehood in a man can best be detected in games. Modern educationists have made thorough use of games in the study of students psychologically.

Fourth—Loyalty. By loyalty we mean oneness of purpose. We mean a single aim at the progress

of an institution of which one is a member. We mean sacrifice for the welfare of the nation. In athletics we mean team spirit. Victory is often predicted for a certain team because the individual members are the best players. Those who make such predictions are ignorant as to what team work means. Hence, in group games, team spirit, or, more plainly, care for the team as a whole, is the essential factor in victory. On the degree of team spirit alone we may judge as to possible victory or defeat of a team. If the individuals of a team care more for their own accomplishments than they do for the team there would be discord, con-

fusion, chaos, the result of which would be defeat, shameful defeat.

Man's moral nature is nowhere more outwardly manifested than in games. There he involuntarily shows his moral nature, as if compelled to do so by some spiritual force. He cannot conceal it nor can he suppress it. If he be virtuous, his virtues will be noticed. If he be lacking in virtue, the want will also be noticed. Therefore, loyalty, as developed by long hours of practice, will be stronger and readier for emergency than the loyalty taught merely by words. Thus we see that loyalty is attained best through physical education.

IN JAPAN WITH MY MASTER

WE left San Francisco on the 20th March, 1915, by S. S. Nippon Maru bound for Japan. Sixty years ago the Japanese knew very little of navigation, but with their new spirit of enterprise and the encouragement they have received from their own Government they have almost succeeded in driving out of the Pacific all the rival shipping. The passenger service in the Pacific is now practically a monopoly of the Japanese. Their officers show great courtesy and every detail of a passenger's comfort is looked after with scrupulous care. In addition to commercial advantages this monopoly of navigation has given the Japanese political supremacy in the Pacific.

We arrived at Honolulu on the 26th March. This is in one of the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific and is an important naval base of the United States. This island is elaborately defended by the latest methods of defence. There are several submarines in the harbour. On the day of our arrival there was a great disaster, one of the submarines had submerged itself for practice but it never rose again. Elaborate search was instituted but to no purpose.

Americans regard Honolulu as their most powerful naval base in the Pacific. A very large number of Japanese have, however, settled there, apparently for the purpose of trade. It is said that they are all trained military men and on the outbreak of any hostility between Japan and the United States it would be doubtful whether the Americans would be able to maintain their power against their Asiatic rivals.

Before reaching Honolulu my Master received a wireless message from the American University Club to give an address, but our stay in Honolulu was too short and the boat started the same evening for Yokohama.

Everyday we used to go up to see the chart of the previous day's run. The chart also gave the day of the week and the date. We had gone to bed on Friday the 2nd April and the next morning we found the calendar making Sunday the 4th April. There was thus an unaccountable vanishing of one whole day. We soon learnt that coming from the East we had just passed the 180° longitude. We have travelled round with the sun, which had lagged each day slightly behind. If the traveller circumnavigates the earth towards the East, he everyday meets the sun a little earlier. Hence there is a gain of a day. This loss or gain in the calendar at first appears very puzzling since at an identical moment to the East of a given mathematical line, it is Friday, whereas it is Sunday a few yards to the West of the line.

We were now nearing Japan; but something was causing us a vague and indefinite anxiety. We had hoped that my Master would be greatly benefited by the sea voyage but to our dismay we found him, for some unaccountable reason, getting more and more emaciated every day.

In alarm we consulted the ship's doctor, who regarded it as an effect of the sea voyage! We reached Yokohama on the 7th April; his condition became still more serious. We now realised that there had been some serious internal mischief since

the sudden suppression of his fever under medication at Harvard.

Fortunately we met with many friends, Indian, American and Japanese, who were eager to afford every possible help. It was arranged that the Emperor's physician should be consulted. He pronounced the illness to be very serious and thought that no relief could be expected from any medical treatment. At this juncture we had the good fortune of meeting Dr. Teusler, the celebrated American physician, Director of the International Hospital at Tokio. Dr. Teusler had followed my Master's work and was most anxious to offer his services. He regarded my Master's serious symptoms to be due to excessive mental strain and anxiety during the past year's lecture tour. In the case of any one else he would have felt hopeless, but since my Master had himself worked on fundamental reactions of life and of nervous reactions in general he would as a patient co-operate with his medical adviser. He drew out a scheme which was to be followed implicitly. The long course of lectures that had been arranged before the different Universities in Japan and various other engagements had to be cancelled with the exception of only two, and these only to be carried out after he had regained sufficient strength. For the present he would have to leave immediately for the sea-side sanitarium at Kamakura, where he would be completely cut off from the outside world and live in seclusion. The manager of the Hotel went out of his way and did everything possible for his comfort. Adjoining the Hotel was the long and beautiful sea-shore. Casting off all other thoughts from his mind he would take his walk gently along the beach and with a childlike enthusiasm he would gather specimens of marine life that used to be cast ashore by the tide. He now brought all the strength of his mind to cast off his illness, since he had much work yet to do in India.

WASEDA UNIVERSITY.

After three weeks' rest my master felt strong enough to give his lecture before the famous Waseda University on the 1st of May, 1915. The lecture hall was crowded with the most distinguished leaders of thought in Japan. The lecture and the demonstration were followed in breathless silence by the large audience. At the conclusion of the lecture, the President of the

University, Dr. Ukita, spoke in the most enthusiastic terms about the great message in science which had been sent to them from India. This was not the first occasion on which they had received messages of inspiration from that country. Many centuries ago Japan had been in close touch with India in her striving after intellectual and spiritual development.

RECEPTION BY MARQUIS TOKUGAWA.

On the 4th of May a reception was organised by Marquis Tokugawa at his residence at Tokio where my Master was received by the eminent professors of different Universities in Japan. We were greatly interested to meet these distinguished men, who are guiding the great educational movement of the country. The Japanese Government have for many years past been selecting the most promising students to obtain their post-graduate training at the most famous Universities in Europe and America. After they had distinguished themselves in these foreign Universities, they, on their return, are given professorships in their own University. The pay is very moderate, but it is the honour and dignity and the certainty of securing appointment in the University that have led the best students to devote themselves to the educational work. The success of her educational experiment is principally due to the continuity of policy that has been pursued in Japan. Even in Japan some of our Indian students,—by no means the best that India could send,—have won a very distinguished place in the University examinations; but we hear little of these students who had acquitted themselves with such credit in foreign countries. In America also we found that the Chinese were regarded as intellectually superior to the Japanese. But in China there is no continuity of policy, as in Japan, for utilising the services of their most distinguished students. Their strong sense of patriotism has also given a great impetus to the educational efforts of the Japanese. Every boy and girl in the school is taught the supreme duty of offering their lives for their country. Education is compulsory and it was a unique sight to see even the rickshaw-men scrambling for the latest edition of their newspapers to keep themselves abreast of the latest news. As an example of this I may describe a characteristic incident. Accompanied by two other

Indians I went to buy a few dwarf plants in a nursery. The woman in charge recognising us to be Indians began to speak enthusiastically about the discoveries of my Master, accounts of which she had read in the newspapers. When she learnt that I was his assistant, not only did she not accept payment for the plants but made a very liberal present of flowers!

We went to some of the Universities and scientific laboratories in Tokio. We were surprised to notice the great secrecy observed about the work that is being carried out in these laboratories. In India we are overzealous to show every stranger all our arts and crafts; we even organise exhibitions for the special benefit of foreigners so that they may find out without any difficulty our domestic articles and the process of their manufacture. The result is the complete suppression of our art products by cheap machine-made imitations. In Japan, however, things are quite different. Even in their Universities, which are supposed to be public, much formality has to be gone through. After a process of unlocking numerous doors we were led to see what was allowed to be seen. They are specially jealous in regard to the introduction of foreign manufactured articles, which are kept out of the country by heavy tariff. It is said that the only foreign articles they obtain are merely to serve as samples, which they reproduce with marvellous accuracy. In this even the trade-mark is not forgotten. We admired the beautiful posters of locally made Stephen's Ink which showed in a very realistic manner radiating streaks of blue black ink.

As far as natural resources go Japan is perhaps one of the poorest countries in the world. The arable land barely produces enough for the need of the growing population. The fisher folks ply their trade amid great danger and hardships. In spite of all their natural disadvantages, they have made themselves one of the great powers of the world. This is undoubtedly due to their frugality, endurance and their genius for details and, above all, their great love of their country. These find expression in their highly efficient and extended popular education. Whatever makes for the highest efficiency is taught to the boys and girls in the schools. From the look of the fields it would appear that the country could not be free from malaria. But the

lessons of hygiene and sanitation are so well taught and the civic responsibilities so well inculcated by the State that malaria is unknown in Japan. Even in remote villages every householder keeps his road front scrupulously clean.

Under pressure from the Western powers, Japan had to choose either to become modernised or lose her national existence. She followed modern methods, but soon excelled her Western preceptors. In the art of war, in statecraft, in espionage, they have left some of the most up-to-date Western nations far behind. One great characteristic weakness of the Eastern nations is what is known as 'eye-shame,' which interferes with their promptly utilising some special advantages irrespective of other considerations. But the Japanese statesmen are far above such weaknesses. They are ready at any moment to discard useless and embarrassing obligations and enter into new ones for their own national advantage. Their ever-expanding military system has imposed on them an intolerable burden which cannot be borne by the people for long. The problem before the Japanese statesmen seems to be, therefore, to discover new spheres of influence and new places 'in the sun,' in China or elsewhere.

My Master's health was slowly improving but he was not yet quite strong enough to undertake the voyage homewards. And so under doctor's order we left for the Hill Sanitarium at Myanoshita for a further stay of a fortnight. This was a region of great volcanic activity, where the hot springs are supposed to possess great curative properties.

• CHINA

On the 21st May we sailed for China. Our first port was Shanghai. This is a unique cosmopolitan city in the world. Every power worth a name has its own Government within the city. The many Chinese friends we made in America had arranged for us an extensive tour in China to visit the different Universities and the various historical places. But my Master was anxious to return home as soon as possible. At Shanghai, however, they organised a dinner in his honour where we met many leading Chinese gentlemen, among whom were a colleague of the ministry of the late President Yuan Shih Kai and Dr. Woo, the former Chinese am-

bassador at Washington. At that time there was great friction between China and Japan, Japan having made a series of demands which was most humiliating to the sovereignty of the Republic. The Chinese gentlemen, however, made light of the impending danger. They thought that China had a more perfect and ancient civilisation than the Japanese, who owed all their culture and civilisation to their Western neighbour. They had no doubt that the higher culture and civilisation of the Chinese would ultimately prevail. Instead of facing the problem of the present they thus benumb all their activity in dwelling merely on the glories of the dead past. Here we have the cause of the inefficiency of the Chinese in a nutshell. A highly cultured people, among whom were a very large number of young men, educated in the most up-to-date methods of the West, with newly awakened ideas of patriotism, are thus rendered powerless to resist the encroachment of a smaller nationality, more efficient and better organised.

From Shanghai we went to Hongkong. Our next port was Singapore, whence we arranged to go to Java to visit the famous botanic gardens of Buitenzorg. These gardens possess the richest variety of flora in the world. The ability with which these are accumulated and displayed are unique. There is a special establishment at Chibodas for scientific investigations which is open to all nations of the world. Here we expected to meet many botanical investigators from all parts of the world and also to make a new collection of plants suitable for our own investigations. And the other place we wanted to visit in Java was the most famous temple of Borobudur.

On arriving at Singapore we found that the place was under martial law on account of the abortive rising of the Indian soldiers. The steamer for Batavia was to leave within an hour of our arrival at the harbour. And on account of the war, the steamer service between Singapore and Rangoon was very uncertain. In this dilemma we had to abandon our trip to Java and we took passage in the French steamer which sailed almost immediately for Colombo.

We were now rapidly nearing Colombo, which I had left fifteen months ago. In this short time great things have been accomplished against insuperable difficulties.

We travelled from Colombo to London, from London to Vienna and back thence across the Atlantic to New York, from Boston to Washington and from New York to San Francisco, from there to Japan and China and back to Colombo. The length of the journey accomplished was over 26,000 miles. There was the added anxiety of personally carrying the delicate apparatus and our Indian plants, on whose well-being greatly depended the success of our scientific tour. Far more hopeless appeared the task at the beginning of our journey of converting the conservative leaders in science. There is a prevalent idea that in the realm of science there is always a keen desire for welcoming new truths. In reality things are quite different, for the leader of a particular branch of science occupies that position as the upholder of certain orthodox views, which, by the acceptance of new discoveries are liable to be completely subverted. Authoritative standard works, again, are in danger of becoming antiquated by the disturbing elements introduced by new facts and interpretations. It would thus be seen how new discoveries must inevitably rouse uncompromising opposition. When to this is added the further fact that the old views were challenged by a representative of a race better known for metaphysical subtleties than for power of accurate experimental investigation, then only would be realised the almost impossible task that lay before my Master. He had to look forward to no adventitious aid of any description from any direction but only uncompromising opposition. He went boldly to all the great centres which were opposed to his views and theories and by means of experimental demonstration of a convincing character succeeded in converting his opponents into enthusiastic supporters of his theories. He met all the leaders of thought of different nationalities of the world and won from them recognition of the very important service that his country is to render in the near future for the advancement of the world's knowledge. What was the other day regarded as impossible has now become a realised fact. In trying to get behind this great miracle the disciple realised that material advantages and favourable conditions are as nothing compared to the power of a consecrated life.

BASISWAR SEN.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol. XVIII—
Nov. 79—81. January to June 1916.
The Matsya Purana (Chapters 1—128). Translated by a
Talukdar of Oudh. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu,
Pauam Office, Banurpuram, Allahabad. Pp. XVI, 360+69.
Annual Subscription—Indian Rs. 12-12-0; Foreign £1.

In this part chapters 1—128 have been translated and to complete the dynastic records of the Kings of the Kali yuga chapters 271, 272 and 273 have also been given in this volume.

The Introduction has been written by Professor Lalit Mohan Kar Kavyatirtha M. A. According to him the Kurukshetra war was fought in 1922 B. C. He arrives at this date from the data given in the Matsya Purana.

"The greater part of the present volume is taken up with a description of Vratas or fasts, followed by feasts and gifts to the Brahmanas. They are of interest to the Hindu public. To the Non-Hindus they are of very slight importance" (Editor's Foreword).

The volume contains ten appendices. The first appendix is on the character and the origin of the Puranas and is written by that gifted writer, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar. The second appendix is on the date of the Mahabharat War and the writer is Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu Vidyarnava. In it he discusses the various views and arrives at the conclusion that the date of the war is 1922 B. C.

Appendix iii contains the translation of the chapters 271—273 which give an account of the Dynasties of the Kali Age after the war.

In Appendices iv—vii, genealogies of various dynasties have been given: Some of them are quotations from the Asiatic Researches.

Appendices vii and viii are on the Pauranic chronology and Geography and are written by Mr. Vasu.

In the Appendix x, he tries to fix the date of the Matsya Purana. He says:—"As the Chronology of the Matsya Purana does not go beyond the Andhra dynasty, so, in its present form, it cannot be posterior to the year 225 A. D., if that date be taken as the termination of the Andhra according to Mr. V. Smith. It would be 432 A. D. according to the Matsya Purana. It is, therefore, one of the oldest, if not the oldest of the Puranas. The Vayu, The Visnu, and other Puranas mention the Gupta and other dynasties that came into existence after the Andhras and so they, in their present form, are later than the Matsya.

Albiruni saw a manuscript of the Matsya Purana in his time, so it must have existed then."

According to him, "this Purana, in its original form, was recited on or about 1160 B. C."

These appendices are very learned and valuable and are indispensable to the students of the Puranas.

The second part of the book will be published in future but the first part is complete in itself.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus Vol. XVIII Part I (July 1916; No. 85). THE BRAHMOGANISHAD SARA SANGRAHA. Translated by Vidyatilaka. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Pauam Office,

Banurpuram, Allahabad. Pp. X+80. Price Re. 1-8. Annual Subscription—Indian Rs. 1-12-3; Foreign £1.

The Brahmoaganishad Sara-Sangraha-Dipika is a small collection of some Upanishad texts to which is attached a Sanskrit commentary by an anonymous author.

The book contains 150 quotations and 141 of these have been traced to their original sources. The remaining 9 quotations have not been identified. Of these, the first has been quoted by Sankara in his commentary on L. 2. 25 of the Vedanta Philosophy and by Ramanuja on the commentary; on L. 2. 26. The 31st mantra has been taken from the Brahma Vindu Upanishad or Amrita Vindu Upanishad (12th mantra); the 33rd from Matrayana (6. 18); the 45th from Narayana (13); the 104th from the Brahma-Hridaya Upanishad (39) and the 115th from the Brahma Vidya-Upanishad (12). In some of these mantras, a word or two have been changed. This may be due to different readings or due to the fact that the mantras have been quoted from memory.

The quotations are disproportionate. The Chandogya Upanishad has been altogether ignored and there are only two quotations from the Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad. On the other hand 13 mantras have been taken from the Kaivalya, 12 from the Brahma-Vindu and 9 from the Mahanarayana.

The book contains (i) A preface, (ii) An Introduction (8 pages), (iii) Sanskrit Texts of the Upanishads, (iv) English translation of these texts, (v) Dipika in Sanskrit, (vi) An alphabetical Index of the Upanishad Texts.

MAHESHI CHANDRA GHOSH

A GIST OF MR. TILAK'S GITA-RAHASYA OR KARMA-YOGA SHASTRA (*The Hindu philosophy of life, Ethics and Religion*) by V. M. Joshi, M.A. Publishers: Dug-zekar Brothers, Benaulia, Benares City. Pp. 15+88. Price 8 Annas.

"All of us know that Mr. Tilak had to spend his days in seclusion at Mandalay from 1908 to 1914. During this period he wrote his new thesis, the *Gita-Rahasya* or *Karmayoga-shastra* in Marathi, of which he has made a special study for these forty-three years.....Its English version, we hear, is to be made at no very distant date and it is already in process of being translated into all provincial languages of India. In the meanwhile the sooner the eminent thoughts of the great thinker are made known to our innumerable non-Marathi-knowing countrymen the better it will be for them." (Foreword)

And so Mr. Joshi of Poona has made an outline of the book which is presented to us in the little volume under notice. The book has been written well in appreciation of Mr. Tilak's work, briefly summarizing its contents, and giving suitable reply in the last two chapters to the unfavourable criticisms passed hitherto in western India both by the English-educated scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar and shastris or Sanskrit Pandits.

The secret (रहस्य) of the Gita according to Mr.

Tilak, as described in the Gist, is कर्मयोग known to be so considering the two cardinal, and yet very simple points, one of them being starting and the other concluding, viz. (1) Arjuna asked ought I to fight or to shirk fight? (2) and the response is that he was so persuaded to fight that he actually promised to do so. And consequently all the verses of the Gita are to be so interpreted that they can "mark some progress in the line."

It seems good and reasonable. But it is to be considered that whether in the Gita things relatively different from the *Karmayoga* are also explained to Arjuna, who is not to be regarded merely as one wanting to ascertain in the juncture that whether it is advisable to fight with those who are closely related to him for a transitory kingdom, but as one, who aspires after emancipation as his goal of life, but finding the way not very easy to decide, approaches a great person for his instruction. And accordingly the Instructor points out the way, the only one way,

the different parts of which are called कर्मयोग, भक्तियोग,

and ज्ञानयोग and if one of these parts is not followed, naturally the journey will be an incomplete one, and so a traveller cannot do without any one of them. Thus they have their own importance, and so if anybody discard one part of the way, laying every stress on the other so as to regard others as nothing, he would do it to no purpose.

And thus the promise of Arjuna in the end of the dialogue that he would do what Shrikrishna advised him (करिष्ये वचनं तव XVIII 73) refers not only to fighting or कर्मयोग but कर्मयोग, भक्तियोग and ज्ञानयोग

alike. It is what occurs to us and the readers are at liberty—to accept or reject—we need not say.

What is obscure to one is very clear to another. It entirely depends on individual intellectual capacity. Moreover, men naturally think differently and judge a thing from different standpoints. And it is impossible to stop it. And thus it is quite natural that the text of the Gita has so many commentaries, the number of which is increasing daily. And in almost all of them one finds something new in one or other way, and this adds to the knowledge of mankind. Let it be *Karmayoga* or something other which Gita teaches, it being the common point of dispute from time immemorial, but the importance of Mr. Tilak's work in other respects is a great one, as shows the gist under notice.

It is to the credit of Mr. Tilak that we now have the hopelessly lost verse of Ishvara-Krishna's *Saukhyā-karika* which was originally composed in seventy verses of Arya (आर्य) metre, but unfortunately one of them was lost. Even in the present editions of the oldest commentary on them by Gauḍapada only sixty-nine verses are to be met with. Yet from the very commentary Mr. Tilak has succeeded in finding out the lost verse when reading the above commentary on the 61st verse which undoubtedly shows, another verse commented upon in it "and Mr. Tilak has synthetically reconstructed it as follows :—

कारणमीश्वरभेदे, द्रवते कालं परे स्वभावे वा ।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तं कालः स्वभावश्च ॥"

The reconstruction is very excellent far as the

first, second, and the fourth *padas* of the verse are concerned, but according to the rule of Arya metre in which the whole work is composed the third *pada* cannot be admissible, for in Arya a जगत् or मध्यमगुण is not to be used, but the *pada* in question contains it (प्रजाः क). We, therefore, suggest a different reading like the following one, though we are not quite satisfied with it : लाकः कथमगुणात् स्यात् ।

Those non-Marathi-knowing persons who desire to learn briefly and in a suitable way the contents of the work of one of the greatest thinkers of the present generation of Indian people should gratify their desire by going through the pages of Mr. Joshi's little volume, which contains also a short life and character sketch of the great Marhatta leader.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

A VEDIC GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS, by Arthur Anthony Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Balliol College; fellow of the British Academy; fellow of the Royal Danish Academy, including a Chapter on Syntax and three Appendices, List of Verbs, Metre, Accent, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York, Toronto, Melbourne and Bombay, Oxford University Press. Pp. vii + 508 Price 10s. 6d. net.

Professor Macdonell's name has been familiarized to every one of those who cherish any love in any way for Sanskrit literature by his works on Vedic subjects including the *History of Sanskrit Literature*. In 1910, his contribution in the form of the *Vedic Grammar* to Buhler's *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* was a brilliant one. It is a large volume of 486 pages closely printed in very small types containing matters written in that condensation which is one of the special features of the series. His work is, however, so extensive and detailed being rather a reference book for scholars, that general students can not be expected to master its contents thoroughly. This is what has persuaded the Professor to write again a book on the same subject by which he has really removed the want of a volume which has so long been desiderated.

The present work is not to be regarded as merely an abridgement of his large *Vedic Grammar* though it has to a great extent been based on it, but in fact is a supplement to it. Owing to the limitation imposed on account of its being a volume of *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* the author was obliged to exclude much matter from his large *Vedic Grammar* with which he has dealt in the present one, adding chapters on Outlines of Syntax, and Conjunctive and Adverbial Particles and an Appendix of alphabetically arranged forms of every verb given in the body, and describing also the Vedic matters. The general treatment of the subject is excellent and is what may naturally be expected from a savant of Professor Macdonell's rank.

In explaining Conjunctive and Adverbial Particles the author appears in some cases to have entirely ignored the significances handed down traditionally. For instance take the word कुविद् which is given in the *Nighantu* (III. 2. 1) as one of the synonyms for वदः and we do not find any fault with the meanings

based on it as explained by Indian commentators even in the passages quoted by Prof. Macdonell in support of his suggested meanings. बु has a number of meanings as given by him, and Sayana has also explained it by different words such as अदादि, इदानोम् क्रिष, खलु, etc. Sometimes the (immediately, at once) latter takes it to mean लिप्रम् as in R. V., I. 145. 1 (p. 238), but the author does not speak anything of it.

In desideratives बोभन्म (बोभन्सो) is given in both the grammars of the author from the root वृष, but according to Panini (U. 1. 6) it is from वष, the actual derivative from the former being विवृषिषे as has also been noted by him as used in Brahmanas.

Considering the immense merit of the books these defects are very insignificant. So there is not an iota of doubt that the work will prove a great boon to students of the Vedic language.

Max Muller is said to have prophesied that he had no doubt that the time would come when no Indian unable to construe the Vedic hymns would call himself a Sanskrit scholar. It was forty years ago, but the time has not yet come in India. It is undoubtedly due to a considerable degree to the want of a practical Vedic Grammar. But Indians have now before them the required book and they should at once set to work. Let them write a similar book, having in view the requirements particularly of Indian students, first in Sanskrit and then render it into different vernaculars. They should no longer remain inactive in this branch of learning of which they are so much proud.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BIBLE LESSONS FOR USE IN ZENANAS, by Edith M. Ansell, price 5 as

THE PROPHETIC GOSPEL, by L. P. Larsen, price 3 as.

Christian Literature Society for India.

Both these books are intended to assist teachers in Bible classes.

THE QURANIC DOCTRINE OF GOD, by H. R. H. Gardner, 5 as.

This is far above the usual level of missionary books and it would be well if all missionaries in India were to read it, so that they might avoid some of their irritating misrepresentations of Islam. Even Muslims may read this little book with profit for though they may not agree with everything in it they will find nothing unfair. There are numerous quotations from the Quran and they have been admirably chosen.

THE HOLY QURAN WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES PART I, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Islam, Qadian, Punjab, India. Rs. 2.

The Translation and Notes are in accordance with the views held by the sect which believes Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian to be the promised Messiah. Sometimes the renderings differ from those generally accepted, but in all cases the differences are due to theological motives. The commentary is of hardly any value, but it contains a few interesting quota-

tions. The printing however deserves very high praise. This is, we think, the best printed Quran we have seen. All the verses are numbered. As there are to be thirty parts and each part costs Rs. 2 the price of the whole book will be prohibitive for most Muslims. The following extract will show the opinions of the sect: "We take this opportunity to convey to the world at large the glad tidings that the Blessed Messenger of the latter days, whose advent was foretold by almost all the great prophets of the world, made his appearance in due time, in the person of Hadrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian..... If we carefully consider the prophecies of these great prophets, we find that it was of one and not of different Messengers that these ancient sages of different nations spoke. All these prophecies pointed to the appearance of the Promised Teacher in the East. Isaiah said "Who has raised the righteous one in the East." Jesus likened his second advent to lightning that flashes from the East to the West; the Holy Prophet of Islam also pointed to the East. Nay he even named the very place where the promised Mahdi was to appear. He called it Kad'a, a name which is quite like the name Kadi or Kadian as the birth place of Ahmad is called."

H. C.

KEIGWIN'S REBELLION, 1683-4, AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY, by Ray and Oliver Strachey. (Oxford Hist. and Lit. Studies, No. 6, Clarendon Press, 1906), xvi + 147, 3 illus. and 2 maps. Price 7-6 net.

This history of "a unanimous and bloodless revolution by which Bombay island was lost to the Company for nearly a year," is one of the best fruits of the specialisation which has at last happily begun in the study of Indian history. For the history of the E. I. Co. the original materials are all preserved in England among the manuscripts of the India Office; and if a writer works in India alone, no amount of industry among the printed books and few MS. records at the Bombay Secretariat or Imperial Record Office, which are the only things available in India,—can atone for his lack of such primary sources of information. Messrs. Strachey have made the fullest use of "the rich mine in the India Office," viz. original correspondence, factory records, court books, &c., and with the happiest results. Many current errors have been rectified, and many dark and neglected nooks of Bombay history lighted up. The first four chapters give us the most lucid, correct and fresh account of the early history of the English in Western India,—their internal government, state of society, foreign relations, problems and policies,—as yet published.

Captain Keigwin's mutiny and usurpation of the government of Bombay in 1683-84, had its precedent in Sir Edward Winter's usurpation of the government of Madras (Sep. 1665—Aug. 1668.) Both were the work of the white troops in India, and proceeded from the same cause, viz. the belief of the malcontents that a policy of pure trade, a policy of peace with the country powers and retrenchment of civil and particularly military expenditure, was impossible and that "a forward policy to keep the natives in awe" was necessary. (Wilson's *Early Annals*, i. 39-40.) The abolition of the illegal gains of the English soldiers at Bombay, such as "false muster,"—led to Keigwin's outburst. We, therefore, see that the white officers who conspired to murder Clive for abolishing the "double batta" and

those who planned a mutiny against Lord Ripon for introducing the Ilbert Bill (*vide* Cartoon in *Punch*), merely represented a school of Anglo-Indian thought known from the very infancy of the British dominion in India.

We close this excellent book with our memories sadly going back to the late Dr. C. R. Wilson who utilised materials in India and England alike, with no less power of criticism and elucidation than the authors of the work under review, but whose *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, remains, alas! a fragment.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

I. THE VILLAGE GODS OF SOUTHERN INDIA, *by the Right Reverend Henry Whithead, Bishop of Madras, Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 1.*

In this small book of 172 pages we have an account of the *grama-devatas* of southern India—the Tamil, Telugu and Canarese countries—and of the folklore connected with them. According to the author, 'this form of Hinduism represents a pre-Aryan cult of the Dravidian peoples, more or less modified in various parts of southern India by Brahmanical influence.' Many of these village gods are of quite recent origin, e.g. Plague acuma, the goddess of Plague, temples to whom have been built during the last ten years. The gods of higher Hinduism, Siva and Vishnu, represent world-forces, and are the outcome of philosophic reflection on the world as a whole. But the village deities symbolise only the facts of village life, and are related, not to great world forces, but to such simple facts as cholera, small pox and cattle disease. The infliction and removal of diseases is the special function of all these deities, whose name and number is legion, and who are usually females. The images or symbols by which they are represented are almost as diverse as their names. Their dwelling places, contrasted with the magnificent temples dedicated to Siva or Vishnu, express the meanness of a religion of fear. They are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices and Pujaris or ministrants are usually non-Brahmins, and sometimes even outcastes. Even where there is a Brahman Pujari, he never takes part in the animal sacrifices, and even so, is degraded by his connection with the shrine. The Indian villagers pass their lives in constant dread of the evil spirits by which they believe themselves to be surrounded, and the sole object of the worship, if such it may be called, where there is no idea of sin or repentance or gratitude or love or moral or spiritual blessings, is to avert their wrath. The religion of about 80 p.c. of the Hindu population in southern India being the worship of the village goddesses, it would be wrong to hold that the Hindus, as a body, are a race of philosophers. The worship of the *grama-devatas* is the religion of ignorant and uncivilised people, whose thoughts do not travel beyond their own surroundings and personal needs. "At the same time, it is also true that morally the Brahmanical system has sunk to lower depths than have been reached by the cruder religion of the village people. The worship of the village deities contains much that is physically repulsive... But still, it is also true that, setting aside a few local customs in the worship of the village deities, there is nothing in the system itself which is quite so morally degrading and repulsive as the Lingam worship of the saivites, or the marriage of girls to the god and their consequent dedication to a life of prostitution among the Vaishnavites. If the wor-

ship of Siva and Vishnu has risen to greater heights, it has also sunk to lower moral depths than the less intellectual and less æsthetic worship of the *grama-devatas*." As for the origin of the worship, the people can afford but little help in explaining its significance, for whenever asked they come forward with the usual reply that it is 'mamul' or custom. Though propitiation seems to be the main idea of the cult at the present day, the author thinks that communion with the world soul was the original idea. The main object of eating the flesh or drinking or smearing the blood of animals was to absorb this soul stuff and appropriate the special virtue which belongs to the animal. The author speaks of the 'crude butchery and coarse bloodshed,' 'the wild orgiastic excitement,' sometimes even the drunkenness and immorality, which prevail at the festivals, and 'witness to a low and unworthy conception of deity.' The village deity is 'the product of fear untouched by philosophic reflection.' "In the writings of Hindu philosophers and poets there are many noble and inspiring thoughts, but there is nothing in the vast jungle of beliefs and practices that have grown up during the course of ages around the worship of the village deities that the Christian could wish to preserve." Nevertheless, the 'worship of the village deities has maintained a silent protest on behalf of religious and social equality.' By investing non-Brahmins with priestly duties 'it has had more influence than we imagine in keeping alive in the hearts of the depressed classes some slight feeling of self respect and a sense of their own worth in the community.' "In the second plan, deep down in the system, buried beneath a mass of traditional rites which have lost their meaning, there is still the instinctive craving of the human heart for communion with God... It certainly brings religion down into the everyday life of the people. The ordinary villager of southern India does nothing without offering prayer to the village deity, while the shrines and symbols that are scattered all over the countryside keep constantly before his mind the existence of a spiritual world."

It is in this attitude of the mind towards the spiritual world, fostered by the belief in the village deities, that the author sees 'a preparation for the Gospel.' 'The mental attitude of the ordinary villager is the very antithesis of materialism or agnosticism.' In other words, the Bishop of Madras would utilise the very religiosity of the Hindus, of which Hinduism boasts, for the spread of Christianity in the land. But on the reverend Bishop's own showing, this sense of dependence on the spiritual world is the product of gross and often morally reprehensible superstitions, and the latter can only be removed by the inoculation of a wholesome dose of unbelief. Therefore, if the spiritual sense of the masses of the Hindus is to be refined and elevated, this cannot be done by embracing the superstitions of Christianity, but by educating them in the higher tenets of their own philosophy, which is not untinged with agnosticism as the author calls it, or rationalism as we should prefer to put it. The progress of the human mind from superstition does not lie through superstition into superstition, but through rationalism into enlightened spirituality. Incidentally, Hindus will note the value which the learned Bishop, unconsciously perhaps, puts on the deep religious feeling of the masses of the Hindus, and to what use he wants to put it. If Hindus would preserve their religion against the insidious attacks of Christianity, they must either remain satisfied with the popular supers-

titions and the present low level of rural life, or infuse among the people a healthy spirit of rationalism.

We cannot close this brief review without paying a compliment to these learned Christian writers, who show such a great improvement on their predecessors in the philosophical interpretation of Hindu cults and creeds. They proceed to their task with sympathy and knowledge, and what they say of Hinduism can no longer be brushed aside as shallow or prejudiced. There is much food for thought in these pages for every educated Hindu who is sincerely desirous of the welfare of his religion. As an honest and careful piece of research work and study the book deserves to be recommended to all who are interested in the future of Hinduism.

II. THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA : A CENSUS STUDY :—by P. K. Hattal M.A., Assistant Accountant General, Bombay. Bennett, Coleman & Co. Price Rs. 1.

The author tries to prove that population in India is growing beyond the means of subsistence, and advocates an artificial limitation of births as the only practical remedy. He recognises that his suggestion is thoroughly unconventional, but he wishes it to be understood that "this essay should not be construed into an attack on the spiritual civilisation of the country or even indirectly into a glorification of the materialism of the West... There is no greater curse to an individual than poverty—I say this with due respect to our spiritualism." The author declares that his suggestion should not be regarded as immoral. "The ultimate test of a moral or a non-moral act is... whether it does or does not conduce to the preservation of the race. Our existing social customs are more non-moral in this sense than any system of artificial limitation can possibly be." He notes and disposes of the other objections to the remedy advocated by him, but it is not these which will give his book the value it undoubtedly possesses. The merit of the essay lies in its able handling of certain census statistics, from which we cull a few. Early marriage is so universal among females that only 6 per cent of our women are unmarried at the reproductive age. In the district of Darbhanga, which we presume, is the headquarter of orthodoxy, as many as 58 p.c. of boys and 62 p.c. of the girls are married between the ages of 5 and 10. Though the birth-rate in India is higher in India, the fertility of women is not so high as in England. "Premature maternity tends to exhaust the frame and impair the capacity for further child-bearing rather than to add to the number of the population. The most prolific races in India... are those which are least addicted to child-marriage, viz, the Animists and the Mahomedans." The natural increase of population is often in inverse ratio to a high crude birth-rate, for in countries where the birth-rate is high the death rate is also high, and where the birth-rate is low, the death-rate is also low. In Asiatic countries, India has the highest birth-rate; its death-rate is also the highest. Japan has the lowest birth-rate; its death-rate is also the lowest. Thus our high birth-rate is no matter for congratulation; our death-rate being also high, our increase is much smaller than countries like England, Scotland and even Ireland. Herbert Spencer says: "Organisms multiply in inverse ratio to the dignity and worth of individual life." According to the writer, our high birth-rate is an indication of the primitive state of our society and

an evidence of civilisation of an unsophisticated type. "It is no sign of the exuberance of vital force either. Let us remember Herbert Spencer's dictum, 'every generative product is a deduction from parental life' Fecundity must, therefore, affect longevity." The average expectation of life of a male in England is at birth double that of one in India, and in the case of a female, it is more than double. What is more alarming, the figures for the last three censuses show a progressive decline in vitality, whereas just the reverse is the case in England. "This is of course *a priori* to be expected. With the progress of medical science and sanitation and better conditions of living for the population as a whole, every stage upwards in civilisation must lessen the chances of death." Again, infantile mortality is very high—just double of what it is in England. Indeed, wherever there is a high birth-rate, the mortality among infants is also generally high. This is due to premature birth and debility at birth, which again is the result of early marriage. Everybody marries, whether fit or unfit, at the earliest possible age permitted by Nature. The number of female deaths at the reproductive ages is quite as serious. This is specially the case in Bengal, where child marriage is most common. Joseph Korosi of Hungary and Dr. Dunlop have shewn, by carefully prepared natality tables, that while a delay of three years in the consummation of marriage in the case of the wife reduces the average size of the family by approximately one child, it requires a delay of some forty years on the part of the husband to effect the same reduction. This shows that by delaying the marriage of boys without marrying our girls at a much later age than is customary we have begun at the wrong end. Our high death rate has had the effect of diminishing the respect and sanctity with which human life is regarded in civilised countries. The loss of an only child is missed keenly: but two or three are not missed in a family of eight or nine children. The writer then proceeds to discuss the problem of emigration as a remedy for overpopulation. On this point he has some very plainspoken truths to tell, which is no doubt very laudable for a Government servant. That the Indian labourer "does not move is really due to the fact that he is not welcomed as an immigrant anywhere either within or without the country, and in places where his labour is needed onerous restrictions are placed on his elementary rights as a citizen, so that he recoils from the prospect of working under those conditions." Mr. Wattel quotes Sir Henry Cotton and shows that the cry of the alleged scarcity of labour proceeds from interested parties who are not willing to pay living wages, and the paternal interest evinced by the planters for their labourers is really not any deeper in significance and more generous in motive than the care bestowed on the horse or any other instrument of production. The constant subdivision of holdings necessitated by the law of equal division of property among male heirs, and the multiplication of numbers, have increased the pressure on the soil to breaking point. The low density of population in certain parts of the country is due solely to the inhospitable character of the soil. As for Bengal, "with the exception of one or two districts, the province must wait either for the clearing up of the Sunderbans or the drainage of marshy tracts or for the disappearance of malarial fevers before it can furnish room for further considerable expansion" of population. Emigration has no promise for the overflow of the other provinces except in Assam, but there

Kala Azar and contract labour stand in the way. The outcasts of Madras used to emigrate largely to Burmah, but the Burmans are waking up from their indolence and sloth, and the Madras will soon lose his predominance in that quarter. The Indians are not wanted in the self-governing colonies, the chances of inter-provincial migration are not promising, and the pressure of population on the means of subsistence being already keen, our last hope lies in increasing the productivity of the soil by irrigation. Here the writer quotes largely from the report of the Irrigation Commission and other authoritative works, and comes to the conclusion that "there are certain very definite limitations on the usefulness and extension of irrigation which well-meaning enthusiasts are apt to ignore." The Irrigation Commission in its report declared that if the programme sketched by it be carried out by the year 1925, "the limits to the area which can be protected by State Irrigation works at a cost which will not be prohibitive will be within sight." The effects of canal, tank and well-irrigation are then discussed, and regarding the first, the author holds that "while affording immunity from famine to the tracts through which the canals pass they cause considerable injury by (1) depriving the riverain lands of the full benefits of river flooding (2) spreading malarial fever owing to the excessive moisture diffused round about and (3) causing a deterioration of the soil, experience having shown that the tendency on the canal-irrigated lands is for the outturn to diminish. From all these facts, the conclusion, according to the author, is irresistible that voluntary restraint in married life is the only remedy against the prevalence of such positive checks to over-population as famine, plague and malaria. The book is nicely printed at the Times Press, Bombay and amply repays perusal.

III—V. *Sir Sankaran Nair: Behramji M. Malabari: Sir Edwin Arnold. Natesan and Co, Madras, Price four annas each.*

These three booklets, the first two of which belong to the "Eminent Indians" series, and the last to the "Friends of India" series, are in the best style of Messrs. Natesan and Co's publications, and contain a mass of useful and interesting information. Sir Sankaran Nair is a living politician and administrator, Malabari was a social reformer of far-reaching influence, and Arnold was an interpreter of the East to the West in a far better and nobler sense than Kipling. Short accounts of their lives, activities and teachings, plentifully interspersed with quotations from their speeches and writings, are bound to prove useful for ready reference and instructive to the general reader. We are glad to find that these cheap publications are being appreciated in England, as we have had occasion to know from casual references. To us they are highly valuable.

POL.

BENGALI.

ASOKA ANUSHASAN, text, Sanskrit and Bengali translations, and notes, by Charu Chandra Basu and Lalit Mohan Kar, Pp. xxx+131, 6 illus. (Calcutta, 1915) Rs. 2.

It is difficult to imagine a more inconvenient arrangement of the matter than that adopted in this book. The texts of all the inscriptions are given first, then all the Sanskrit versions, then all the Bengali renderings, and lastly the notes. The reader who wants to study a particular inscription has to

keep his fingers in four different places in the volume. We beg pardon, it should be five places; for the plates are not given opposite the pages they refer to, but are scattered throughout the volume at the caprice of the binder. The proofs have been very carelessly read, while the minutest accuracy is necessary in a work of this sort with the least pretension to scholarship. The plate of the Rummīnī Dei inscription bears the direction "see page 80," whereas the subject is treated on pages 38, 49 and 88 only. The puzzling word *atha bhagīve* in this edict, is rendered in Sanskrit as *artha-bhagī* (p. 49) and in Bengali as *ashta-bhagī* (p. 88). Evidently the Sanskrit form is due to a misprint, P. 129. *Bhabra* is given as *Bharta*. The geographical notes (pp. 126-130) are full of misprints, mistakes and obsolete information. No reason has been given for the editors' failure to supply Sanskrit versions of Rock Edicts 10-13 (p. 47), while the others are given.

The first and hitherto only version of Asoka's inscriptions in Bengali was issued about 30 years ago by Kṛṣṇa Bihari Sen, on the basis of the antediluvian *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. A new version, taking account of all our recent information on the subject, is highly to be desired. But Babu Charu Chandra Basu's work, though published in 1915 is about a decade behind modern research and altogether ignores the work lately done in elucidating the edicts, by contributors to the *Indian Antiquary*, the *J. R. A. S.* and other journals of learned societies. In addition to the Asoka bibliography given in V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd. ed., pp. 172-174, the following "Asoka Notes" have appeared in the *J. R. A. S.* April and July 1914 (Thomas), October 1914 (Hultzsch), Jan. 1915 (Thomas), July 1915 (Aiyangar),—while studies on the same subject by Charpentier, Aiyangar and Jayaswal have appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1915 and 1914. Vincent Smith, Dr. Thomas, Hultzsch and Fleet are not such names in the field of Indian research that Babu Charuchandra Basu can pass over their opinions in contemptuous silence. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain is not such an obscure body nor is its *Journal* so difficult to procure that a writer working in Calcutta can be excused for not consulting it. No great brain power is required for the work; only a little industry and the spirit of the fullest investigation of truth. But that industry and that scientific spirit have not been shown by the editors of the book under review.

We should be sorry if this book is regarded as an example of the way in which the latest school of historical students in Bengal do their work.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HINDI.

OTHELLO by Pandit Govind Prasad Ghildyal, B. A. Printed and published by Vishwanath Sharma at the Lakshmi Narayan Press, Moradabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 168. Price—1s. 8.

This is an almost literal translation of the drama of Shakespeare. The metrical portions have very infrequently been rendered into metre and the translation, though not of the very high order of similar translations of Shakespeare's dramas, is yet satisfactory. We wish to see all Shakespeare's dramas in Hindi, hitherto only a few being translated. The language of the translation in the drama under review is good on the whole. The author has followed the method of the annotators of English classics, in giving an introductory review of the drama; and

the book will prove perhaps most useful to English students studying the drama. There are printing errors in the book, but it is neatly bound.

SANSKRIT SAHITYA KA AITHASIK ANUSHILAN by *Indra Vaidyanath, Gurukul, Kangri and printed at the Gurukul Press, Kangri. Royal 8vo. pp. 61. Price—As. 6.*

This gives a historical sketch of the Sanskrit literature and points out the philological and other changes brought about in it through the influence of the different periods of Indian history. The examination of facts is fairly critical and we agree in the main with the views of the author. The language sustains the reputation of the author in his other publications. The printing and get-up are fair.

M. S.

MARATHI.

ARYANCHYA SANANCHYA PRACHIN VA ARWACHIN ITHASA or *the ancient as well as modern history of the Aryan festivals* by 'Rigvedi' Publishers Arya dharmavicharak Mandali, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0. Pages 304.

In these days when a good deal of interest is created in the minds of young men in the history of their nation in its political, social, religious and other aspects, the publication of a work tracing the history of our festivals to their origin, noting the transformations they have undergone in the course of centuries, describing the present stage of growth or decadence and making useful suggestions to restore them to their pristine greatness or to adapt them so as to suit our present circumstances, must be considered very opportune. The variety and amount of information, the lucidity of the style, the nice way of presenting the subject matter so as to make it palatable, the balance of judgment discernible throughout the work, the breadth of view and the instruction and enlightenment it gives, are some of the most attractive features which ensure commendation and warm appreciation from the public, both of orthodox and reformed views. The book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the existing Marathi literature.

BHUTACHA BAGULBOWA or *the Fallacy of the Devil* by Mr. Ramkrishna B. Naik Mandrupkar. Pages 182. Price Re. 1-8. Published by the author himself at Bijapur.

This is the third edition of Mr. Naik's brochure on the question of the existence of evil spirits. The author has considerably succeeded in his commendable attempt to dispel the widely prevalent, yet foolish and harmful notions about spirits. Mr. Naik has taken considerable pains in taking both a common-sense as well as a scientific view of the question of the existence of evil spirits and allied subjects, and though his attempt may not succeed in entirely removing the deep-rooted superstitions from the minds of the ignorant, it will surely set educated people a-thinking and carry conviction to those who have a reasoning turn of mind. It is necessary that some means should be devised to bring the book within the reach of the ignorant masses among whom peculiar notions about ghosts, goblins and apparitions are largely prevalent.

BHARAT-SEVAK—*A monthly magazine edited by Mr. R. G. Pradhan B. A., L. L. B., and published*

at Poona. Annual Subscription Rs. 2-8-0 including postage.

This is a high class magazine and embracing as it does all subjects of human interest peculiarly affecting the people of India, it should command respect and carry influence with the educated people. In the July issue of this periodical a prominent place is assigned to an article from the pen of Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kabe M. A. on the subject of compulsory education, which should attract attention and invite thoughtful consideration of educationists and educated parents, if for nothing else, at least for the peculiar view entertained by the writer that it is wrong to advocate the imparting of education to children through their mother-tongue, and that far more beneficial results are likely to accrue by making English, the medium of instruction even in Primary schools—a view not shared by the majority of educated Indians. We wish a long and prosperous career to this new venture.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI.

JAGA VIKHYAT PURUSHO, PART III, by Ratna Sinh Dip Sinh Parmar, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound pp. 11. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1910).

This part of the famous men of the world series contains the lives of Demosthenes and Sir William Wallace. The first is a translation from Marathi, and the other of a Hindi version of a Bengali work by Babu Yogendranath Bandopadhyay.

ARTHASHASTRA NAN SIDDHANTO, PT. I., by Jekisan L. Barbhaya. Printed at the Lady Northcote Orphanage K. N. Sailor Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. pp. 132. Price unpublished. (1910).

Gujarati Literature does not overflow with original works on Political Economy. In fact, the last book on the subject, and that too, a translation of Mrs. Rawcett's work was published years ago. Under the circumstances a really good book on the subject is a desideratum, but that can come only from the pen of a person who has saturated himself with, and made a serious study of it. The present writer has made "jack" of many, as appears from the way in which he describes himself as the author of books on widely differing matters. His title therefore to write on this highly scientific subject appears to be exiguous, and we really admire his temerity in trying to popularise Political Economy, by means of a book, which both in style and matter, cannot be characterised otherwise than as stilted. The very title of the book is found fault with, and certainly it errs in grammar: possibly that is a printer's error, but the start fairly represents what follows. At times one finds the writer arrogating to himself more than the honors of English text book writers, e.g., where he says that he has produced diagrams which would be found in no other work. We think the author knows fairly well that the book will not be found suitable for that class of people—the ordinary merchants—who are primarily meant to be benefited by it. The trumpet sound under which the writer of the foreword introduces the book makes us doubt the genuineness of the admiration under which he wrote its few lines.

Kheti & Sahukarya, a quarterly magazine: We do not review magazines.

(1) *Bharat Dardasha Darshana*, (2) *Bharat no ushat kal*.

These are two leaflets issued by a Society called *Shishu Mandal*. We cannot easily realise what *Shishus* (infants) have to do with these "high" subjects. We think the labor in writing them is lost, so far as "infants" are concerned.

The housefly. This is a small treatise written about the evils of the house fly by Dr. J. D. Munsiff for the Broach Sanitary Association, and reproduces well known facts.

History of Baroda. This history of Baroda and its rulers is published by the State and is well written.

A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF THE PURAN STORIES OF INDIA AND EUROPE, by J. P. Joshipura, M.A., printed at the *Lakshminilas Press, Baroda*. Thick Card-board, pp. 78. No Price. (1916).

The title of the book shows very well what it contains. The writer has been at great pains over the subject matter of his work, and furnishes not only interesting reading, but food for thought. To those who do not know much about the origin of our Puranic legends, there is much to learn here, and to those who know about them, there is an opportunity given for checking their inferences or conclusions.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Causes of National Strength.

In his book on *Physics and Politics* Walter Bagehot devotes his second essay to the discussion of the question why one nation is stronger than another. "The answer," he says, "is that there are very many advantages—some small and some great—every one of which tends to make the nation which has it superior to the nation which has it not; that many of these advantages can be imparted to subjugated races, or imitated by competing races; and that, though some of these advantages may be perishable or imitable, yet, on the whole, the energy of civilisation grows by the coalescence of strengths and by the competition of strengths."

By far the greatest advantage is, in his opinion, the acquisition of the *legal fibre*: "a polity first—what sort of polity is immaterial; a law first—what kind of law is secondary; a person or set of persons to pay deference to—though who he is, or they are, by comparison scarcely signifies." This represents the first stage of civilisation. When a nation has got a fixed law or a custom, the second step which it has to make is the "getting out of a fixed law," "breaking the cake of custom," breaking through it and reaching something better. The reason why there have been so many arrested civilisations in the world is the inability to break through custom. For, as the author puts it, "one most important pre-requisite of a

prevailing nation is that it should have passed out of the first stage of civilisation into the second stage—out of the stage where permanence is most wanted into that where variability is most wanted; and you cannot comprehend why progress is so slow till you see how hard the most obstinate tendencies of human nature make that step to mankind."

"Of course the nation we are supposing must keep the virtues of its first stage as it passes into the after stage, else it will be trodden out; it will have lost the savage virtues in getting the beginning of the civilised virtues; and the savage virtues which tend to war are the daily bread of human nature."

The Political Advantage of Monotheism.

Bagehot has also discussed the kind of morals and the kind of religion which go to strengthen nations. He expresses the opinion that "Those kinds of morals and that kind of religion which tend to make the firmest and most effectual character are sure to prevail, all else being the same; and creeds or systems that conduce to a soft limp mind tend to perish, except some hard extrinsic force keep them alive. Thus Epicureanism never prospered at Rome, but Stoicism did; the stiff, serious character of the great prevailing nation was attracted by what seemed a confirming creed, and deterred by what looked like a relaxing creed. The inspiring doctrines fell upon the ardent character, and so confirmed its energy. Strong

beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger. *Such is no doubt one cause why Monotheism tends to prevail over Polytheism; it produces a higher, steadier character, calmed and concentrated by a great single object; it is not confused by competing rites, or distracted by miscellaneous deities. Polytheism is religion in commission, and it is weak accordingly.* But it will be said the Jews, who were monotheist, were conquered by the Romans, who were polytheist. Yes, it must be answered, because the Romans had other gifts; they had a capacity for politics, a habit of discipline, and of these the Jews had not the least. The religious advantage was an advantage, but it was counter-weighted."

There are reasons for thinking that what Bagehot says is true. There is no flaw in the abstract reasoning; and history furnishes corroborating examples. One reason why the Musalmans were able to conquer India was undoubtedly their monotheistic faith and their consequent comparatively greater national or communal solidarity than that of the Hindus. In North-Western India the Sikhs prevailed for a time,—no doubt partly because of their energising and unifying monotheistic faith. The influence of an overmastering idea or the predominating worship of a dynamic god or goddess may also tend to make a nation strong for a time. For example, the "Maharashtra-Dharma" which the Saint Ramdas, spiritual preceptor of Sivaji, taught, combined with the worship of the goddess Bhavani and of Siva the destroyer, conduced to produce a firm, steady type of character which gave the Marathas ascendancy for some generations. When in Europe the Musalmans overran and conquered most of the southern and central countries, they were undoubtedly more monotheistic than the Christians. In the Christian cult of that age in the countries conquered Mary, Jesus, and numerous saints and saintesses, and their images, and the tombs, shrines and relics of holy persons had thrown God altogether into the background. In modern Europe, too, speaking generally, the most progressive nations are those which are least idolatrous or polytheistic, considering protestants and rationalists to be less polytheistic than Roman Catholics.

It may be said the Musalmans are more

monotheistic than Christians; why then are the former not a predominant people now? We may reply, in the words of Bagehot, that, the religious advantage of the Musalmans is an advantage, but it is counter-weighted. What these counter-weights are, it is not the object of this note to enumerate.

Our Average Income contrasted with Prisoners' Expenses.

Sir Robert Giffen (1837—1910) was a financial journalist, statistician and economist whose high authority and practical experience were universally recognized in Great Britain. He was chief statistical adviser to the British Government, president of the Statistical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society. At the meeting of the British Association in 1903 he put forward estimates as to the aggregate income and wealth of the people of different parts of the British Empire. The aggregate annual income of India was put down at £600,000,000. As the population of India is in round numbers 300,000,000, the average annual income of Indians per head is £2 or Rs. 30. Similar estimates were made by Lord Cromer (then Major Baring) and by Lord Curzon. Probably all these estimates were based on the same data, furnished by the British bureaucracy in India. Indian statisticians and British statistical writers like Digby have not accepted these estimates as correct. They consider them far too optimistic. Let us, however, accept this official estimate as accurate. We should bear in mind that Rs. 30 is not the minimum annual income of Indians per head. It is only an average, which means that there are higher incomes as well as lower incomes, and the average represents a sort of mean. There are millions upon millions of Indians whose annual income is less than Rs. 30. There are again large numbers of persons who have no income at all,—who subsist on charity or by thieving. But let us take the annual income of Rs. 30 per head as the basis of the comparison with the expenses of prisoners which we are going to institute.

Jail regulations are in no country based on the idea that prisoners are to be supplied with comforts or luxuries. The idea everywhere is to supply them with the barest necessities of existence, so

that they may not die and may be able to preserve their health and do the tasks assigned to them. Let us now see whether it is possible for Indians outside jails to command those bare necessities of life which convicts in jails are supplied with. We shall not take into consideration all the expenses incurred by the jail department in connection with prisoners. We shall consider only three kinds of expenditure viz., those on diet, bedding and clothing, and medical treatment. The following table is compiled from the Annual Reports of the Jail Department in four provinces for the year 1915.

SOME ITEMS OF JAIL EXPENDITURE PER CONVICT IN 1915.

Province.	Diet.	Bedding and Clothing.	Medical.	Total.
C. P. and Berar	31-4-9	4-2-11	2-1-4	37-9-0
U. P.	41-3-0	4-7-3	2-11-8	48-5-11
Bihar-Orissa	43-9-9	4-10-10	6-13-1	55-1-8
Bengal	17-7-0	6-2-3	7-10-10	61-4-1

In the Central Provinces and Berar the expenses were the lowest. But even there the total of only the three kinds of expenses considered amounted to Rs. 37-9-0, or Rs. 7-9 more than the average income of an Indian. It will be seen that this income of Rs. 30 per annum would not be sufficient even for the diet-money of a prisoner in the Central Provinces and Berar, not to speak of the other Provinces, where the expenditure was higher. It may be argued that among the Indian population outside prisons are included large numbers of children, whose living expenses are less than those of adults, and that the jail average is mainly, though not entirely, for adults. But, speaking generally, growing children do not eat very much less than adults; and the totals for the four provinces mentioned in the table are more than our average income of Rs. 30 by Rs. 7-9-0, Rs. 18-5-11, Rs. 25-1-8, and Rs. 31-4-1 respectively. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the non-convict population of India has various items of expenditure in addition to those included in the table. They have to build and repair their hovels, huts or cottages, they have to incur expenses in connection with the confinement of the mothers, they have to or ought to educate their children, they have to perform the religious rites and celebrate the social functions in connection with births, initiations, marriages, deaths, &c., they have to take part in the

religious festivals of their respective sects, they have to visit places of pilgrimage, and they have also to incur travelling expenses in connection with other journeys undertaken for discharging domestic or social obligations.

How then do the hundreds of millions of indigent Indians make both ends meet? Well, the plain answer is, the ends do not meet, or rather they meet in the grave-yard or in the burning-ground.

But, it may be said, that this is mere poetizing, it is not a hard matter-of-fact answer. Yes, it is poetry,—grim tragedy of a sort, if you like.

A hard, matter-of-fact answer may also be given. Rs. 30 represents the income, and the expenditure is much greater. Whence does the balance come from? Well, the balance need not come in at all. The patient population of India have discovered a way out of the difficulty. They meet the extra expenditure by starving or fasting, by wearing rags or going naked, by dwelling in hovels unfit for cattle or in no-houses at all under the open sky, by themselves and their children remaining illiterate, and, when they or their children fall ill, by not going in for any medical treatment at all. They are of necessity believers in the faith cure. Some go on borrowing as long as they can. Families remain involved in debt from generation to generation. Some lead the lives of hangers-on on their near or distant relatives. The more enterprising among the needy have recourse to thieving. Those who are bolder still and unscrupulous resort to dacoities though all dacoits are not of this description.

From life-long semi-starvation to dacoity, all the evils mentioned above are social maladies that require a patient diagnosis and effective remedies. But the officers and imps of the C. I. D. are not the kind of doctors which society requires.

The Evils of Indigence.

Let us enumerate some of the evils of indigence. They are mal-nutrition, weakness, short lives, epidemics, premature deaths; nudity or semi-nudity, bad health, vice, crime, disease, death; want of shelter, exposure to sun, rain and other inclemencies of the weather, disease, death; ignorance, illiteracy, insanitation, shortened life, untimely death; superstition, emasculation, timidity or cowardice, fatalism, approxi-

mation to animal existence ; mendicancy, parasitism, and the consequent loss of self-respect and manliness.

Wherever there is the cowering servility of the indigent, there is also the corresponding bullying tyranny of the man dressed in a little brief authority, derived either from official position, or from the possession of wealth. Thus are the wrongs of the weak and indigent avenged. Let all men who have to do with the poor beware of this nemesis. All wrongs rebound and hit back the wrong-doer by degrading him.

Income and Wealth of the British Empire.

We give below Sir Robert Giffen's estimates, of 1903, of the aggregate income per annum and wealth of some parts of the British Empire in millions of pounds sterling, with their population in 1911 in approximate millions.*

AGGREGATE INCOME.

Country	Income	Population
United Kingdom	1750	45
Canada	270	
India	600	
South Africa	100	

In the above table the population figures are for 1911, whereas the estimates of income were made in 1903. In 1911 the income of other parts of the British Empire must have increased. We cannot say the same for India with certainty. Taking the figures as they are, the income of Indians is seen to be miserably small.

WEALTH.

Country.	Wealth in millions £s.	Population in millions.
United Kingdom	15,000	45
Canada	1,350	7
India	3,000	315
South Africa	600	6

We very much doubt whether the wealth of India has been at all correctly estimated. Anglo-Indian officials are interested in presenting to the world a very rosy picture of India's financial position. Hence all official estimates of India's income and capital should be received with caution. But even if their accuracy be taken for granted, what a sorry figure India cuts ! The wealth of Britishers is £333 per head, of Canadians £193 per head and of South Africans £100 per head. But the wealth of Indians is about £9½ per head.

India's Poverty and Allied Problems.

The utter indigence of hundreds of millions of Indians is itself a great evil. It is nothing but unmitigated wretchedness to have to go without sufficient food, sufficient clothing and sufficient shelter. But our poverty gives rise to other problems and makes their solution difficult. There can be no progress in sanitation and education without adequate progressive expenditure. But where is the money to come from ? Poverty, again, cannot be removed, unless people have healthier and stronger bodies and more alert and enlightened minds.

Even with her present revenues much could be done for the good of India's children. But as the control of both income and expenditure is in foreign hands, the progress of India is not the sole or main consideration. The remedy, therefore, is Home Rule. But Home Rule, again, depends on the enlightenment of the masses. So let us resolve to make whatever progress we can in all directions. This does not mean that all problems are of equal importance ; it only means that they are interdependent. The attainment of Home Rule is unquestionably the most urgent and important political and economic problem before the country.

The Home Rule League.

A Home Rule League has been established in Madras, and more than thirty branches have been established all over the country. Home Rule literature is also in circulation. All this is good news and encouraging news. Well done, Madras.

What we do not like is the reappearance in another form of the old line of demarcation between "Moderates" and "Extremists." Moderates remain where they were, only "Extremists" flock round the new banner of Home Rule. This is much to be regretted. We think the political ideal of all earnest Indians is *in substance* the same, though the names given to it may not be the same. Why then divide ourselves along party lines ? We know even the old difference between Moderates and Extremists in Bengal was in the case of many men more personal than as regards questions of principle or political ideal. Are we never to be able to sink our personal differences ?

In Calcutta some thirty men met together and have formed themselves into a Home Rule League. No public notice of

the meeting seems to have been given; at least we saw none. No letters seem to have been issued to men likely to be interested in the matter; at least we received none.' We write in the way we are doing, simply to say that Home Rule is not the hobby of a small clique, it is a question which has aroused the enthusiasm of the entire educated public, and that, therefore, the formation of a Home Rule League ought to have been considered a matter of sufficient importance to prevent its being done in the perfunctory manner in which it seems to have been done. There was nothing to conceal, nothing to be afraid of. Why then this want of publicity and this hurry?

The first use in India of the term "Home Rule."

The way in which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji used and explained the word *Swaraj* and demanded the thing for which it stands, in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, makes that term equivalent to Home Rule, though he did not use the latter expression.

There is not the least doubt that the person who has done more than anybody else to bring the problem of Indian Home Rule within the range of practical politics is Mrs. Annie Besant. So, it is not with a view to minimising her achievement that we point out the inaccuracy of her assertion in *New India* that "On September 14th, 1915, the first use, so far as we know, was made of the name Home Rule in Indian politics." The expression was used much earlier in this Review. In fact, we published an article under the heading "Home Rule for India" in June, 1907. It is a small matter, but it is good to be accurate in matters of history.

The Governor on Internments.

In one of his Dacca speeches H. E. the Governor said that an officer qualified to be a High Court Judge [why not an actual High Court Judge?] examines the evidence brought forward by the police against suspects, and persons are interned only after he has been satisfied. But we think it is still police evidence on which people are punished. It is only with the aid of the best counsel that sometimes persons accused of heinous crimes are able to prove that they are innocent and that

the evidence adduced against them is concocted. Seeing that counsel's help is so necessary for dispensing justice, and seeing that in important cases two or three judges sit together to try a case, we think there ought to be an advisory board to sift the evidence on which persons are interned. And there ought to be in these cases a Public Defender. A leading lawyer ought to be appointed to this post. The experiment has been tried with success in America. Public prosecutors are appointed practically to secure the conviction and punishment of the guilty. But the protection of the innocent is equally the duty of Government. On this ground we advocate the appointment of a Public Defender, who is to be Government servant bound to secrecy. No one should be interned in any unhealthy locality. Even in the healthiest of places, restrictions placed on freedom of movement and want of proper physical exercise, combined with mental disquiet and depression, injuriously affect the health of the persons detained. A person's place of detention should under no circumstances be more unhealthy than his usual place of abode and business. There should be frequent periodical medical examination of the interned.

Many bread-winners of families have been interned. Their allowances should be such as to enable them to maintain both themselves and their families.

The Indian Association on Internments

In this connection, we fully endorse the representation on the policy and procedure of internments submitted to the Government of Bengal by Babu Surendranath Banerjee on behalf of the Indian Association. Recently scores of persons have been arrested and interned. Most of them are young men and students. Bengal is not in a state of siege; it is far removed from the theatre of war. Under the circumstances, we cannot but strongly protest against placing the province under a sort of martial law. The reign of the police informer and the spy should cease and the responsible high-placed servants of the Crown should assert themselves and act according to the principles of wise and far-seeing statesmanship. Lord Curzon's contempt for public opinion and consequent autocratic proceedings have been the root-cause of all the subsequent political troubles and unrest. If police informers'

and spies, whose occupation depends on the continuance of the present state of things, are allowed to poison the minds of the highest officers in the land against the youth of Bengal, the latter must continue to be looked upon with suspicion and treated accordingly. There is a moral certainty that a considerable proportion, if not the majority, of the persons suspected are being treated unjustly. Injustice rankles in the minds of even those who may be considered weak and despicable, and no man can foresee and prevent the evil consequences of such embittered feelings. The mistake of Lord Curzon and his subordinates ought not to be repeated in a different form.

We write as we do because the ruined hopes and baffled lives of many promising high-souled young men grieve us sorely. We would fain see the country make rapid strides along the paths of peaceful progress and development.

We may incidentally notice the attempt made by certain Anglo-Indian journalists to belittle the representation of the Indian Association on the alleged ground of Babu Surendranath Banerjea's not being a representative of Bengal. And why? Because, forsooth, he was not elected a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. As if that Council is at all truly representative of the country, and as if the present-day law-makers of India are also its representative-makers. Babu Surendranath Banerjea possesses to-day as much representative character as he did before the days of the last election. It is true, he did not then and he does not now represent all sections of the educated public, but he does represent a large proportion of them.

Besides, the important point is purposefully ignored, that it is not Babu Surendranath who speaks in his individual capacity, but it is as a mouthpiece of the Indian Association that he speaks. And the Indian Association, though not fully representative of the entire educated public of Bengal, is more widely representative than any other association in the province.

Further Repressive Legislation Foreshadowed.

The following paragraph from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 seems to foreshadow, at least to seek to prove the need of, further repressive legislation :—

SEDITION'S LITERATURE.

Increased activity in the circulation of seditious leaflets came to notice about June and continued throughout the year. Under the existing law, mere possession of seditious matter is not an offence and consequently there are no means of checking this serious evil at the fountain head. It is only after seditious and inflammatory matter has been circulated and the mischief done, that the law can be put in motion. There is convincing evidence that the revolutionary party in Bengal depend largely upon seditious literature to recruit their ranks and several youths have confessed that they were drawn into the movement through reading the leaflets issued by the revolutionists. Penalising the possession of seditious matter may not be a complete cure for the evil but it will materially assist to check it.

The law of sedition in India is such that many classical works and others of undoubted authority and value may be brought under it; and the possession of these may be made penal under the new law indirectly demanded. And if there be an official demand, there will be an official supply. But where and when would the limit of repression be reached? Even at present during house-searches copies of the *Gita*, and some works of distinguished Bengali authors are, quite unwarrantably, seized by the police. Will and can Government prepare and circulate a complete *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and issue up-to-date supplements daily or weekly?

The human heart is the real nursery and factory of all things good, bad and indifferent. That place cannot be searched by the police and the effects taken possession of and removed. Therefore, that alone would be a radical remedy for sedition which would prevent people from thinking and feeling seditiously. Can British statesmanship tackle this problem or can it not?

The Governor in Council has not either endorsed or disapproved of the Inspector-General's indirect suggestion contained in the paragraph quoted above.

In Praise of the Police.

The Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 has this to say in praise of the Police Department :—

THE YEAR'S WORK.

The work of the past year furnishes a splendid record of self-sacrifice and unremitting labour. Undeterred alike by the threats of the anarchists or by the ill-natured and spiteful criticism which finds daily expression in the columns of the Bengali press, the officers of the department have continued the struggle against revolutionary crime with a courage and devotion which deserves the admiration and gratitude of all honest men. If ever the time arrives when a complete record can be published of the work of this

department since its inception it will be admitted that, in the European and Indian officers of the Intelligence Branch, Government has at its disposal a body of men second to none in loyalty, courage and devotion to duty.

We do not grudge the police this praise, which "the Governor in Council entirely endorses." Many men of the Department have certainly deserved it. But it is neither correct, nor dignified, nor statesmanlike, to characterise the criticism of the Bengali press as ill-natured and spiteful. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches. And the Bengali press represents those innocent people of Bengal who are inconvenienced by the Police shoe. Do His Excellency the Governor and members of his executive council know why the police are disliked and feared?

By the by, what has become of Mr. Gourlay's enquiry into the working of the police department? Did he submit any report? What was His Excellency's private secretary's verdict? If it was in favour of the police and if His Excellency has accepted it, the fact should be made known to the public. There is no reason why the high eulogy, if any, bestowed by Mr. Gourlay on the police should remain unpublished.

Government may also deign to consider why the Bengali press does not indulge in spiteful and ill-natured remarks on postmen, postmasters, munsifs, subordinate judges, deputy collectors, &c. Unquestionably a far larger number of persons have to deal and come into contact with these public servants than with policemen. The theory that we are spiteful can be supported only on the supposition that we are all would-be dacoits or criminals of that description, or are in sympathy with such persons, and we hate the police because they stand in the way of our or their giving effect to criminal intentions;—which is a highly complimentary hypothesis.

We know Government cannot do without the police. They are its eyes and hands. Let them be praised and rewarded. But why seek to stop our mouths? The only wise method of stopping criticism is to raise the efficiency and elevate the character of the police force. Any other method is unwise. Why are the London Police not criticised, though the highest ministers of the Crown in England are often subjected to abuse and virulent criticism by sections of the British press. Be-

cause the London Police are friends and servants of law-abiding citizens. Can the same thing be said of our police officials?

It should not be forgotten that improvement in the character and conduct of the police is due in no inconsiderable measure to criticism in the newspapers.

Emigration to Fiji.

We are glad to find that the assurance given by the Government of India during the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge that the system of supplying indentured labour to Fiji would be abolished, has not allayed all the apprehensions of the leading Indians in Fiji. Those who profit by that system are wealthy, powerful and resourceful. They may yet succeed in getting a substitute for the indenture system which, while differing in name, would be the same in substance. One such system, that prevailing in the Federated Malay States, has already been proposed to be introduced; whereupon the leading Indians of Fiji have made a representation to Mr. E. Castaldi, Secretary to the Indian Immigration Committee, Suva, Fiji, which is dated July 15, 1916, a copy of which has been sent to us from that colony. It is printed below.

We have been made aware from newspaper reports, etc., of the questions that are exercising the mind of your committee regarding the future prosperity of this Colony, in which our countrymen are admittedly a most important factor.

2. As regards the proposal to substitute a system copied from the Federated Malay States, we beg most respectfully to submit that such a change would revive penalties similar to those already lately deleted from our existing indentured labour code. And the power that the employer would possess to place a labourer under arrest for real or imaginary impertinence or disobedience, etc., would lend itself to many abuses; also the power the magistrates would possess in the matter of the penalties for such offences might be abused. A glance at the March, April, and June, 1916, numbers of the "Indian Emigrant" published in Madras, would convince one that under this so-called free immigration there are great wrongs in the matter of the recommitment, stay at Depot, embarking and voyage.

3. In view of the foregoing we beg to suggest that the system outlined by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in their admirable report deserves to be given the first place in your consideration.

4. We also submit that whatever system is finally decided upon, the code enacted concerning it must be translated into plain and intelligible Indian vernaculars, such as may be readily understood by intending emigrants, who should be each furnished with one copy of the tract gratis or at nominal cost.

5. Besides, we desire to recommend the necessity, from the point of view of improving labour conditions, in all parts of the world and in justice to the risk

undertaken in modern manufactures, or having some legislation similar to the Employers' Liability Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act prevalent in England.

In conclusion we beg to record our heartiest gratitude for the scheme agreed upon, to secure regular and frequent steamship communication between Fiji and India at nominal rates of passage, which is a boon to the Colony, and to the Indian people in particular, the magnitude of which boon, it is scarcely possible to realise fully at this stage but which we feel sure will be the means of developing this beautiful country by leaps and bounds.

We think it is indispensably necessary to have a non-official Indian Emigration Committee here, with a whole-time secretary, to study all questions relating thereto as they arise, and to promptly take all such steps as may be necessary. The balance of the funds raised for helping the South African Indians may be partly or wholly utilised for this purpose. "The Indian Colonial Society" founded and organised by Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Editor of *The Indian Emigrant*, may be able to do the kind of work that we have in view, if it receives the support that it ought to.

The watchfulness of our leading countrymen in Fiji is praiseworthy, and will, we hope, be kept up.

Habitation for the Hindu University.

It is now a question of months for the Hindu University to begin its work of teaching and of advancement of learning. As it is expected to be a home of Hindu culture the style of the buildings in which it is to be housed should surely receive attention. We are not in favour of spending money extravagantly on edifices and having little or not much left for the real work of educational institutions. But some Indian style of architecture, or a harmonious and artistic combination of several, may easily be adopted; for an Indian style is not necessarily very expensive. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Vice-president of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, draws attention to this point in a letter contributed to a recent number of the *Central Hindu College Magazine*.

University Endowments and Patronage.

A rumour has reached our ears that a certain wealthy person has promised to donate Rs.150,000 to the Hindu University on the condition that a certain gentleman, whom he has named, is to be appointed to fill the chair to be created with the income of the endowment. We need not

ascertain whether the rumour is true or not. Nor need we discuss the fitness of a particular donor to select a professor or the qualifications of a particular nominee. We shall briefly discuss the general principle.

It will be conceded that, speaking generally, the senate or board of appointment of a University is more competent to choose professors than individual donors, though there is no doubt, for particular subjects there may be a few persons here and there more competent to select professors than any member of senate or board. For this reason it is best that donors should only make endowments and mention the objects for which they are to be utilized, and leave the choice of lecturers, professors, &c., to the university. So far as a university is concerned, we think it might be derogatory for it to accept donations on any condition like the one mentioned above. Nor would it, we think, add to the dignity or usefulness of a professor to be nominated by a donor. It might appear as if the donation was being made to induce the university to accept a professor who might not otherwise be thought the most competent.

Indentured Labour.

In the course of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on September 5 last, His Lordship made the following observations on the question of indentured emigration:—

One of the most important questions which is now occupying the attention of my Government and of the Provincial Governments whom we have addressed on the subject is that of a scheme to be substituted for indentured emigration, as it is sometimes described. This is perhaps hardly a correct way of putting it, as it implies that we are trying to work out a scheme for the purpose of supplying labour to the colonies whereas the scheme we are contemplating relates to a very different matter, viz., the control of the operations of persons so engaged. Labourers have a right to emigrate if they wish and it would be very unwise and very undesirable on our part to prevent them and we are therefore trying to devise arrangements which will secure that recruitment in this country is conducted under decent conditions, that a proper sex ratio will be maintained and that on arrival in the country of their destination they will be properly treated and allowed to engage themselves on terms at least as free as those obtaining at present in the Malay Peninsula where a labourer can leave his employer by giving a month's notice. These are the conditions which in our letter to the Local Governments we

explained are regarded by the Government of India as necessary for a satisfactory system of emigration. I think it will be clear to all who have studied the question that the Government of India would be departing gravely from its duty if it allowed emigrant labour to leave this country without proper protection and safeguards. There are a certain number of labourers, I believe a very small number, who emigrate as genuine free labourers, that is to say, unassisted by pecuniary help and uninvited by any interested agency. But if we confine ourselves to the abolition of our existing indentured emigration a position will arise in which the parties interested in procuring Indian labour will be free to induce labour to emigrate by pecuniary help under any conditions they like so long as the labourer does not go under indenture. The abuses likely to arise out of such a state of things would be very serious. I need only refer to the state of affairs which existed before the amendment of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act in connection with so-called free labour.

We do not think the Government of India are in a position to protect Indian laborers in British Colonies or foreign countries. Of course, emigration cannot and ought not to be entirely stopped. But whatever safeguards the Government of India may adopt, so long as Indians are not recognised in practice in their own country as "equal subjects of the king" and equal citizens of the British Empire, the lot of Indian labourers outside India cannot but approximate to that of slaves or semi-slaves. The only real and lasting remedy, therefore lies, (i) in the obtaining of Home Rule by Indians, so that they may be able to mete out to others the treatment they receive from them. The Colonists cannot treat us like men until and unless our political status is in fact, as it is in theory, exactly the same as theirs. (ii) The other line of development which will enable us to raise the status of our labourers is the industrial progress of the country, so that we may have a sufficient number of factories to absorb all the labour lying unemployed in India. There would not then be much inducement for the labouring class to go abroad in search of the means for a mere animal existence. Those who would venture abroad would be able to dictate their own terms. (iii) And this would be facilitated by universal education, which would so increase the fund of information of the masses and quicken their intelligence as to make it much more difficult than now for recruiting agents to deceive them.

The Viceroy speaks of maintaining a proper sex ratio. The very words used jar on our ears though His Excellency's intention was good. The coolies are human

beings. They are not cattle. So far as cattle are concerned, any male and any female may mate. But as regards human beings, there are religious, social, moral and caste reasons why such a state of things cannot be tolerated. In the case of married women, they should not be allowed to emigrate except with their husbands, and, if they have minor children, with these children also. Further details need not be entered into here. Suffice it to say that our human feelings and our national self-respect demand that in any steps that Government may take in this matter strict attention should be paid to family ties, social conventions and the rules of morality.

As regards His Excellency's reference to labor conditions in the Malay Peninsula the representation submitted by some leading Indians of Fiji, which is printed elsewhere, would go to show that there is no reason to think that the lot of Indian coolies in the Federated Malay States is all that can be desired.

The Bombay Chronicle writes as follows on the Viceroy's observations:—

His Excellency's reference to measures to be taken for regulating enemy trade after the war, and administrative measures consequential upon suggestions made in Council are satisfactory. We regret we cannot say the same of the Viceroy's frank statement as to the intentions of Government with regard to emigrant labour. As we understand the matter, the Government is engaged upon finding a substitute for the system of indentured labour. His Excellency says this is hardly a correct way of describing the attitude of Government. There is hardly much practical difference. Indentured labour was State-regulated, and what is proposed is a substitute of which the leading characteristic is to be "the control of the operations of the persons so engaged." Public opinion is decided on one point, and that is that there should be the freest emigration possible, that the labour should not be "engaged" in any sense contrary to the wishes and inclinations of the emigrants themselves, and that neither the Government here nor any Colonial authority, whether British or foreign, should have a hand in the regulation of Indian emigrant labour. What will be the effect of the action the Government of India contemplates? It will impose upon itself the double duty of regulating the conditions of recruitment here and the conditions of "labour elsewhere." The question is whether the Government will be able to devise machinery suitable for the performance of this double duty which will be even more onerous and vexatious outside India than it may be here. These, however, are points that may be reserved for further consideration. The transition from the system of indentured labour to regulated emigration and labour is not likely to be negotiated quite so easily as His Excellency imagines, and the proposals in this regard will have to be very carefully scrutinised and considered.

The Position of Indian Labourers in British Colonies.

Regarding the political status of Indian labourers who may choose to settle in a colony when the period of their indenture or contract is over, *The Bombay Chronicle* has some excellent remarks. Its extracts from the opinions of eminent British statesmen are particularly timely and valuable. Our contemporary says:—

We are far from being disposed to grant that the Government of India could undertake the regulation of recruitment here or the conditions of labour abroad without incurring a responsibility which may prove beyond its capacity. But even admitting this is possible, the further question remains whether the Government should stop here and not find a permanent solution of the problem on the lines indicated by older statesmen, like the late Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and even so recently as 1908, by Colonel Seely (then under-Secretary for the Colonies). These statesmen approached the consideration of the problem of Indian emigrant labour not exclusively from the point of view of regulation of recruitment or conditions of labour, but also from the other standpoint. It seems worthwhile drawing attention to the declarations of these statesmen. In 1875, the late Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Government of India:—

"Above all things we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangement that the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies will be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies."

Had Lord Salisbury's warning been paid heed to, how much bitterness, racial antagonism and needless political conflict could have been avoided! What has made the problem seemingly so hard of solution was the neglect to keep in view the "indisputable condition" insisted upon by Lord Salisbury over forty years ago. Then, as up till very recently, the policy of patching without plan and without thought of the morrow has been in high favour. If the Government of India lost sight of the only sound policy in the matter, an Imperial statesman of the standing and authority of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain did not.

Our Bombay contemporary then proceeds to quote what the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said while addressing the Premiers of the self-governing colonies assembled at the first of the great Imperial Conferences:—

"We ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinctions in favour of or against race or colour; and to exclude by the reason of their colour, or by the reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to these peoples that it could be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her

Majesty to have to sanction it.....The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilised as we are ourselves; who are, if that is anything, better born, in the sense that they have older traditions and older families who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble....saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say, you, who have seen all this cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings, not only of her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people."

These, says the Bombay paper, are "Noble words, inspired by the truest Imperial comprehension, not only of the necessity of employing Indian labour for the natural resources of sub-tropical regions, but of the 'indisputable condition' upon which alone that labour can be recruited and employed."

For reasons we need not pause to consider, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's solemn warning was unheeded by the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies in 1897, as 22 years earlier Lord Salisbury's warning was unheeded by the Government of India itself. It is impossible, in the retrospect, to acquit the Government of India on the charge of continued neglect to safeguard the interests of Indian labour, and far transcending in importance any temporary material interests, their political interests. In any view of the matter, it was the primary duty of the Government of India to have kept constantly in its own view, and to have kept constantly in the view of the Imperial Cabinet, the joint responsibility of the Imperial and Colonial Governments with regard to Indian labour. Whatever might have been the attitude of the Government of India, the principles enunciated by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain were never lost sight of in England, by statesmen, in or out of office, occupying front rank.

The Bombay Chronicle then pointedly calls attention to "the striking utterance of Colonel Seely in the House of Commons on July 31, 1908":

"If persons are admitted (into British Colonies) they must be given civil rights. 'Free or not at all' seems to be the soundest principle for the British Empire.....If any one is admitted under the British flag, he must be a potential citizen, and must, sooner or later, be given rights with all other men."

Our contemporary concludes its important observations with the following paragraph:

We have ventured to call attention to these utterances of responsible statesmen, for it seems to us above all things necessary that in any arrangements

that may be made, the conditions they have laid down should be insisted upon. We have re-read Lord Chelmsford's speech, and as his Excellency omits to make any reference to the rights and status of Indian labourers, it is necessary that his attention should be drawn to the omission. We know Lord Hardinge would have pressed this view: Lord Chelmsford can possibly do no less.

We are also certainly of opinion that no emigration of labour should any longer be allowed without seeing that the men and women going abroad receive the treatment and obtain the rights to which human beings and citizens of the British Empire are entitled.

Excellent principles have been so often enunciated and laid down by British sovereigns and statesmen in relation to India without their being followed in practice by those in actual charge of Indian affairs, that the mere formulation of a principle has long ceased to inspire any hope or enthusiasm. On the contrary it now often raises a cynical smile and the apprehension that the practice will be the exact opposite of the theory. Government ought to make the most strenuous efforts to put an end to such a state of things.

The Viceroy on Educational Development.

We cannot say that the Viceroy's pronouncement on educational development in his first council speech is likely to rouse enthusiasm.

He said:—

In the sphere of education the influence of the war has been very apparent. The Provincial Governments have, as the Council is aware, been forced by the financial situation to restrict their educational programmes and the Government of India for the same reason had been unable to assist them with increased grants. We have, however, brought under their consideration three classes of educational effort in which some progress may suitably be made when better times recur. We have in the first place consulted the Local Governments and the public on the lines which should be followed in the important matter of the development of female education, especially in its primary phases, one of the most important and most difficult of the problems which have to be faced in the near future and one which I could wish that we were better prepared to meet. We have also drawn attention to the claims on Government assistance possessed by institutions for the instruction of the blind and the deaf and dumb and lastly we have placed before the Provincial Governments the necessity of maintaining more systematic than at present for securing an adequate supply of properly trained teachers, perhaps the most vital requirements in our educational system to-day. Since we last met, moreover, two new Universities have come into existence—one at Benares and one at Mysore—and

much consideration has been given to the pending proposal for the institution of new Universities at certain other centres. The rules for the grant of scholarships in England have at the same time been consolidated and improved and we have had correspondence with the Secretary of State on certain aspects of the complaints which have from time to time been made regarding the facilities for Indian students in England. I was glad in connection with this question to be able lately to announce the constitution of a special delegation at Oxford and an intercollegiate Committee at Cambridge for the express purpose of meeting the needs of Indian students whose numbers at these two Universities are said to have trebled in the last ten years.

This does not raise any hope of any appreciable expansion or improvement in any direction, until "better times recur."

In this Review we have often said that there are things which can not brook any delay. Some of these are, feeding, medical treatment and education. The head of a household does not say to his hungry children: "Wait for your meals till better times come." Because by that time their souls might leave their bodies. So some sort of food has to be provided without delay. When the children fall ill, the parents do not say: "We will call in a doctor when we have some income;" for by that time some of the poor things may die or become invalids for life. When the little ones are old enough to begin learning the parents do not say: "We will send you to school next decade or the decade after next;" for by that time they may grow too old for learning, and so remain ignorant and inefficient throughout the whole course of their lives. *The most valuable assets of a nation are its children. It is the duty of the State to see that every one of them is properly fed, kept in good health and educated. A government which does not do this is guilty of neglecting one of its primary duties.* Generations of Indians have remained crippled for life for want of education.

The Viceroy's solicitude for the blind and the deaf and dumb is praiseworthy. But what about the millions of children who have eyes but are not enabled to see, have ears but have no opportunities to listen to what would truly make men of them, and have the power of speech but are not taught to speak as becomes free and enlightened human beings?

Trained teachers are very good things, but England and many other civilized countries have had schools with many

untrained teachers for generations, nay centuries. Even now there are many uncertificated teachers in England. The expansion of education ought not to wait for an adequate supply of certificated teachers. The two things should proceed *pari passu*. When there is famine and one has to feed a hungry populace, if expert cooks cannot be had in sufficient numbers, ordinary cooks are employed. There is knowledge-famine in India. If trained teachers cannot be had in abundance, untrained literate men and women who have some knowledge ought to be employed to teach classes according to their capacity.

As for the special delegation at Oxford and the inter-collegiate committee at Cambridge for Indian students, their constitution reminds us of the old dictum that presbyter was only priest writ large. These Oxford and Cambridge bodies are only the Indian Students' Department with changed names. It is not change of machinery that is needed; there should be a change of spirit. Why were there not a Colonial Students' Department? Why are there not delegations and inter-collegiate committees for colonial students? Our students are not babies, nor are they worse behaved than other classes of students. What we want is that large numbers of our students should have facilities, and better facilities, for education in the United Kingdom than at present. "Guardianship" and "supervision" are not required. These are rather looked upon with suspicion.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

The date of publication of the report of the Public Services Commission cannot make much substantial difference in the advantage or disadvantage which Indians may reap from its recommendations. What we are unable to understand is why at an earlier stage of the war the psychological moment for its publication was considered not to have come, and why now it is believed to have arrived. As to the anxiety said to be felt by some persons to avoid any controversy during the war, the less said the better.

We never expected any good to result from the labours of the Commission. Perhaps the additional disadvantage which would result to India from the publication of its report now, would be the possible use

that might be made of it in certain quarters to represent the demand for Home Rule as being not at all urgent. The recommendations of the Commission might be represented as a very great concession made to India, and it might be argued that Indians should first prove their fitness for these extraordinarily generous concessions before clamouring for more. Our political opponents are such past matters in exaggeration that they might even assert that Home Rule had for ever been made unnecessary and superfluous by the recommendations of the Commission!

Communal Representation in the U. P.

The position of the Hindus in the U. P. municipalities having been made quite satisfactory, to whom we need not say, attention has next to be bestowed on their position in the district boards. Musalmans abound in the towns and do not abound in the rural areas of those provinces; hence, quite logically, the Musalmans ought to have the same kind of position in both the municipalities and the district boards. Where the Musalman element is strong, well,—it ought to be stronger. Where it is not strong, well, should it not be made stronger? This is very much like the drinker's argument, which is in favour of your having a drop when you are hot, and also in favour of your having a drop when you feel cold.

We find that some Hindu candidates for municipal seats in some towns have withdrawn their candidature. This is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. It is certainly far better than quarrelling with our Musalman neighbours. The Hindu-Musalman problem, whatever its origin, is one on whose satisfactory solution the political progress of India depends to a very great extent. If the Hindus and the Musalmans were the only parties to it, its solution would not have been very difficult. But we have also to reckon with those men of British birth both here and in England who are opposed to our national solidarity and progress.

Collegiate Education in the U. P.

It is said the Benares Queen's College, which has a commodious building and an adequate staff, has only some 135 students, on its rolls, and still it refused admission to some 400 seekers of knowledge. What can be the reasons for thus shutting its

gates? Is the principal an absolute monarch, or is the director of public instruction an autocrat? The matter is of sufficient importance to be carried up to the highest authority in India and, if need be, in England. We are accustomed to the plea of want of money or of want of accommodation. But here is a case where money is spent and where there is plenty of accommodation; but there is some one, we do not know who, who says, "It is my will that no more boys should have collegiate education." It is the urgent duty of Government to find out this person and tell him that he is far too antiquated for the twentieth century, and unless he chooses to march with the times he must make room for a more progressive man.

Lord Carmichael's Successor.

It is rumoured that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is likely to succeed Lord Carmichael as Governor of Bengal. Governorships have been created, we suppose, on the principle that statesmen from England, with a fresh outlook, should come out to govern provinces; and that is a good principle. Members of the Civil Service have already acquired a monopoly of far too many offices. They ought not to be allowed to aspire to governorships. Independent Punjab opinion of Sir Michael is not at all favourable. He may have been able to crush disturbances with an iron hand *after* they had occurred and humiliated and ruined hundreds of persons belonging, for the most part, to a particular section of the community; but if the crushing be an argument in his favour, are not the previous unrest and wholesale raids and disturbances a much stronger argument against his capacity and statesmanship? Conditions here and in the Punjab are very different. Bengal certainly does not want a Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Sir S. P. Sinha.

We frankly confess we are unable to solve the mystery of Sir S. P. Sinha's accepting a membership of the Bengal Executive Council in succession to Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda. He had held a higher office before and resigned it of his own accord. The pecuniary sacrifice now to be made is much higher than that involved in his acceptance, years ago, of the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. There is no glory in being the successor of

the Nawab Sahib, as the latter's position in the Vakil Bar was not superior to Sir Sinha's position among Barristers. If by becoming a member of the Executive Council one could render signal service to the country, we could understand the meaning of an incumbent's sacrifice. But there is no such possibility of national service. If there were, why did Sir S. P. Sinha resign his much higher office with its higher possibility of serving the Motherland? Should Sir S. P. Sinha be able to complete the full period of 5 years' service, he would have to forego the acquisition of at least 10 lakhs of rupees. Should the service of the nation be his object, he could better render it by devoting this amount to the welfare of the country as a non-official.

There is, moreover, some disservice done to the country in a person of Sir Sinha's position accepting such office. It amounts to a practical admission that any Government post is good enough for any Indian. When Englishmen come out from England as High Court Judges or Chief Justices, or as Law Members, or as Commerce Members, they are pecuniarily gainers thereby, which shows that these Englishmen were not front rank men in their professions "at home." But when Indians are to be appointed, they must be front rank men, they must make heavy sacrifices; which means that race counts for much, not capacity as measured by the earning power, or position in one's profession. Really we do not appreciate the fun of asking an Indian to accept a salary which is one-fourth of his income, nor understand the mystery of his accepting the offer. Some men in England, no doubt, have to make great sacrifices in order to become cabinet ministers; but that is no parallel. Will Sir S. P. Sinha possess one-tenth of the power for good possessed by a cabinet minister?

Famine in Bankura.

Help continues to be given to the famine-stricken people of Bankura, and will have to be given for some weeks more, probably till the end of this month. In the coming cold season, the indigent will require clothes, and huts will also have to be repaired. Good use can still be made of contributions coming in.

Floods and the Cyclone.

Floods and the cyclone have done great damage in Bihar, the U. P. and

Bengal. The only redeeming feature is the efforts of public-spirited persons in all provinces, particularly of the student population, to relieve the sufferings of the inhabitants of the tracts affected. May our young men, when they grow older, have the tender, feeling hearts, and the strong active hands they now have.

Yellow Men as the Coming Race.

The September number of the *Japan Magazine* contains the following note with the heading "*Chance for Orientals*":—

CHANCE FOR ORIENTALS

The *Chiuwo* thinks the regime of the white races is waning, and the day of the yellow man is fast approaching. Though the white races have seized and held most of the choice places of the earth, they have not really possessed all of them, owing to their inability to endure the more tropical climates. Success, to be real and permanent, must be something more than commercial; the conqueror must be able to live and be healthy in his new possession, or he does not really own it. It is little consolation to be victorious politically if one is a failure physiologically. The regime of the white man will ultimately be limited to temperate zones. Outside of these he is like a fish out of water. In such places as North Australia, Egypt, Hongkong, Singapore, India, Penang, the white man is doomed, as well as in a large portion of South America. In all these places the white man will ultimately be obliged to give way to his darker brother, who can better endure the climate. Let the yellow races, therefore, realize before it is too late, the opportunity that awaits them; let them know their latent power and feel that their day is coming. It is not necessary forever to go on submitting to the white man and worshipping at his feet. There is no physiological foundation for his political and commercial superiority and present supremacy. Heaven has endowed the yellow man with the capacity, and given him the right, to live and prosper where the white man cannot exist.

This bit of writing is no doubt significant and has its lesson for Japan's allies and enemies. But is the yellow man only oriental? What is the place and what the future of the non-yellow oriental? Is he to be the slave of the yellow man?

Qualifications of Dependent Races.

The *Philippine Review* has the following about the character qualifications of dependent races:—

Is it now the most appropriate time to judge as to the character qualifications of the Filipino people? Or is it not rather too early and, therefore, unfair to judge them while they are still in a dependent state?

This is propounded because of the following alleged statement of Mr. Hendrick Colijn, Dutch ex-minister of war, who is said to have spent twenty years in the Orient:

"Filipino native government would be a failure, not because the natives lack education, but because they lack character."

We have to thank him for this acknowledgement of our cultural status.

Indeed, the fact that he (Mr. Colijn) spent fully twenty years in the Orient should have qualified him splendidly to judge orientals.

However, even granting that he acted in the best of faith, we doubt if he ever could have become, or can ever be, a good judge of orientals, specially if he, at no time, was ever really free from western prejudices against orientals.

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by westerners as short of qualifications; and, whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost sight of under cover of such *advisably* prevailing belief that they (said people) are *short of qualifications*.

Their failures are magnified, and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs, and their successes not theirs, and the latter are necessarily *the work of their masters*.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them; but the same mistakes, if made by dependent peoples even in the *minimum* degree, are considered *mistakes in the maximum degree*, deserving the most spiteful condemnation,—the result of their alleged lack of qualifications, character or what not.

Besides, dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves; for others act for them—those who, for one reason or another, in one way or another, have assumed responsibility for their tutelage—and are always discriminated against, and subject to the pleasure of their masters, whose vengeance must obtain.

On the other hand, an independent people are free from outside prejudices, none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices, and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people, particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

"If America Sets the Example."

The same review has also the following note:—

"If America sets the example," says Mr. Colijn, "of giving independence to her Asiatic possessions, the nationalists in other European colonies would at once begin to chafe under their own restrictions, and there might be a good deal of trouble in more places than one."

As a distinguished Filipino has said, it is easy to copy what others have already done; what is really difficult is to make a new path.

Naturally, if it is desired to keep the so-called *European Colonies* in the East in a permanently unchanged state of ignorance and servitude, then it is to the interests of European colonizers to prevent America from going any further in her noble purposes with the Philippines.

However, America fought for her own freedom and for the liberation of slaves on her own soil, and cannot, for obvious reasons, follow the path of the others.

And if she sets the example, and sets it for the better, should it not, in the end, result in a greater good to mankind?

Exploitation of a people by a stronger people is but the application of the old theory of *gilded* that

has blocked the progress of dependent peoples. It has checked the proper development of dependent countries quite completely. For, on the one hand, the greed and energies of the dominant race are alone not enough to cope with the vitalities of the *conquered* soil; and, on the other, the abased spirit of the *enslaved* is hardly available for the task.

But free these countries, give them a chance to live their own way, and they will be better units of mankind, and their usefulness will be greater. For all will have the greatest of all inducement—the revered idea of their beloved country.

Then the world's wealth will be greater, a better, more unselfish feeling will prevail, and peace and friendship will be truer.

But the time will come when colonies will cease to be, when the *conquerors* themselves will find their situation untenable. For this is the work of education, the blessings of which are now eagerly sought for by the colonies themselves.

And education cannot be denied, and, however slow and loath the *masters* may be to give it, it has to be given. Otherwise, the people themselves will provide for it. And it is now no longer impossible so to do.

It is a cold fact, and Java itself shows no exception to this.

Bengalis and Soldiership.

Some of our Anglo-Indian journalistic patrons and destiny-makers have expressed the opinion that Bengalis never were soldiers. It is not at all necessary to convince these creatures that Bengalis were and can again be soldiers. It is necessary to convince only ourselves and our self-respecting and sane countrymen on the evidence of historical and contemporary facts that Bengal was and is not devoid of men possessed of physical strength and courage. These facts have been repeatedly mentioned in many journals including ours. Let that suffice.

If some Bengalis are now again going to fight, it is not at all due to the conversion of the Anglo-Indian journalistic arbiters of our destiny, but because of that necessity which rules the destinies of all empires and nations.

Bengal is not famous for its breeds of cattle and of sheep. The only lower animal which is its special product and to which it has given its name is the Royal Bengal Tiger. There is a village god, worshipped in Bengal, Dakkhin Ray, who has the tiger as his *vahan* "or conveyance." The climate, physical features, flora and fauna of Bengal have not prevented this animal from flourishing in its forests. We suppose, therefore, the material environment is not absolutely unfavorable to the birth and growth of soldiers in our province. Bengal can and does produce

men possessed of strength, agility and fearlessness, which are some of the characteristics of the Royal Bengal Tiger. One has to find them out and produce the mental and moral atmosphere which encourages manliness and impels men to become soldiers. Perhaps it is necessary also to destroy malaria and chronic semi-starvation.

Higher Commercial Education.

The question is as to whether we should have a college of commerce in Calcutta and whether the Calcutta University should have a degree in commerce, ought to be answered in the affirmative. Many modern Universities teach commerce and confer a degree in that subject. In India the University of Bombay has already followed in the wake of modern western Universities. Bengal is backward in commerce, and that makes the case for higher education in commerce all the stronger. From the days of Dwarakanath Tagore, Rangopal Ghosh, and others, some Bengalis have always shown their aptitude for mercantile business. There will, therefore, not be wanting a sufficient number of young intelligent Bengalis to avail themselves of commercial education. No doubt, commercial education is vocational education. But education in pedagogy, law, medicine and engineering is also bread-and-butter education. Therefore, there need not be any apprehension of loss of dignity on the part of the University in going in for commercial education. And the degree is required for giving those who have received a commercial training, the stamp of the University, so that they may have a status and market value equal to those of other graduates of the same standing.

It may be said that it is only experience which can make a *pukka* or perfect man of business. But does the University turn out skilled and expert teachers, lawyers, doctors and engineers? The followers of these professions become gradually skilled with growing experience. The colleges give only the preliminary knowledge and training. Such also would be the case with commercial education.

The courses for a commercial degree of some modern universities show that the subjects are such as would give sufficient intellectual training to entitle the

students to receive the hall mark of the university.

The subject of higher commercial education has been very convincingly dealt with in a memorandum prepared by Prof. M. Subedar and in a note written by Dr. Sarvadhikary, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Patna University Bill

We have not before us the full text of the speech delivered by Sir C. Sankaran Nair in introducing the Patna University Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. From the brief reports published in two of the morning papers we learn that

The first senate and the syndicate will be constituted by the Act itself. The next and the ensuing senate will consist of not less than 10 and not more than 60 persons. The senate will include certain ex-officio Fellows, 4 Fellows elected by the faculties, 8 Fellows elected by certain classes of Fellows according to the regulations framed for that purpose. The senate is only to be a deliberative body. Its resolutions are not binding on the syndicate. The senate differs in this respect from the senate constituted under the Universities Act of 1904 which has the power of making regulations providing for the courses of study to be followed and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for the university examinations and also for the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils for the matriculation examination. The ensuing syndicates will consist of 16 members some of them ex-officio. The Chancellor shall nominate 4 persons and 9 persons are to be elected by the senate. The syndicate will have control of all matters concerning education. Under the Indian Universities Act now in force the executive government of the University is vested in the syndicate while under the bill a full time vice-chancellor is to be the principal executive officer of the University. All matters relating to the administration of the University rules to regulate the admission of educational institutions to the privileges of the University and the withdrawal of such privileges, rules about the admission of students to the University and their examinations also will be provided for by the regulations. The first regulations are to be framed by the local Government. Such regulations may be modified and new additional regulations may be framed by the senate with the sanction of Government. No college will be affiliated without the consent of the syndicate, the senate and the local Government. As to disaffiliation on the other hand the local Government alone might do it after considering the opinion of the syndicate and the senate.

The constitution and powers of the senate are not satisfactory from the people's point of view. Nothing is said as to the proportion and number of the ex-officio fellows. Sixty is too small a number to represent the three provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur. But as the

senate is only to be a deliberative body, whose resolutions are not to be binding on the syndicate, the small number of men whose time and energy are to be wasted in mere deliberation and speech-making, the better. The senate ought to have the power of initiative and of revising, altering and annulling what the syndicate may do. From the people's point of view there is no reason why the Patna senate should not have all the powers which the senates of the older Universities possess under the Universities Act of 1904. No necessity has arisen for out-Curzonizing the Curzonian Act.

We are not told how many members of the syndicate will be ex-officio. From the details furnished, it is to be feared that the syndicate will be an official-ridden body.

"No College will be affiliated without the consent of the syndicate, the senate, and the local Government. As to disaffiliation, on the other hand, the local Government alone might do it after considering the opinion of the syndicate and the senate." Or, in other words, the work and process of destroying existing colleges, when thought necessary, is to be a more summary and expeditious affair than the work and process of bringing new colleges into existence! This is typical of the attitude of the re-actionaries towards higher education. It is a pity that Sir Sankaran Nair has to pilot such a measure through.

The position of and courses of study in the existing colleges will be affected in the following way:—

The committee were of opinion that the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr under private management was a small and weak institution and the Government agreed with the committee that we would not be justified in spending the very considerable amount that would be required to equip and maintain it efficiently. It has not been therefore proposed to include it in the new university.

As to the courses of study it is intended that the university is to undertake the whole of the science teaching of the university colleges at Patna, law teaching, and the honours B. A. and the post-graduate work in arts subjects. Provision is to be made for a system of inter-collegiate lectures in the B. A. pass and so far as is possible in the junior classes at Patna, but the external colleges will teach arts subjects only up to the pass B. A. and to the Intermediate Science subjects. As exceptions to the above the Cuttack College will provide teaching for honours B. A. and the pass B. Sc. and the Bihar National College will provide teaching for the pass B. Sc.

So out of *only seven* arts and science colleges for a population of nearly 34½ millions, one is not to be included in the new university: which means that it will be extinguished. So the new university will begin, not with increasing the facilities for education, but the reverse. There will be a little diminution of facilities in another direction. At present St. Columba's College in Hazaribagh teaches the honours course in English for the B.A. degree. It seems it must cease to do so when the Patna University comes into existence. Why should not there be a fully equipped State College in the healthy sub-province of Chota Nagpur? Why should all post-graduate teaching be confined to Patna? We cannot say the Patna University is going to make Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur educationally more advanced than they are at present.

It seems there is to be no engineering college, and no medical college. The spirit of modern civilization may be found in the other faculties of a university, but its body, without which it must be evanescent, has to be furnished by the faculty of engineering, in the shape of good buildings, roads, bridges, canals, drains, waterworks, railways, chemical, sugar, and other factories, engine workshops, mines, electrical power-houses and electrical lighting and other arrangements, &c. How is the province going to be modernised without engineers? No province in India turns out an adequate number of engineers to supply its own demands. From where is B.O.Ch. going to import her engineers? From outside India? But are they not too costly?

As for education in medicine and surgery, is B.O.Ch. a paradise where there are no diseases and untimely deaths? Patna University is not going to have a medical college,—a strange thing for a modern university in the twentieth century. No province turns out a sufficient number of doctors for its own needs. Where is the "new" province going to place its order for doctors?

"Indian Autonomy."

In reviewing Mrs. Besant's book "*India—a Nation*," *The Review of Reviews* writes:—

Mrs. Besant has recently thrown herself heart and soul into the movement to obtain Home Rule for India, for which purpose she founded some time

ago a league, an auxiliary branch of which has just been started in London. She presents, in her new book, a convincing argument for giving India self-government within the Empire. She says that India is poor and finds it hard to pay for the expensive administration that has been superimposed upon her, especially in view of the facts that the highest posts are monopolised by foreigners, Indian industries are not protected from ruinous competition, and the people are left illiterate. She maintains that the one way India can be made contented and prosperous is to let Indians work out their own destiny. Indians, in her opinion, are fully competent to govern themselves. Mrs. Besant would make the Presidencies and Provinces autonomous and incorporate them and the Indian States in a federation linked up with the British Empire. Her policy deserves sympathetic consideration.

The gifted writer converts the theory that Indians are a congeries of peoples, and establishes the connection between the political and religious movements of India—a connection frequently ignored. Pride in the Indian culture, she says, has infused a new life into Indians, and no development that is not along national lines can do permanent good to the people. Mrs. Besant pleads that if India is to be a source of strength to the Empire she must be allowed to express herself.

Rammohun the Nation-maker.

On the 27th of September, 1833, Raja Rammohun Roy breathed his last in Bristol. On the 27th of the last month his death anniversary was celebrated in many towns all over India. The full significance of his life and personality ought to be a matter for serious study to Indians.

It is now established that though the sciences are many, Science is one. Similarly, though there are many religions, Religion is one. In modern India, Raja Rammohun Roy was the first to realise this unity, not in theory alone, but in practice as well. In his age his was the most catholic heart and the most unprejudiced and clear-sighted spiritual vision.

The realisation of another unity first found concrete expression in his life. It is known that he was the pioneer, in the British period of Indian history, in the fields of religious, social, educational, political and economic reform and reconstruction. But what is much more necessary to understand and remember is that he reduced to practice his belief that *Reform is one* and that therefore the different kinds of reform are interdependent. His faith in the one God could not but lead him to believe that as Religion, Society, Politics, and Economics, all alike are governed by Him, no one can be a true reformer in one field who is opposed to reform in any other field.

Rammohun's gift to the nation, then, consists of the three Unities,—One God, One Religion, One Reform. The acceptance of his Monotheism in this comprehensive sense cannot but make his nation strong. This will be understood from our note on what Bagehot says on the national value of Monotheism.

The Press Deputation.

The Press Deputation, which is to wait upon the Viceroy ought to have included at least one Musalman representative, as the Musalman Press has suffered heavily from the working of the Press Act. But perhaps no Musalman journalist offered himself on account of the conditions imposed on the deputation.

The representation to be submitted to the Viceroy should be circulated among the members of the Press Association early enough to enable them to offer criticisms and suggestions for a final revision before submission.

Big Donation to Calcutta University.

MR. A. C. EDWARDS' GIFT OF RS. 2 LAKHS.

It is understood that Mr. A. C. Edwards, late of the Indian Educational Service and Officiating Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta, has made a donation of two lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University.

Mr. Edwards in thus practically acknowledging what he and Great Britain owe to India has given proof of a liberal mind and has earned our sincere thanks.

Sanskrit in Japan.

In no land outside of India has Sanskrit been cultivated so long and nowhere is it now so widely taught as in Japan, says the "*Herald of Asia*." Exactly when it began to be studied, it is impossible to say. It may, however, be stated in a general way that it came to Japan with the religion of Buddha early in the 6th century. History tells us that about the middle of the 7th century there were a few Japanese priests studying Sanskrit at the Buddhist Translation Institute in China, under the well-known traveller and scholar Hsuen Tsang and his disciples.

But the serious and extensive study of Sanskrit among the Japanese dates from the arrival in Japan of two Indian Buddhists, Bodhisena and Fattriet, in the year

735. They had been staying in the capital of China for some time, when they fell in with the members of a periodical diplomatic mission from Japan, in whose train they crossed over to that country.

IMPETUS TO STUDY.

The presence of these Indians gave such impetus to the study of Sanskrit, that there began to rise a school of investigators some of whom rose to high positions in the Buddhist hierarchy not only of Japan but of China. It is, for instance, recorded in history that a Japanese priest named Reisen went to China in the retinue of Koko Daishi in 805, and being a competent Sanskrit scholar he was in course of time appointed Director of the Buddhist Translation Institute. In collaboration with an Indian priest, Prajna by name, he completed the translation of a Buddhist sutra which is known as Shinghi Kwangyo and still remains a standard work in its field. Reisen spent the rest of his life in China, honoured and respected by all sections of the community. He was by no means the only Japanese scholar of Sanskrit who worked and died in China. Several others did the same. One of these was Kongo, who, starting from China in 814, visited India, and after a short sojourn returned to China, doubtless laden with much valuable information.

Another Japanese visitor to India in those early days was no less a personage than Prince Takaoka, heir-apparent to the Emperor Saga. He was not, however, destined to go beyond Laos in Cochin-China, where, sad to relate, he fell ill and died with his devout scheme unfulfilled.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

Since the advent of Sanskrit in Japan down to the end of the Tokugawa period, an interval of about twelve hundred years, it is computed that that country produced more than three hundred Sanskrit scholars worthy of the name. They undoubtedly wrote much on Sanskrit grammar and other subjects. Much has, however, been lost through war and other causes, and about 150 volumes represent the whole amount of the fruits of their scholarship now extant. Besides, there have been preserved a large mass of Sanskrit manuscripts, documents, and tablets, originally brought from India direct, or through China. They are all of value as

specimens of Indian palaeography, while some are of still greater scientific importance.

Among those belonging to the latter category, are the famous palm leaf manuscripts of the Horyuji Temple, edited and published by Max Muller at Oxford, which are the oldest writings of the kind now extant in any country. Quite recently a palm leaf belonging to the same age (the 5th century) was discovered at the Chion-in, Kyoto. There are preserved other old materials of scarcely less importance at temples like the Horyuji, Kokiji and Kairyu-ji, in Yamato; the Midera and Saikyoji, in Omi; and those at Koyasan. The Japanese store of ancient Indian manuscripts and documents has recently been considerably augmented by the collections brought home by Dr. Junjiro Takakusu and Reverend Ekai Kawaguchi. All these materials are now being examined and studied under the supervision of Dr. Takakusu, the acknowledged doyen of Sanskrit scholars in Japan. The results of his labours, we learn, will be shortly given to the public.

SANSKRIT PROFESSORS.

The new era of learning ushered in by the Restoration of 1868, naturally revived interest in the study of Sanskrit. Recognizing the importance of the modern method of critical study, a number of promising young men have been sent to various European universities during the past forty years. As a result there is now in Japan a group of very able Sanskritists of European training. To mention some of them, there are Dr. Bunyu Nanjo, of the Higashi Hongwanji; Professor Dr. Junjiro Takakusu, Dr. Wogihara, and Professor Dr. Anesaki, of the Tokio Imperial University; Dr. Sakaki, of the

Kyoto Imperial University, Dr. Watanabe, of the Jodo Sect. Of these, Dr. Wogihara and Dr. Watanabe studied at Strasburg under Professor Leumann, while the others mostly studied at Oxford under Max Muller. Sanskrit is taught at the two Imperial Universities of Tokio and Kyoto and at seven of the colleges maintained by various denominations of Buddhism. The number of students now attending the Sanskrit classes at the Imperial Universities is about sixty altogether, while at the Buddhist institutions they are numbered by the hundred.

JAPAN AND INDIA.

The increased study of Sanskrit and Indian thought in Japan cannot fail to have far-reaching influence upon the mental and spiritual life of the Japanese. Through the difficult and complicated structure of Sanskrit they are introduced to a world of thought and feelings peculiarly congenial to their spirit; at every step of their hard won advance they recognize familiar shapes of old friends. All this shows how deep is their past spiritual indebtedness to India and how closely they are allied to the people of this country in all the essentials of inner life. The inevitable result of the increasing dissemination of a knowledge of Sanskrit among them ought to deepen the community of sentiment and sympathy between the peoples of India and Japan to their natural benefit.

We think our Sanskritists should open communication with Japanese Sanskritists, and fac-similes of all old Sanskrit manuscripts, documents and tablets should be obtained for our principal public, University and College libraries. The Hindu University should pay particular attention to this matter.



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THE MODERN REVIEW.

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No. 119

MY REMINISCENCES

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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35 *Rajendra Lala Mitra.*

IT was about this time that my brother Jyotirindra had the idea of founding a Literary Academy by bringing together all the men of letters of repute. To compile authoritative technical terms for the Bengali language and in other ways to assist in its growth was to be its object—therein differing but little from the lines on which the modern *Sahitya Parisat*, Academy of Literature, has taken shape.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra took up the idea of this Academy with enthusiasm, and he was eventually its president for the short time it lasted. When I went to invite Pandit Vidyasagar to join it, he gave a hearing to my explanation of its objects and the names of the proposed members and then said: "My advice to you is to leave us out—you will never accomplish anything with big-wigs; they can never be got to agree with one another," with which he refused to come in. Bankim Babu became a member, but I cannot say that he took much interest in the work.

To be plain, so long as this Academy lived, Rajendra Lala Mitra did everything singlehanded. We began with Geographical terms. The draft list was made out by Dr. Rajendra Lala himself and was printed and circulated for the suggestions of the members. We had also an idea of transliterating in Bengali the name of each foreign country as pronounced by itself.

Pandit Vidyasagar's prophecy was fulfilled. It did not prove possible to get the big-wigs to do anything. And the academy withered away shortly after sprouting. But Rajendra Lala Mitra was an all-round expert and was an academy

in himself. My labours in this cause were more than repaid by the privilege of his acquaintance. I have met many Bengali men of letters in my time, but none who left the impression of such brilliance.

I used to go and see him in the office of the Court of Wards in Maniktala. I would go in the mornings and always find him busy with his studies, and with the inconsiderateness of youth I felt no hesitation in disturbing him. But I have never seen him the least bit put out on that account. As soon as he saw me he would put aside his work and begin to talk to me. It is a matter of common knowledge that he was somewhat hard of hearing, so he hardly ever gave me occasion to put him any question. He would take up some broad subject and talk away upon it, and it was the attraction of these discourses which drew me there. Converse with no other person ever gave me such a wealth of suggestive ideas on so many different subjects. I would listen enraptured.

I think he was a member of the Text-book Committee and every book he received for approval, he read through and annotated in pencil. On some occasions he would select one of these books for the text of a discourse on the construction of the Bengali Language in particular or Philology in general, which were of the greatest benefit to me. There were few subjects which he had not studied and anything he had studied he could clearly expound.

If we had not relied on the other members of the academy we had tried to found, but left everything to Dr. Rajendra Lala, the present *Sahitya Parisat* would have doubtless found the matters it is now occupied

with left in a much more advanced state by that one man alone.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra was not only a profound scholar, but he had likewise a striking personality which shone through his features. Full of fire as he was in his public life, he could also unbend graciously so as to talk on the most difficult subjects to a stripling like myself without any trace of a patronising tone. I even took advantage of his condescension to the extent of getting a contribution, *Yama's Dog*, from him for the *Bharati*. There were other great contemporaries of his with whom I would not have ventured to take such liberties, nor would I have met with the like response if I had.

And yet when he was on the war-path his opponents on the Municipal Corporation or the Senate of the University were mortally afraid of him. In those days Kristo Das Pal was the tactful politician, and Rajendra Lala Mitra the valiant fighter.

For the purpose of the Asiatic Society's publications and researches, he had to employ a number of Sanskrit Pandits to do the mechanical work for him. I remember how this gave certain envious and mean-minded detractors the opportunity of saying that everything was really done by these Pandits, while Rajendra Lala fraudulently appropriated all the credit. Even today we very often find the tools arrogating to themselves the lion's share of the achievement, imagining the wielder to be a mere ornamental figure-head. If the poor pen had a mind it would as certainly have bemoaned the unfairness of its getting all the stain and the writer all the glory.

It is curious that this extraordinary man should have got no recognition from his countrymen even after his death. One of the reasons may be that the national mourning for Vidyasagar, whose death followed shortly after, left no room for a recognition of the other bereavement. Another reason may be that, his main contributions being outside the pale of Bengali literature, he had been unable to reach the heart of the people.

(36) Karwar.

Our Sudder Street party next transferred itself to Karwar on the west sea-coast. Karwar is the head-quarters of the Kanara district in the southern portion of the Bombay presidency. It is the tract of

the Malaya Hills of Sanscrit literature where grow the cardamum creeper and the sandal tree. My second brother was then Judge there.

The little harbour ringed round with hills is so secluded that it has nothing of the aspect of a port about it. Its crescent shaped beach throws out its arms to the shoreless open sea like the very image of an eager striving to embrace the infinite. The edge of the broad sandy beach is fringed with a forest of casuarinas broken at one end by the *Kalanadi* river which here flows into the sea after passing through a gorge flanked by rows of hills on either side.

I remember how one moonlit evening we went up this river in a little boat. We stopped at one of Sivaji's old hill forts, and stepping ashore found our way into the clean-swept little yard of a peasant's home. We sat on a spot where the moonbeams fell glancing off the outer enclosure, and there dined off the eatables we had brought with us. On our way back we let the boat glide down the river. The night brooded over the motionless hills and forests, and on the silent flowing stream of this little Kalanadi, throwing over all its moonlight spell. It took us a good long time to reach the mouth of the river, so, instead of returning by sea, we got off the boat there and walked back home over the sands of the beach. It was then far into the night, the sea was without a ripple, even the ever-troubled murmur of the casuarinas was at rest. The shadow of the fringe of trees along the vast expanse of sand hung motionless along its border, and the ring of blue-grey hills around the horizon slept calmly beneath the sky.

Through the deep silence of this illimitable whiteness we few human creatures walked along with our shadows, without a word. When we reached home my sleep had lost itself in something still deeper. The poem which I then wrote is inextricably mingled with that night on the distant seashore. I do not know how it will appeal to the reader apart from the memories with which it is entwined. This doubt led to its being left out of Mohit Babu's edition of my works. I trust that a place given to it among my reminiscences may not be deemed unfitting.

Let me sink down, losing myself in the depth of
midnight.
Let the earth leave her hold of me, let her free me
from her obstacle of dust.

Keep your watch from afar, O stars, drunk though
 you be with moonlight,
 and let the horizon hold its wings still around me.
 Let there be no song, no word, no sound, no touch
 nor sleep, nor awakement,—
 but only the moonlight like a swoon of ecstasy over
 the sky and my being.
 The world seems to me like a ship with its countless
 pilgrims,
 Vanishing in the far-away blue of the sky, its sailors'
 song becoming fainter and fainter in the air,
 While I sink in the bosom of the endless night,
 fading away from myself, dwindling into a poem.

It is necessary to remark here that merely because something has been written when feelings were brimming over, it is not therefore necessarily good. Such is rather a time when the interference is thick with emotion. Just as it does not do to have the writer entirely removed from the feeling to which he is giving expression, so also it does not conduce to the truest poetry to have him too close to it. Memory is the brush which can best lay on the true poetic colour. Nearness has too much of the compelling about it and the imagination is not sufficiently free unless it can get away from its influence. Not only in poetry, but in all art, the mind of the artist must attain a certain degree of aloofness—the creator within man must be allowed the sole control. If the subject matter gets the better of the creation, the result is a mere replica of the event, not a reflection of it through the artist's mind.

(37) *Nature's Revenge.*

Here in Karwar I wrote the *Prakritir Pratishodha*, *Nature's Revenge*, a dramatic poem. The Hero was a sanyasi (hermit) who had been striving to gain a victory over nature by cutting away the bonds of all desires and affections and thus to arrive at a true and profound knowledge of Self. A little girl, however, brought him back from his communion with the infinite to the world and into the bondage of human affection. On so coming back the sanyasi realised that the great is to be found in the small, the infinite within the bounds of form, and the eternal freedom of the soul in love. It is only in the light of love that all limits are merged in the limitless.

The sea beach of Karwar is certainly a fit place in which to realise that the beauty of Nature is not a mirage of the imagination, but reflects the joy of the infinite and thus draws us to lose ourselves in it. Where the universe is expressing itself in

the magic of its laws it may not be strange if we miss its infinitude, but where the heart gets into immediate touch with immensity in the beauty of the meanest of things, is any room left for agreement?

Nature took the sanyasi to the presence of the infinite enthroned on the finite, by the path-way of the heart. In the *Nature's Revenge* there were shown on the one side the wayfarers and the villagers, content with their home-made triviality and unconscious of anything beyond; and on the other the Sanyasi busy casting away his all, and himself, into the self-evolved infinite of his imagination. When love bridged the gulf between the two and the hermit and the house-holder met, the seeming triviality of the finite and the seeming emptiness of the infinite alike disappeared.

This was to put in a slightly different form the story of my own experience of the entrancing ray of light which found its way into the depths of the cave into which I had retired away from all touch with the outer world and made me more fully one with nature again. This *Nature's Revenge* may be looked upon as an introduction to the whole of my future literary work; or rather this has been the subject on which all my writings have dwelt,—the joy of attaining the infinite within the finite.

On our way back from Karwar I wrote some songs for the *Nature's Revenge* on board ship; the first one filled me with a great gladness as I sang and wrote it sitting on the deck.

Mother, leave your darling boy to us,
 And let us take him to the field where we graze
 our cattle.*

The sun has risen, the buds have opened,
 the cowherd boys are going to the pasture;
 and they would not have the sun-light,
 the flowers and their play in the grazing
 grounds empty. They want their *Shyam*
 (Krishna) to be with them there, in the
 midst of all these, they want to see the

* This is addressed to Yashoda, mother of Krishna, by his playmates. Yashoda would dress up her darling every morning in his yellow garment with a peacock plume in his hair. But it came to the point she was nervous about allowing him, young as he was, to join the other cowherd boys at the pasturage. So it often required a great deal of persuasion before they would be allowed to take charge of him. This is part of the Vaishnava parable of the child aspect of Krishna's play with the world.
 —Tr.

Infinite in all its carefully adorned loveliness; they have turned out so early because they want to join in its gladsome play, in the midst of these woods and fields—not to admire from a distance, nor in the majesty of power. Their equipment is of the slightest. A simple yellow garment and a garland of wild flowers are all the ornaments they require. For where joy reigns on every side, to hunt for it ardently, or amidst pomp and circumstance, is to lose it.

Shortly after my return from Karwar, I was married. I was then 22 years of age.

(38) *Pictures and Songs.*

Chhabi O Gan, *Pictures and Songs*, was the title of a book of poems most of which were written at this time.

We were then living in a house with a garden in Lower Circular Road. Adjoining it on the South was a large Busti.* I would often sit near a window and watch the sights of this populous little settlement. I loved to see them at their work and play and rest, and in their multifarious goings and comings. To me it was all like a living story.

A faculty of many-sightedness possessed me at this time. Each little separate picture I ringed round with the light of my imagination and the joy of my heart, every one of them, moreover, being variously coloured by a pathos of their own. The pleasure of thus separately making off each picture was much the same as that of painting it, both being the outcome of the desire to see with the mind what the eye sees and with the eye what the mind imagines. Had I been a painter with the brush I would doubtless have tried to keep permanent record of the visions and creations of that period when my mind was so alertly responsive. But that instrument was not available to me. What I had were only words and rhythms, and even with these I had not yet learnt to draw firm strokes, and the colours went beyond the margins. Still, like young

folk with their first paint-box, I spent the livelong day painting away with the many-coloured fancies of my new-born youth. If these pictures are now viewed in the lights of that twenty-second year of my life, some features may be discerned even through their crude drawing and blurred colouring.

I have said that the first book of my literary life came to an end with the *Morning Songs*. The same subject was then continued under a different rendering. Many a page at the outset of this book, I am sure, is of no value. In the process of making a new beginning, much in the way of superfluous preliminary has to be gone through. Had these been leaves of trees they would have duly dropped off. Unfortunately leaves of books continue to stick fast even when they are no longer wanted. The feature of these poems was the closeness of attention devoted even to trifling things. *Pictures and Songs* seized every opportunity of giving value to these by colouring them with feelings straight from the heart. Or, rather, that was not it. When the string of the mind is properly attuned to the universe, then at each point the universal song can awaken its sympathetic vibrations. It was because of this music roused within, that nothing then felt trivial to the writer. Whatever my eyes fell upon found a response within me. Like children who can play with sand, or stones or shells, or whatever they can get,—for the spirit of play is within them,—so also we, when filled with the song of youth, become aware that the harp of the universe has its variously tuned strings everywhere stretched, and as the nearest may serve as well as any other for our accompaniment, there is no need to seek afar.

(39) *An intervening period.*

Between the *Pictures and Songs* and the *Sharps and Flats*, a child's magazine called the *Balaka* sprang up and ended its brief days like an annual plant. My second sister-in-law felt the want of an illustrated magazine for children. Her idea was that the young people of the family would contribute to it; but as she felt that that alone would not be enough, she took up the editorship herself and asked me to help with contributions. After one or two numbers of the *Balaka* had come out I happened to go on a visit to Rajnarayan Babu at Deoghar. On the return journey the train was crowded and as there was an unshad-

* A Busti is an area thickly packed with shabby tiled huts with narrow pathways running through, and connecting it with the main street. These are inhabited by domestic servants, the poorer class of artisans and the like. Such settlements were formerly scattered throughout the town even in the best localities, but are now gradually disappearing from the latter. —Tr.

ed light just over the only berth I could get, I could not sleep. I thought I might as well take this opportunity of thinking out a story for the *Balaka*. In spite of my efforts to get hold of the story it eluded me, but sleep came to the rescue instead. I saw in a dream the stone steps of a temple stained with the blood of victims of the sacrifice; a little girl standing there with her father asking him in piteous accents: "Father, what is this, why all this blood?" and the father inwardly moved trying with a show of grimness to quiet her questioning. As I awoke I felt I had got my story. I have many more such dream-given stories and other writings as well. This dream episode I worked into the annals of King Gobinda Mamkya of Tipperah and made out of it a little serial story, *Rajarshi*, for the *Balaka*.

Those were days of utter freedom from care. Nothing in particular seemed to be anxious to express itself through my life or writings. I had not yet joined the throng of travellers on the path of life, but was a mere spectator from my road-side window. Many a person hied by on many an errand as I gazed on, and every now and then Spring or Autumn, or the Rains would enter unasked and stay with me for a while.

But I had not only to do with the seasons; there were men of all kinds of curious types who, floating about like boats adrift from their anchorage, occasionally invaded my little room. Some of them sought to further their own ends, at the cost of my inexperience, with many an extraordinary device. But they need not have taken any extraordinary pains to get the better of me. I was then entirely unsophisticated, my own wants were few, and I was not at all clever in distinguishing between good and bad faith. I have often gone on imagining that I was assisting with their school fees students to whom fees were as superfluous as their unread books.

Once a long-haired youth brought me a letter from an imaginary sister in which she asked to take under my protection this brother of hers who was suffering from the tyranny of a step-mother as imaginary as herself. The brother was not imaginary, that was evident enough. But his sister's letter was as unnecessary for me as expert marksmanship to bring down a bird which cannot fly.

Another young fellow came and informed me that he was studying for the B. A., but could not go up for his examination as he was afflicted with some brain trouble. I felt concerned, but being far from proficient in medical science, or in any other science, I was at a loss what advice to give him. But he went on to explain that he had seen in a dream that my wife had been his mother in a former birth, and that if he could but drink some water which has touched her feet he would get cured. "Perhaps you don't believe in such things," he concluded with a smile. My belief, I said, did not matter, but if he thought he could get cured he was welcome, with which I procured him a phial of water which was supposed to have touched my wife's feet. He felt immensely better, he said. In the natural course of evolution from water he came to solid food; then he took up his quarters in a corner of my room and began to hold smoking parties with his friends, till I had to take refuge in flight from the smoke-laden room. He gradually proved beyond doubt that his brain might have been diseased, but it certainly was not weak.

After this experience it took no end of proof before I could bring myself to put my trust in children of previous births. My reputation must have spread, for I next received a letter from a daughter. Here, however, I gently but firmly drew the line.

All this time my friendship with Babu Srish Chandra Mazumdar ripened apace. Every evening he and Priya Babu would come to this little room of mine and we would discuss literature and music far into the night. Sometimes a whole day would be spent in the same way. The fact is my self had not yet been moulded and nourished into a strong and definite personality and so my life drifted along, light and easy, like an autumn cloud.

(40) Bankim Chandra.

This was the time when my acquaintance with Bankim Babu began. My first sight of him was a matter of long ago. The old students of Calcutta University had then started an annual reunion, of which Babu Chandranath Basu was the leading spirit. Perhaps he entertained a hope that at some future time I might acquire the right to be one of them; anyhow I was asked to read a poem on the occasion.

Chandranath Babu was then quite a young man. I remember he had translated some martial German poem into English which he proposed to recite himself on the day and came to rehearse it to us, full of enthusiasm. That a warrior poet's ode to his beloved sword should at one time have been his favourite poem will convince the reader that even Chandranath Babu was once young and moreover those times were indeed peculiar.

While wandering about in the crush, at the Student's Reunion, I suddenly came across a figure which at once struck me as distinguished beyond that of all the others, and who could not have possibly been lost in any crowd. The features of that tall fair personage shone with such a striking radiance that I could not contain my curiosity about him,—he was the only one there whose name I felt concerned to know that day. When I learnt he was Bankim Babu, I marvelled all the more. It seemed to me such a wonderful coincidence that his appearance should be as distinguished as his writings. His sharp aquiline nose, his compressed lips, and his keen glance, all betokened immense power. With his arms folded across his breast he seemed to walk as one apart, towering above the ordinary throng—this is what struck me most about him. Not only that he looked an intellectual giant, but he had on his forehead the mark of a true prince among men.

One little incident which occurred at this gathering remains indelibly impressed on my mind. In one of the rooms a Pandit was reciting some Sanskrit verses of his own composition and explaining them in Bengali to the audience. One of the allusions was not exactly coarse, but somewhat vulgar. As the Pandit was proceeding to expound this, Bankim Babu covering his face with his hands hurried out of the room. I was near the door and can still see before me that shrinking, retreating figure.

After that I had a longing to see him, but could not get an opportunity. At last one day, when he was Deputy Magistrate of Howrah, I made bold to call on him. We met, and I tried my best to make conversation. But I somehow felt greatly abashed while returning home, as if I had acted like a new and bumptious youth in thus thrusting myself upon him unasked or uninvited.

Shortly after, as I added to my years, I attained a place as the youngest of the literary men of the time: but what was to be my position in order of merit was not even then settled. The little reputation I had acquired was mixed with plenty of doubt and not a little condescension. It was then the fashion in Bengal to assign to each man of letters a place in comparison with a supposed compeer in the West. Thus one was the Byron of Bengal, another the Emerson, and so forth. I began to be styled by some the Bengal Shelley. This was insulting to Shelley and only likely to get me laughed at.

My recognised cognomen was the *Lisping Poet*.

My attainments were few, my knowledge of life meagre, and both in my poetry and my prose the sentiment exceeded the substance. So that there was nothing there on which any one could have based his praise with any degree of confidence. My dress and behaviour were of the same anomalous description. I wore my hair long and indulged probably in an ultra-poetical refinement of manner. In a word I was eccentric and could not fit myself into everyday life like the ordinary man.

At this time Babu Akshay Sarkar had started his monthly review the *Nabajiban*, New Life, to which I used occasionally to contribute. Bankim Babu had just closed the chapter of his Editorship of the *Bangadarsan*, The Mirror of Bengal, and was busy with religious discussions, for which purpose he had started the monthly *Prachar*, The Preacher. To this also I contributed a song or two and an effusive appreciation of Vaishnava lyrics.

From now I began to meet Bankim Babu constantly. He was then living in Bhabani Dutt's Street. I used to visit him frequently it is true, but there was not much conversation. I was then of the age to listen, not to talk. I fervently wished we could warm up into some discussion, but my diffidence got the better of my conversational powers. Some days Sanjib Babu, one of Bankim's brothers, would be there reclining on his bolster. The sight would gladden me, for he was a genial soul. He delighted in talking and it was a delight to listen to his talk. Those who have read his prose writings must have noticed how gaily and airily it flows on like the sprightliest of conversation. Very few have this gift of

conversation and fewer still the art of translating it into writing.

This was the time when Pandit Sashadhar rose into prominence. Of him I first heard from Bankim Babu. If I remember right Bankim Babu was also responsible for introducing him to the public. The curious attempt made by Hindu orthodoxy to revive its prestige with the help of Western science soon spread all over the country. Theosophy for some time previously had been preparing the ground for such a movement. Not that Bankim Babu ever thoroughly identified himself with this cult. No shadow of Sashadhar was cast on his exposition of Hinduism as it found expression in the *Prachin*—that was impossible.

I was then coming out of the seclusion of my corner, as my contribution to these

controversies will show. Some of these were satirical verses, some farcical plays, others letters to newspapers. I thus came down into the arena from the regions of sentiment and began to spar in right earnest.

In the heat of the fight I happened to fall foul of Bankim Babu. The history of this remains recorded in the *Prachin* and *Bharati* of those days and need not be repeated here. At the close of this period of antagonism Bankim Babu wrote me a letter which I have unfortunately lost. Had it been here, the reader would have seen with what consummate generosity Bankim Babu had taken the sting out of that unfortunate episode.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE IMMEMORIAL CONCERT OF ASIA

BY PROF. BENOKUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

AN idea of Asiatic Unity is evident from the Japanese word *San-goku*, which is a common term embracing the three peoples,—the Chinese, the Hindus, the Japanese. Such a phrase as “so and so is *San-goku* ichi, i. e., the first in the three regions” is very common in Japan. It indicates the consciousness of a common standard of merit and efficiency as governing the three peoples. *San-goku* may be thus taken to be the Asiatic equivalent of what in modern times is known as the “Concert of Europe.”

(a) THE WORLD-TOURISTS OF MIDDLE-AGE ASIA.

We may look upon Hiuen Tshang as the great embodiment of the idea of the concert of Asia. The six hundred years that had elapsed between Mingti's dream and this Chinese scholar-saint's pilgrimage to India had led up to this conception which on Japanese soil became crystallised as *San-goku*.

The period of so-called anarchy in China was a great period in her religious history, both Taoist and Confucian as well as

Buddhist. It was marked also by the travels of Kumarajiva the Indian and Fa-hien the Chinese. The consciousness of a common world of life and thought was greatly promoted by the journeyings to and fro of men like these. The number of such travellers during the four centuries was not insignificant. The following list is taken from Beal's account in his *Buddhist Literature in China* compiled from Chinese sources.

Wei Dynasty (A. D. 220-60)

(1) Dharmakala, an Indian. (2) Kong-Sang-Kaj, a man of India. (3) Tant-ti, a Parthian. (4) Pih-yen, a man of the Western countries (India). (5) An-fa-hien.

Wu Dynasty (A. D. 222-64)

(1) Chi-hien, a Hun. (2) Wei-chi-lan, an Indian. (3) Chu-liu-yen, a fellow-traveller of the last. (4) Kong-sang-ui, a man of Samarcand. (5) Chi-Kiang, a man of the west.

Western Tsin Dynasty (A. D. 265-313)

(1) Dharmaraksha, a Hun. (2) Kiang-liang-lu-chi, a man of the west. (3) An fa-Kin, a Parthian. (4) Won-lo-yan-che, a man of Khoten. (5) Chu-shuh-lan, a man of the west. (6) Pih-fa-tsu of Kong-niu (Within the River). (7) Chi-fa-to. (8) Shih-tao-chi. (9) Fa-lih.

Eastern Tsin (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Pi-si-li-mih-to-lo (Srimitra), a man of the western countries. (2) Chi-to-lin. (3) Chu-tan-won-lan (Dharmananda), a man of the western world. (4) Kiu-tan-sang-kia-ti-po (Gotamasangha Deva) a man of Cophene (Kabul). (5) Kia-lan-to-kia (Kaludaka) a man of the west. (6) Kang-tao. (7) Fo-to-po-to-lo (Buddhabhadra), a man of Kapilavastu and a descendant of Amritodana Raja (the uncle of Sakya-muni). (8) Tan-ma pi. (9) Pi-mo lo-cha (Vimalaksha), a man of Cophene. (10) Fa-hien. (11) Chi-ma-to, a western man. (12) Nanda, a man of the west. (13) Chu-fa-lih, a man of the west. (14) Kao-Kung. (15) Shih-lang-kung. (16) Shih-fa-yung. (17) Tan mo chi. (18) Shih hwei-shang. (19) Kiu-mo-lo-fo-te (Kumara-bodhi), a western man. (20) Sang-kia-po-ching, a Cophene (Kabul) man. (21) Tan-mo-ping, an Indian. (22) Dharmananda, a Turk (?).

Yaou Tsin Peri (Capital Changan)

(1) Chu-fo-nien. (2) Tan-mo-ye-she (Dharmayasas), a Cophene man. (3) Kum-trajiva, originally a man of India but afterwards of Karashar. (4) Fo-to-ye-she, a Cophene man. (5) Fo-ye-to-lo (Punvatar), a Cophene man. (6) Pakin. (7) Shih-tan-hioh. (8) Kih-kia-ye (Kakaya), a man of the west.

Northern Liang (Capital Ku-tsang)

(1) Shih-tao-kung. (2) Fa-Chung, a man of Turfan. (3) Sang-kia-to, a man of the west. (4) Tan-mo-tsien (Dharmakshya), a man of mid-India. (5) Buddhavarma, a man of the west (A.D. 450). (6) Shi-chi-mang.

Sung Dynasty (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Buddhajiva, a man of Cophene. (2) Tan-mo-mi-to (Dharmamitra), a Cophene man. (3) Kalayasas, a western. (4) I-ych-po-to (Iswara), a man of the west. (5) Sheh-chi-yan. (6) Gunavarma, a man of Cophene (A.D. 440). (7) Gunabhadra, a man of mid India (A.D. 436). (8) Dharmavira (A.D. 420-53). (9) Chu-fa chuen, an Indian (A.D. 465).

Tsi Dynasty (Capital Kien Kang)

(1) Tan-mo-kia-to-ye she (Dharmajatasayas), a man of India. (2) Mo-ho-shing (Mahayana), from the west (A.D. 490). (3) Sanghabhadra, from the west (A.D. 489). (4) Dharmamati, a man of the west (A.D. 49). (5) Gunavati, a man of India (A.D. 493).

Southern Wei Dynasty.

(Capital Loyang)

(1) Dharmaruchi of South India (A.D. 504), (2) Bodhiruchi of North India (A.D. 508), (3) Le-na-mo-ti (Ratnamati) of mid India (A.D. 508), (4) Buddhāsanda, of North India (A.D. 525).

Liang Dynasty.

(Capital, Kieng Kang)

(1) Mandala of Cambodia (A.D. 504), (2) Sanghavarma (of Cambodia 502), (3) Paramita (of Ujjein, A.D. 549).

Eastern Wei Dynasty.

(Capital Keng Nieh)

Gotamaprajnaruchi (of South India, born in Benares; A.D. 542).

Tsi Dynasty.

(Capital Nieh)

Nalandayasas (of North India, 569).

Chen Dynasty.

(Capital Nieh)

The son of the King of the country of Ujjein named Upasena.

Chow Dynasty.

(Capital Changan)

(1) Jnanabhadra (A.D. 560), (2) Jnanayasas from Magadha (A.D. 572), (3) Yasakuta, a man from Udyana (A.D. 578), (4) Jnanakuta from Gandhara (A.D. 588), (5) Dharmaprajna (583), (6) Vinataruchi (of Udyana, 583), (7) Dharmagupta (S. India, 591).

The list is not exhaustive. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* may be referred to.

These are the names of scholars, lay as well as clerical, and Chinese as well as foreign, who settled in various parts of China to translate and propagate Indian thought during the four hundred years between Han and Tang Dynasties. It is, therefore, natural that when the great Renaissance commenced under the unified rule of the mighty Tangs all this literature should have become the food of the master-minds of China. They got used to thinking not in terms of China alone but of the great western land of the Hindus as well. And when the great Hiuen Tshang, "the Max Muller of his day," came back to his people, the conception of the Indo-Chinese world as a single unit became, as it were, a first postulate with them.

Hiuen Tshang came back in A.D. 645, and It-sing, another equally famous pilgrim, went out on a tour in 671 which lasted for 24 years. His diary has been translated by Dr. Takakusu: *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*. In it we get an account of no less than sixty Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India in the latter half of the 7th century. It is thus not difficult to see why the Tang epoch of Chinese history was a great age for the unity of Asia.

(b) SINO-INDIC, SINO-ISLAMIC AND SINO-JAPANESE SEA-BORNE TRADE.

It was not only an age of foreign travel but an epoch of brisk foreign commerce as well with every people in Asia. In fact, the journeyings of those Asia-trotters were made possible through the establishment of well-laid-out routes between country and country. The routes were both overland and maritime.

It is needless to observe that the "Asia-sense" was promoted not only through the culture-missionaries, truth-seekers and religious pilgrims, but also through the commercial agents, brokers, sailors and speculative adventurers.

The sea-trade of the Asiatic peoples was, of course, facilitated by their shipping and navigation. Mookerji's *History of Indian Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* throws a flood of light on this aspect of the question during the period under survey. During the Tang age the command of the Indian Ocean was maintained by the powerful fleet of the Chola Emperors in Southern India.

The shipping was international. Both the Arabs on the West and the Chinese on the East were equally adept in using the highway of the seas. The following is taken from Hirth and Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kua*:

"The pilgrim Fa Hien, the first Chinese who has left a record of a voyage from India to China (A.D. 413), came from Tamlook at the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon to sail for Sumatra, and when in Ceylon he noted the signs of wealth of the 'Sa-po' traders' on the island, and it does not seem unlikely that these foreigners were Arabs from Hadramant and Oman coasts."

It is to be noted that Fa-Hien's fellow-passengers from Java to Canton were *Pe-lo-mon* or Brahmans.

Further, Cosmas in the sixth century says of Ceylon:

"The Island being, as it is, in a central position, is much frequented by ships from all parts of India from Persia and Ethiopia, and it likewise sends out many of its own. And from the remotest countries, I mean Tzinista (China) and other trading places, while at the same time exporting its own produce in both directions."

The present position of Ceylon as the great port of call for world's shipping has thus been a historic one, coming down from the age when the Asiatic waters were navigated by their natural masters.

A history of Chinese maritime activity would show that the Celestial enterprise in navigation probably manifested itself a little later than that of the Arabs and Hindus. According to Hirth and Rockhill—

"Notwithstanding the lack of enterprise on the part of the Chinese in the first centuries of the Christian era, commerce by sea with south-eastern Asia and the countries lying to the west was steadily increasing through the continued energy and enterprise of the Arabs and the Indians."

But the sea-voyages of the Chinese

became considerable under the Tangs. It-sing mentions 60 Chinese pilgrims who in the latter part of the seventh century made the journey to India. Of these 22 travelled overland and 37 took the sea-route. The following itinerary is described in the Introduction to *Chau-Ju-kua*:

"* * The port of embarkation being Canton, whence the travellers made for western Java or more usually Palembang in Sumatra. Here they changed ships and taking a course along the northern coast of Sumatra and by the Nicobar Islands, came to Ceylon, where they usually took ship for Tamlook at the mouth of the Ganges and thence reached the holy places of India by land. The voyage took about three months, one month from Canton to Palembang, one to the northwest point of Sumatra and one to Ceylon; it was always made with the northeast monsoon in winter, and the return voyage to China in summer,—from April to October—with the southwest monsoon."

The "Asia-sense" of the Chinese, so far as it was developed through international commerce, was steadily on the increase during the 8th and 9th centuries, may have been a little retarded owing to the disorder following the fall of the Tangs, but revived in the 10th century "when they carried on direct trade with the Arabs, the Malay peninsula, Tongking, Siam, Java, western Sumatra, western Borneo and certain of the Philippine Islands." The more important ports like Canton and Tsuan-chou near Amoy began to have prosperous settlements of permanent Hindu and especially Moslem residents. The importance of Islam * in Chinese life during the 9th and subsequent centuries would be evident from the following statement: "From Chinese sources we learn that * * at Tsuan-chou, Hang-chou and elsewhere, the Moslems had their *kadi* and their *sheikhs*, their mosques and their bazars." The institution of the Inspectorate of Maritime Trade at Canton, Kangshi (the capital), Tsuan-chou, Hang-chou and Minchou, also indicates the larger social life of the Celestials.

Chau-Ju-Kua was the Inspector of Foreign Trade at Tsuan-chou in Fukien, in the latter part of the 12th century. His *Chu-fan-chi* or 'Description of the Barbarous Peoples' tells of what the Chinese at the beginning of the 12th century knew of the foreign countries, peoples and products of Eastern and

* It need be remarked incidentally that the Capital Singanfu received during this age Christian and Zoroastrian exiles who fled from their West Asian homes to escape the persecution of the Islamites.

Southern Asia, Africa and Europe. It precedes by about a century the account given by Marco Polo of Venice (1260) and "fills a gap in our knowledge of China's relations with the outside world extending from the Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the days of the great Venetian traveller." The English translation of this work by Hirth and Rockhill published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd, is of inestimable value to students of international commerce in Medieval Asia.

When Japan entered upon the scene the Indo-Chinese world was expanded by the addition of a third member. The triple alliance of culture thus effected was the *San-goku*. Every Japanese thought in terms of the three regions, not of his native land alone. It was not enough, according to their conception, for any person to attain the highest position only in Japan. The most ambitious among them must have his worth recognised by China and India too. An international or Asiatic standard of science or *Vidyas* governed the aspiration of all Japan. *San-goku* is thus a suggestive technical term contributed by the Japanese to the literature of world's international science.

It has to be observed that, culturally speaking, the heart of this Concert of Asia was Hindusthan, *Tienchu* or *Tenjiku*, i. e. Heaven; but geographically, the heart was China. This "middle kingdom" may or may not be the middle of the whole world as the Chinese have believed it to be; but it was surely the middle or centre of *San-goku*. The Chinese received Hindusthan into their midst and then passed it forward to the Land of the Rising Sun. The first process was Indo-Chinese, and the second Sino-Japanese. It is doubtful if there was much direct Indo-Japanese intercourse. The Japanese depended for their Hinduism principally on their neighbours.

We know definitely that cotton was introduced into Japan from India. Prof. Takakusu in his paper on '*What Japan Owes to India*' in the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association (1910), states that cotton was introduced into Japan through the Indians who were unfortunately carried over to that country by the "black current." The following is taken from Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*:

"The eighth volume of the *Nihon-ko-ki* records how in July 799 a foreigner was washed ashore in a little

boat somewhere on the southern coast of Mikawa province in Japan. He confessed himself to be a man from Tenjiku, as India was then called in Japan. Among the effects was found something like grass seeds, which proved to be no other than some seeds of the cotton-plant. Again, it is written in the 199th chapter of *Ruijin kokushi* (another official record) that a man from Kuen-lun was cast upon Japanese shores in April 800, and that the cotton seeds he had brought with him were sown in the provinces of Kii, Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, Tosa and Kyushu."

We hear also of Brahman Bishops coming to Japan from countries other than China. But probably there are few evidences to connect them with India. They may have been Hindus from Annam, Cambodia or Indo-China. The principal reservoir of Indianism for Japan always remained China.

It is for this reason that we find innumerable materials for the history of India in China and Chinese literature; and materials for Chinese history in the Japanese and Chinese literature of Japan. The Island Empire thus happens to be the repository or museum of the Indo-Chinese world. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that *San-goku*, the technical term comprehending the three countries, should exist in the Japanese currency of thought.

THE "GREAT POWERS" OF *San-goku*.

The political history of China during this period falls into two divisions.

1. The Tang Dynasty ruled from A.D. 618 to 905. Tai Tsung (627-50) is the most illustrious Emperor of this dynasty and is one of the Chinese Napoleons. He was the patron of Hsien Tshang.

2. The Sung Dynasty ruled over the whole Empire from A.D. 960 to 1127. In 1128 the northern half down to the Yangtse was conquered by the Tartars, who established their capital near the site of modern Peking. The Sung Dynasty continued to rule the southern half of China down to 1279 with capital first at Nanking, then at Hangchow.

The political strength and military achievements of the Tangs could not be maintained by the Sungs. But the people of China carried forward the intellectual and spiritual development of the 7th and 8th centuries down to the end of the period. So that the whole age was one of continuous cultural growth and expansion. In fact, the most brilliant era of Chinese literature, art and philosophy coincided with the last days of the Sungs.

The important landmarks in the

political history of Japan are indicated below :

1. From A.D. 552 to 710 the centre of government and culture was in the province of Asuka. This is, practically speaking, chronologically the first period of Japanese history. The most illustrious name is that of Prince Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 573-621), who was regent for the reigning Queen Suiko. During this period the scholar Doshō is said to have come to China in 653 to study Hinduism with Hiuen Tshang after his return from India in 645. Thus the conception of *San-goku* was forced upon Japan in her very infancy.

2. The Nara Period (from 710 to 794) was synchronous with the period of Tang strength in China. The capital was removed to Nara near Osaka.

3. The Kyoto Period (782-1192) came down to the dismemberment of Chinese Empire under the weaker Sung. The capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto, which remained the Imperial seat till the beginning of the new era in the middle of the 19th century. Kyoto is thus the Delhi of the Japanese. During this period the famous scholar-saint Kobo Daishi visited China (804-806) and came back to his native land to establish the Indo-Chinese culture on a thoroughly national basis.

4. The Nara and Kyoto periods are sometimes called the Fujiwara period because at both these centres the Fujiwara aristocracy lorded it over the whole administration. This period is of extraordinary interest to students of *San-goku* culture, because specimens of Chinese life during its most brilliant epoch (and therefore of the Hindu also) are still preserved in the Japanese art of the age, but are lost elsewhere. Japan, thanks to her insular position like that of England, has been saved from the ravages of foreign conquests which have come upon her continental neighbours; and thus has been able to maintain intact the mediæval civilisation of Asia represented by the Kalidasas and Fa-Hsuns of Vikramadityan Renaissance.

5. Kamakura Period began with the establishment of the *Shogunate* or military Viceroyalty at Kamakura in 1192. The Emperor became a political cipher and remained virtually a prisoner at Kyoto until the glorious Restoration of 1868.

In India the political life of the period has to be studied in the following more important Empires :

1. The Empire of Harshavardhana who reigned in Upper India from 606 to 647. He was thus the contemporary of Tai Tsung and also of Prince Shotoku. Hiuen Tshang was the state-guest (629-45) of the Hindus under this monarch.

2. The Empire of the Chalukyas (550-753) in the Deccan. The most illustrious monarch of this dynasty was Pulakesin II (608-55) who inflicted a defeat on the northern Emperor Harshavardhana and thus maintained the sovereignty of the Southern Empire. Hiuen-Tshang visited his court in 641. Pulakesin II is important to students of art-history because some of the world-renowned paintings in the cave-temples of Ajanta were executed during his reign, e.g., those relating to Indo-Persian embassies.

3. The Empire of the Gurjara-Pratihara at Kanauj in Upper India (A.D. 816-1194). Vincent Smith remarks :

"Mihira, usually known by his title Bhoja, enjoyed a long reign of about half a century (c 840-90) and beyond question was a very powerful monarch, whose dominions may be called an 'empire' without exaggeration."

4. The Empire of the Bengalees under the Pala Dynasty (A.D. 730-1175) in Eastern India. Vincent Smith remarks :

"The Pala dynasty deserves remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties. No other royal line, save that of the Andhras, endured so long as four and half a centuries. Dharmapala and Devapala succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India."

A complete history of this 'great power' by Rakhaldas Banerji written in the Bengali language has been recently published at Calcutta. The Pala age is important in the history of Tibet as having supplied her with Bengali art and Tantric literature. Dharmapala and Devapala, whose reign extended from 780 to 892, were the Tai Tsungs of Bengal.

5. The Empire of the Cholas in Southern India (900-1300). The most illustrious monarchs of this dynasty were Rajaraja the Great (985-1018) and Rajendrachola (1018-1035). The Cholas possessed a powerful navy, which led to the annexation of a large number of islands and the kingdom of Pegu in Further India across the Bay of Bengal. Mr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Ancient India* is the most authoritative and complete work on Chola Dynasty and South Indian history available in English.

INDIANISATION OF CONFUCIANISM.

The intercourse between India and China during this period is thus described by Okakura :

"Communication with India becomes more facilitated by the extension of the empire on the Pamirs, and the number of pilgrims to the land of Buddha as well as the influx of Indians into China, grows greater every day. The newly opened route through Tibet, which had been conquered by Taiso,* added a fourth line of communication to the former routes by Tansen and the sea. There were at one time in Loyang (Honanfu) itself, to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil, more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families : their great influence may be judged from their having given phonetic values to the Chinese ideographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."

Hsien Tshang had witnessed the processions, mystery-plays, and other folk-festivals patronised by Emperor Harshavardhana at Kanauj and Allahabad. The educative influence of these institutions worked upon his imagination; and it is likely that on his return to China he may have played some part in the organisation of the popular dances, ballets and other amusements† which began to be important features of Chinese life under the Tangs.

Mr. Werner quotes from the *Contemporary Review*, (XXXVII. 123): "It was not until the sixth century A.D. that some travelling gymnasts from India initiated the people into the delights of the rude pantomimic dances and acrobatic performances of their native land." The French scholar Bazin's *Theatre Chinoise* throws interesting light on the history of games, festivals, ballets and pantomimes of China. Hindu influence is also suggested by scholars as having given the final shape to the drama which has been played in China since the time of the Tangs.

The following are the names of some of the Hindu scholars in China who helped It-sing in the propaganda work among his people early in the 8th century :

1. Anijana, a priest from Northern India
2. Dharmamatma, priest from Tukhara
3. Dharmananda, " " Cophene
4. Sringisha, layman from Eastern India
5. Gotamavajra " " "
6. Hrimati
7. Aijun, Prince of Cashmere.

* Japanese name of Emperor Tai Tsung.

† The "No"-plays which became popular in Japan in the 14th century may have to be traced ultimately to Hindusthan.

The list is taken from Beal's *Buddhist Literature in China*.

It is thus easy to understand why the whole world of Chinese letters and art should become Hinduised during their great age of Renaissance. Giles' *History of Chinese Literature* may be referred to for specimens of Tang and Sung thought in prose and verse. The following is from Cranmer-Byng's *Lute of Jade* :

"Po Chü-i (A.D. 772-846) is above all the poet of human love and sorrow, and beyond all the consoler. Those who profess to find pessimism in the Chinese character must leave him alone. At the end of the great tragedy of *The Never-ending Wrong*, a whispered message of hope is borne to the lonely soul beating against the confines of the visible world :

'Tell my lord,'

She murmured, 'to be firm of heart as this Gold and enamel; then in heaven or earth

Below, we twain may meet once more.'

It is the doctrine of eternal constancy, so dimly understood in the Western world, which bids the young wife immolate herself on her husband's tomb rather than marry again, and makes the whole world seem too small for the stricken Emperor with all the youth and beauty of China to command."

The Hindu, with his idealism of the *Sati*-institution which expresses itself in the determination of the widow not to remarry, would easily understand this. Nivedita's *Web of Indian Life* and *An Indian Story of Love and Death* give excellent English studies in Hindu womanhood.

The result of the influx of Hindu ideas, institutions and practices was not confined solely to the popularisation of the Buddhacult. The original Chinese ideas on every subject began also to be transformed, re-interpreted and Hinduised. The Augustan age of Chinese Culture was thus the age of a thorough-going Indianisation of China.

It must be understood that this Indianising affected not the religious sphere exclusively, but led also to the introduction of the secular *vidyas* or sciences, and *kalas* or arts.

Influences emanating from India during the great age of China were not likely to be one-sided. Smith's paper on Indian sculpture of the Gupta Period (300-650) may be referred to in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.

The *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* (ii 228) is quoted by Werner :

"It remained for the authors of the Tang dynasty to combine Taoism and Confucianism with a mixture of Buddhism, in a newly created poetry which was

destined to raise literary art to a higher elevation than it had ever attained in China."

Indianism touched not only Taoism but also had a profound influence on traditional Confucianism. The Confucianism that has been prevalent in China for the last eight or nine hundred years is markedly different from the older one, and was born in the atmosphere of the Hindu Culture which prevailed under the Tangs and Sungs. Elkins has described the effect of Buddhism on the philosophy of the Sung Dynasty in chapter xx of his *Chinese Buddhism*.

About this neo-Confucianism a Japanese scholar writes in *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia, Vol. IV, China*, prepared by the Imperial Japanese Government Railways:

"With the establishment of the Sung Dynasty..... appeared philosophers who in expounding the classics brought to their aid certain cosmic and metaphysical ideas of India....."

Chu Hsi (1130-1200) is regarded as the founder of the Sung school of Confucianism. And whatever influence Confucianism exercised—and it has been great—in the training of a nation like Japan, must be largely ascribed to the works of this great philosopher and commentator."

Hindu *Dhyana* or meditation is the chief characteristic of this re-interpreted Confucianism.

The art of painting as well as the criticism of that art were also being influenced by the new philosophy which finally received an authoritative stamp from Chu Hsi. The following is quoted from the section on "Art in the times of the Five Dynasties and of the Sung Dynasty (907-1279)" in the Japanese Official Guide:

"Criticism, under the influence of the new subjective philosophy of the Sung period, took a fresh turn. Kuo To-hsu (in the Northern Sung Period) interpreted *Chi-yun* (life of the painting) in a subjective way, and pointed out that in the case of all kinds of painting, whether of animate or inanimate objects, the *Chi-yun* apparent in them was the personality of the painter. He said that an artist of noble character was sure to impress his personality on his production and that no skill in the technique could ever confer the refinement and grace which *Chi-yun* implied. He finally came to a bold conclusion that in true art there was no need of technique..... Su Shih (1036-1101) and Huang Shan-ku (1045-1105)..... both held the opinion that the object of painting was not to make a sketch of the external appearance of things, but to give intimation of the life and power immanent in nature."

The *dhyana*-element in art is thus emphasised in the Hindu work, *Sukraniti* (IV. iv. 147-9):

"The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and Yoga. The human maker of images should, therefore, be medi-

tative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)."

Here, then, is the fountain-head* of the neo-Confucianist art.

The Japanese term for *Dhyana* is *Zen*. That this subjective philosophy of Meditation did not promote imbecility in secular life would be evident from the importance that the Buddhist scholars of Japan attach to the *Zen*-factor in the interpretation of their *Bushido* or *Kshatriyaism*. It may be equally argued that Hindu *Samurai*-morality or Militarism was also strengthened by the element of *Samyama*, i.e., temperance or self-restraint, involved in *Dhyana* or *Yoga* discipline.

There is one fact about this Hinduisation of Asia which the most superficial student of mediæval history must notice. Indian missionising in foreign countries—

(1) was not backed up or preceded by military, political or punitive demonstrations of any sort on behalf of the Indian States;

(2) was not carried on at the point of the bayonet or of the machine-gun or with the offer of inducements to a better socio-economic life;

(3) did not imply the direct or indirect domination of a "superior" race over semi-savage tribes or the so-called "arrested" sections of mankind.

It was, in fact, not a visible expression of Hindu Secular Power or the Might of the Indian State. Rather, the apostles of Hindu Culture consecrated their lives to the service of humanity. They

(1) adapted themselves to the manners, customs, sentiments and prejudices of the communities which they adopted as their own, thereby obliterating the distinction between alien and native;

(2) were absolutely non-political and non-commercial representatives of their mother-land, casting their lot with the "flock" which they came to tend;

(3) were deliberately accepted as *gurus* or preceptors by the first-class civilised Powers and the greatest intellectuals among their peoples, who wanted fresh light upon their problems.

Hinduising was thus the transmission of a new life and a new love from an equal to an equal. An "age of chivalry" was that.

* See I. aufer's *Das Citralakshana* in the *Ost-Zeit.* January—March, 1914.

"RINGING GROOVES OF CHANGE" IN ASIA.

Prof. Takakusu makes the following remarks on Japanese Buddhism in *The Fifty Years of New Japan* issued by Marquis Okuma as a manifesto for Japanese Culture after the event of 1905:

"It was not, therefore, a mere transplanting of the Buddhism of India, China, Annam, or of Korea, but a new and distinct form of religion.

Thus Buddhism in Japan has never remained inactive or become effete, but reaction has followed reaction, and reformation reformation—a constant refining and remodelling going on to meet the needs of the people. The old religion cannot satisfy thirsty souls, and this generation requires of the Buddhists not only new activities in their religion, but constantly renewed activity. And if this ancient religion is to come forth into the arena of the twentieth century with fresh vigour and activity, and preach new glad-tidings to the world, it will be the Buddhism of Japan."

To say that the Buddhism of Japan differs from that of China and of India, or that the Japanese Buddhism of the twentieth century will differ from that of the nineteenth as that again has differed from all previous, is to take a perfectly scientific attitude with regard to human civilisation.

A similar philosophic view about Christianity has been put into the mouth of Mr. "Little Boston" by the American humorist Oliver Wendell Holmes in his *Professor at the Breakfast-Table* :

"The divinity-student remarked, that it was rather late in the world's history for men to be looking out for a new faith.

I didn't say a new faith,—said the Little Gentleman ;—old or new, it can't help being different here in this American mind of ours from anything that ever was before ; the people are new, Sir, and that makes the difference.

..... There was a great raft built about two thousand years ago,—call it an ark, rather,—the world's great ark !

It's a slow business, this of getting the ark launched. The Jordan was not deep enough, and the Tiber was not deep enough, and the Rhone was not deep enough, and the Thames was not deep enough."

"It must be done, Sir !—he was saying, —it must be done ! Our religion has been Judaized, it has been Romanized, it has been Orientalized, it has been Anglicized, and the time is at hand when it must be Americanized !"

One might be inclined to smile over these outbursts of local patriotism, but it is impossible to deny the influence of Place and Race on Ideas.

Asiatic Culture is one, but is richly varied. It has grown from epoch to epoch and has changed in its transplantation from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges

to the shores of the Hwang-ho and the Yang-tse, and thence again to those of the Yedo-gawa and the Sumida-gawa. Unfortunately, however, scholars of the last century have been pleased to explain the whole history of Asia by such poetic and sonorous expressions as "unchanging East" or "better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." They have yet to learn that Asiatic history is as dynamic and as good a record of changes as the history of Europe.

Compared with "the 'revolutionary changes that the world has witnessed since the Industrial Revolution of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, the changes in the previous five millenniums must be regarded as insignificant. It may be said that the world had not changed so much from the age of the Pharaohs down to 1815 as it has changed during the last hundred years. Thus considered, Ancient and Mediaeval Europe down to 1815 must be treated as statical and unchanging, without any fundamental difference from Cathay, the proverbial land of sloth and conservatism. "Fifty years of Europe" in the 19th century are "better" than any cycle of Europe in the 17th, 16th, 15th and previous centuries.

Orientalists, sociologists and philosophers should, therefore, remember that it is not safe to take a Tennyson or a Whitman as the guide for historico-comparative investigations.

It was an altogether extraordinary state of things that Tennyson lived to see. The following remarks about his age—

"When more and more the people throng
The chairs and thrones of civil power,
When science reaches forth her arms
To feel from world to world, and charms
Her secret from the latest moon,"

could not be made with regard to any previous age in European history.

Tennyson's optimism was a product of the age which everywhere "rang out the old" "to ring in the new." He was writing of the "forward range" and "the ringing grooves of change," while the whole "old order" was crumbling down before his eyes, and the new order was apparently carrying everybody headlong to "that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

The impulse of the age was equally

potent in stimulating the imagination of Whitman when he wrote:

- "The immortal poets of Asia and Europe have done their work and pass'd to other spheres.
A work remains, the work of surpassing all they have done."

It was an age when the New Englanders of the East coast were expanding towards the "middle West," "farther West," and "farthest West." In that colonising period every Yankee could talk glibly:

"For we cannot tarry here.

We must march, my darlings, we must bear the
brunt of danger.

We the youthful sinewy races, all the rest on us
depend.

Pioneers! O pioneers!

Have the elder races halted?

Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over
there beyond the seas?

We take up the task eternal, and the burden and
the lesson,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

All the past we leave behind,

We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied
world,

Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of
labour and the march,

Pioneers! O pioneers!"

Any one in his cooler moments would see that these lines describe extraordinary conditions. The lofty flights of idealism and progressivism in the English poet-laureate of the Darwinian age and the American poet of the colonising period do not supply the norm by which to express the character of Euro-American civilisation previous to the epoch-making changes.

They cannot be the *sntras* for the West down to 1815. The poet's *dicta*, therefore, should not be the formulae with which to begin the study of Asiatic Culture. Un-biassed students of facts would find in the history of both Asia and Europe almost the same statical or dynamical pictures. Similarly the last "fifty years of new Japan" do not represent the previous fifteen hundred years.

The remarkable achievements and extraordinary successes of one's own generation may lead rhapsodists to poetise over one's race-history and race-destiny; but scientists must not forget to place them in their historical setting and read them in the light of the perspective. As it is, all the social sciences have been vitiated by poetry and race-pride during the last fifty years.

When Tennyson wrote "Cathay" he knew as much of China as we know of the moon. If anybody had suggested to him the name of "Mackay" or of "Pankhay," it would have suited the rhyme of his verse quite well; and as for readers, they would have to consult a *Dictionary of Unfamiliar Names* for 'Cathay' as well as for the others.

But a poet never errs. Therefore the verse is now the basis of sober history and the starting-point of race-theories. Thus an author begins his *Introduction to the History of England* with the following syllogism: "History is a record of changes. The Asiatic peoples have no history, because they have had no changes!"

THE THEORY OF LIFE ASSURANCE

By G. S. MARATHEY, M.A., A.I.A., ACTUARY.

GENERALLY every literate person has heard something about Life Assurance, but there are many even among highly educated people who do not understand how it is possible to pay Rs. 1000 (say) on death when the assured has paid only Rs. 20 or 25, only the day before. There are many other points connected with the principles of Life Assurance, through ignorance of which, a person is made to insure his life in a manner entirely

unsuited to his circumstances by unscrupulous agents of Insurance Companies having little or no respectability. It is very hard for persons of limited means to realize, some time after they have paid their first premium, that the Company in which they have insured, is not a very desirable concern. For Life Assurance Premiums swallow up a large part of one's hard earned savings, and it is a hardship either to forego the premium that has al-

ready been paid or to continue paying the premiums and fulfil a bad bargain. It is desired therefore, in the present article, to give some information about certain important points in connection with Life Assurance. The principal idea in writing the following will be to supply such information as will enable a person, desiring to ensure his life, to discuss intelligently, with a Life Assurance Agent, the merits and defects of the Company which the latter represents and to make the choice of a plan which would be suited to his own circumstances.

Every one among us, especially among those of us who are Hindus, has been so impressed from childhood about the instability of human life, that it would be a surprise to many to learn that even births and deaths are regulated by a sort of Mathematical Law, which, though ordained by the Almighty, can yet be sufficiently gauged, for many practical purposes, by the human mind. Though it is not possible to say when a man will die, it would not be considered foolish to form an opinion whether he is likely to die soon or live long. All business in this world is done with the help of inferences which are generally never perfect on account of the defects in individual reasoning faculty. The science of statistics tries to remove these defects by bringing together the experience of a large number of persons and enabling trained intellects to make use of the same. With the help of the science of statistics, it has been proved that the births and deaths in a large community happen in such a manner as to suggest a law underlying them; and the larger the number of persons in a community which is being observed, the more definite does this law become. This will be evident on considering the rates of mortality in a village, in a town, in a city, or in a district as well as the daily, monthly, or annual mortality in a particular place.

Also it would be more useful to look at these rates relatively rather than absolutely for example such circumstances as whether the population is increasing or decreasing, whether the people are rich or poor, whether the district is healthy or unhealthy, are likely to have great effect upon the rate of mortality. It is impossible to find out what would be the rate of mortality in the absence of all *special* causes, but life-tables can be formed

for particular circumstances and marked distinctions of sex, race, locality, occupation etc Life tables are tables showing the number of persons surviving at every advancing age out of a definite number of persons all of the same commencing age. The principal distinction is that of sex.

I give below some figures from the H.M. table of mortality in which it has been assumed that we are observing the numbers of survivors out of 100,000 males aged 10 years. In 10 years' time only 96,223 of these will have survived. The H.M. (i.e. Healthy Males) table is a table prepared from the observations of male persons in England who had insured their lives from 1833 to 1882. In the first table I am giving the figures for every consecutive year of age from 20 to 25; and in the second I am giving figures for every tenth year of age from 10 onwards and the figures for the last year of age in the table.

H. M. Table—ages 20 to 25

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year	Deaths in year	Deaths per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
20	96,223	609	6.33	42	1
21	95,614	613	6.73	41	4
22	94,971	650	6.84	40	7
23	94,321	638	6.76	39	11
24	93,683	622	6.64	39	2
25	93,061	617	6.63	38	5

H. M. Table Decennial ages

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year	Deaths in year	Deaths per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
10	100,000	499	4.9	56	3
20	96,223	609	6.3	42	1
30	89,865	694	7.7	34	8
40	82,284	848	10.3	27	5
50	72,726	1124	15.5	20	4
....
97	9	9	1000.00	0	6

I also give below similar figures from the O. M. table, which is prepared from the experience of persons insured from 1863 to 1893.

O.M. Table Decennial Ages

Year of age	Alive at beginning of year of age	Deaths in year	Death rate per thousand	Expectation of Life	
				years	months
10	100,000	338	3.38	52	0
20	96,453	390	4.04	43	8
30	91,942	547	5.95	35	9
40	85,467	782	9.15	27	10
50	76,185	1146	15.04	20	7
100	7	4	571.43	1	1
102	1	1	1000.00	0	6

The O table, being the more recent one is of greater importance; and it is more so because the number of persons observed is much larger and the methods employed in the preparation of the table are scientifically more up-to-date.

The last column in the above table does not mean that every person would live over that period; some may die sooner and others would live longer. The figures give the average.

The death rate per thousand is obtained by multiplying the numbers in the third column by a thousand and dividing by the corresponding numbers in the second column.

One of the facts which are noticed from such tables is that the death rate which is very high in infancy diminishes till age 14, then begins to increase upto age 20 or 22, then again diminishes for the next 4 or 5 years of age and after that it keeps on increasing more and more rapidly.

The death rate among females is slightly greater than that among males up to age 50 and then it becomes less. The principal cause of this is the bad effects on health of child-bearing.

The above tables are tables prepared from the experience of select lives, i.e. of persons who had undergone a medical examination at the time of being insured. For this reason and also because these lives belonged to a rather well-to-do class of persons, they were a superior class of lives. These tables are only used for insurance purposes i.e. construction of premiums etc.; but the tables that are usually referred to for most other purposes are tables prepared from population statistics. These are prepared from figures obtained from census enumerations, and show a much higher mortality.

We shall now go on to consider how mortality tables are used for constructing premiums. We shall use the H table and shall first consider, for the sake of simplicity, only temporary assurance, or Term Assurance as it is called, for a period of one year. Suppose a hundred thousand persons, all of twenty years of age, decide to pay a certain sum each, in order that the heirs, of each of those among them who will die in the course of one year, should be able to get Rs. 1000. From the table we may expect that about 663 persons will die during that year. The heirs of these

must receive Rs. 663000 in all. Hence every one should pay Rs 6-10-1. This is called the 'Net Premium'. It may happen however that a larger number, say 700 or 750 persons may die instead of 663. To be prepared against this, it is better to collect a larger amount than the Net Premium. Also some expenses will be incurred for collecting and distributing this large amount of about Rs. 700,000. These, which are called office expenses, have to be charged for in constructing the premium. In addition to this, if a Company is formed for doing all this, the shareholders must get their profit on the capital they have invested. All these additions that are made to the Net Premium are called Loadings.

Of course in the above example no return is to be made in case death does not occur. The return for the contribution made is obtained in the form of freedom from anxiety about the surviving heirs, getting into difficulties for want of funds. If any of these hundred thousand persons are not in good health, or stand a greater chance of dying during the year, they get an undeserved advantage over the others. Hence the necessity for medical examination of all before admission. If the risk of death is not prohibitively great, persons with slightly damaged health may be admitted on payment of an extra premium.

The premium including the loadings would come to about Rs. 10 (not including medical fees or some other charges which are heavy for the first year in ordinary assurances). Why is it then that Insurance Companies charge Rs. 25 or more per annum for Whole Life Assurances? The reason is that the Premium charged by Companies is Uniform for the whole period of payment, not changing from year to year. Also there is no medical examination to undergo every year. The Net Premium for one year's Term Assurance at age 65 would be above Rs. 43, at age 75 it would be above Rs. 981 and at age 95 it would be Rs. 637. The loading would make these figures still higher and there would be the charges for medical examination every year. In case the health is not satisfactory in any year the life would not be acceptable for insurance or a heavy extra may be charged.

Up to now we have considered mortality only. But the rate of interest also plays a large part in the construction of premi-

ums. Out of the Premiums collected in the first year, the expenses and the amount of claims (if any) having been paid, a large balance remains, the interest earned on which forms a respectable addition to the premium income. Hence it is possible to reduce the amount to be received as Premium. The benefits of compound interest may be illustrated by the following figures.

A sum becomes double at 3 p. c. compound interest in 23½ years and 5 p. c. in 14½ years. Rs. 1000 amount in 50 years to Rs. 4381 at 3 p. c. and to more than Rs. 18400 at 5 p. c. A single Rupee at the rate of one per cent. per mensem (Compounded monthly) amounts, in a hundred years, to more than a lakh and a half rupees.

To give a concrete example I shall try to find the premium for an Endowment Assurance for 5 years. The rate of interest I shall assume to be 4 p.c. and for the mortality, in order to simplify the question, I shall assume that there are 100 persons who have insured out of whom 4 die in the first year of assurance, 5 in the second, 6 in the third, 7 in the fourth, and 8 in the fifth; while 70 survive the 5 years. The beneficiaries of each of those who die during the five years will get Rs. 1000 and these assurers who survive the five years will get Rs. 1000 each. If we find the present value of all future receipts and payments we get the following simple equation :

$$100 P + 96 P \times \frac{1}{1.04} + 91 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^2} +$$

$$85 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^3} + 78 P \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^4} \\ + 4 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{1.04} + 5 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^2} \\ + 6 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^3} + 7 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^4} + 8 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^5} + \\ 70 \times 1000 \times \frac{1}{(1.04)^5}$$

where P is the net premium required. It has been assumed that all premiums are paid in the beginning of the year and all claims are paid at the end of the year in which they occur. From the above we get

putting $\frac{1}{1.04} = v$.

$$P = \frac{(4v + 5v^2 + 6v^3 + 7v^4 + 8v^5)}{100 + 96v + 91v^2 + 85v^3 + 78v^4} \times 1000 \\ = 200.384 \text{ nearly}$$

nearly, i. e. a little less than Rs. 200-6-2, which is the premium required. It seems strange that four persons having paid only Rs. 200-6-2 each, their heirs should be able to get Rs. 1000, and so on. To illustrate how this happens, I subjoin a table showing how the Premium receipts and the interest on the funds can meet the claims.

Year	Members alive at beginning of year	Premium Receipts from members		Last year's Balance Brt-Fwd		Total		Int. earned during year at 4 percent.		Funds at end of the year		Deaths during the year	Claims Paid	Balance Carried Forward		
		Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.			Rs.	Rs.	As.
1	100	20,038	6		Nd	20,038	6	801	8	20,839	14	4	4000	16,839	14	
2	96	19,236	13	16,839	14	36,076	11	1443	0	37,519	11	5	5000	32,519	11	
3	91	18,235	0	32,519	11	50,754	11	2030	1	52,784	12	6	6000	46,784	12	
4	85	17,032	10	46,784	12	63,817	6	2552	16	66370	0	7	7000	59,370	0	
5	78	15,630	0	59,370	0	75000	0	3000	0	78,000	0	8	8000	70,000	0	
6	70	At the commencement of this year the surviving 70 members at Rs. 70,000 each and the fund is closed.														

It may be noticed that the Premium which I have calculated is a Net Premium, i. e., there is no provision in it for any other expenses of management etc. The Premiums quoted in Insurance Companies' Prospectuses are called Office Premiums. There are always three considerations when constructing Office Premiums, (1) The table of mortality (2) The rate of interest (3) Office expenses etc. In deter-

mining these it must be borne in mind that these are to be taken such as are likely to be experienced in the future.

About mortality I have already said a good deal. I have also shown what influence the rate of interest exercises in the construction of Premiums. The longer the term of Insurance the greater is the help from interest. About office expenses I have mentioned what they are due to.

These expenses depend partly on the amount of Premium and partly on the sum assured and to a small extent on neither. Agents' Commission, expenses of investment etc. depend on amount of premium; medical fees, policy stamps etc. depend on the sum assured; and establishment charges etc. depend on the number of policies. The part of the Office Premium arising from Office expenses is generally put in as an addition to the Net Premium, which latter takes account only of Mortality and Interest. This addition is made partly in proportion to the premium and partly in proportion to the sum assured. It is not usual to ignore both of these; hence the premium for 5000 is always five times the premium for 1000 (for the same age and the same kind of policy). This course is justified on account of the risk in five policies of 1000 each being more distributed than in a single policy of 5000.

It requires a considerable amount of thinking and care to determine these three elements viz mortality, interest and Expense-loading. The actual loading put in is however somewhat in excess of the loading which is considered absolutely necessary in order to counteract any adverse effects of fluctuation in the rates of mortality and interest assumed for constructing the Premiums. Besides this there is one more Loading—Profit Loading. Insurance companies issue two kinds of policies under the principal plans, participating and Non-participating; or as is more usually known, 'With Profit' and 'Without profit.' The With-profit rates are higher than Without-profit rates, as the former include the Profit Loading. The holders of With-profit policies are entitled to a share in the profit of the Company which usually are such as to more than repay the excess of With-profit premium over the Without-profit premium.

On the other hand they run the risk, in the event of any unexpected losses, to get nothing in return for the excess premium. It is generally desirable, however, to take out a With-profit policy, because these policies provide a margin of safety to the Company and the excess amount paid is very likely to come back with additions in the form of bonus. The profit Loading is greater than the difference between With-profit and Without-profit premium, so that if the expected profits are realised, the With Profit policy is decidedly cheaper than

the Without-Profit Policy. Without-profit policies are taken by over-economical persons and for financial purposes such as providing security for loans, mortgages etc.

The profit of Insurance Companies is derived from (1) the experienced mortality being more favourable (i. e. the deaths being fewer and occurring among persons who have paid a large number of premium) than was anticipated. (2) The rate of interest realised on the funds being greater than what was expected. (3) The expenses, proportionately to the amount of business, being smaller than what were provided for. (4) Lapses, i. e. persons ceasing to pay their premiums and losing the benefits of life assurances; while the amount they have already paid is forfeited to the Company. (5) Surrenders, i. e. persons ceasing to pay any further premiums and giving up their policy in return for only a part of the premiums they have paid; so that the remaining part of the premiums paid by them accrues to the Company. (6) Miscellaneous; such as assignment fees, fines etc.

The total profit, when declared as such, is distributed among shareholders and policy-holders, the former generally receiving one-tenth of it. That part of it which is given to the policy-holders is called Bonus, being offered in three ways at the choice of the policy-holder: (1) Cash Bonus—where a certain sum is given in cash (2) Reversionary Bonus—where the sum assured is increased by a certain percentage without increasing the premium; so that the bonus becomes payable not immediately, but at the same time as the sum—assured. Obviously the amount of this bonus is much larger than that of the Cash Bonus; Reversionary Bonus is of two kinds,—Simple and Compound. In the Simple Reversionary Bonus system the bonus is always given as a percentage addition to the original sum assured. In the compound Reversionary Bonus system, the percentage addition is made to the sum assured including all previously declared bonus additions. For instance, if Rs 75 is the first quinquennial (five-yearly) bonus declared on a policy of Rs 1000 the sum assured becomes Rs 1075. After the next five-years, if the rate of bonus is the same i. e. 7½ p. c., in the Simple Reversionary Bonus system this will be calculated on Rs. 1000 only, while in the Compound Reversionary Bonus

system, it will be calculated on Rs. 1075. Thus the actual bonus addition in the former case would be Rs. 75 and in the latter case it would be Rs. $(75 + 5\frac{1}{2})$ i.e. Rs 80-10-0. The total sum assured in the two systems becomes Rs 1150 and Rs 1155-10-0 (In order to avail oneself as fully as possible of the benefits of insurance, one should never take the bonus in cash) (3) Bonus Reduction of Premium:—Where the sum assured remains unincreased but the premium payable hence-forward is made smaller. This choice is not offered by many Insurance Companies and those companies who do offer discourage this way of utilising the bonus.

Bonus is always declared at the time of the Valuation, which is generally performed every five years or every three years, but mostly every five years on account of the great expense and trouble of a Valuation and also in order that the effects of any occasional fluctuation should be distributed over a large period. If death takes place between two Valuations, an Intermediate Bonus is allowed for the years elapsed since the last Valuation at the same rate as that of the quinquennial Bonus last declared by some Companies, and at a smaller rate by others.

Before proceeding further it would be better to explain what a Valuation is. A Valuation means finding the values of the policies of a Company which are in force. A policy is both an Asset and a Liability from the point of view of a Company, the element of liability being always greater than the element of asset. A policy is an asset in as much as a certain amount is due to be received (in the form of Premiums) from the policy-holder; and it is a Liability in as much as a certain sum is due to be paid on the happening of some event (death or attaining a certain age). The liability is greater than the asset, because, out of every premium received, some part is used up towards expenses and current claims and most of the remaining part has to be reserved to accumulate, so that the total amount becomes equal to the sum assured when this becomes payable. In order to find out this amount which must be reserved it is necessary to calculate the value of the liability element and the asset element of a policy separately. The difference is the Net Liability and as such has to be reserved. To calculate the liability element, it is necessary to find out

when the sum assured is likely to become payable so that the present value of the amount is the liability. For the asset element we must know how many premiums are likely to be received. To explain this still better we shall take our previous illustration viz. 4 persons out of 100 dying in the first year, 5 dying in the second year, 6 in the third, etc. Let us consider the values of the Liability and asset elements at the commencement of a policy (Eondoment Assurance 5 years). Then for valuing the liability it is assumed that $\frac{4}{100}$ of the sum assured will become payable at the end of the first year, $\frac{5}{100}$ at the end of the second year, and so on. The total of the present values of $\frac{4}{100}$ payable at the end of the first year etc. is the total present liability. Similarly we calculate the value of the asset element. The total of one premium received now and the present values of $\frac{5}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the first year, of $\frac{4}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the second year, of $\frac{5}{100}$ of the premium receivable at the end of the third year etc. is the total present asset. The fewer the number of years remaining before the sum becomes payable, the greater becomes the liability element and the smaller becomes the asset element; and hence the Net Liability, which is the excess of the former over the latter, goes on increasing rapidly. Finding the total Net Liability for all policies in force on the books of the Company is called a Valuation which involves the use of Mortality and Interest Tables. An expert in these calculations is called an Actuary. (He is thus the proper person to construct tables and Premium Rates) The Net Liability found out by the Actuary has to be reserved out of the funds in hand, and the balance, if any, is then utilised for distribution as profits. If on account of greatly expensive management, or large financial losses, or unexpectedly heavy mortality, the funds in hand, though apparently large, are less than the Net Liability found as above by the Actuary, the Company is said to be insolvent (unless the unpaid share capital is sufficient to cover the deficit). The Net Liability is generally called the Reserve, because so much amount has to be reserved for future payment. As in calculating Premiums, the Actuary has to use considerable discretion in determining what Mortality Table and what Rate of Interest shall be adopted as the basis of a

Valuation. The Actuaries have therefore to investigate from time to time how far the Mortality Tables constructed in the past have justified their adoption and to prepare new Tables based on the most recent experience and constructed by the most up-to-date scientific methods. To do this efficiently it requires a greatly organized effort on a large scale which is undertaken from time to time by the Institute of Actuaries of London and the Faculty of Actuaries of Edinburgh. According to the Insurance Companies' Act, the Valuation of an Insurance Company must be performed every five years and the results certified by a qualified Actuary. The qualifications conferred by only the above two Institutions are recognised by the British and Indian Governments. Though it is not enacted what Table of Mortality and what Rate of Interest should be assumed by an Actuary, the Actuary is required to report to the Government as to what bases he has taken for his valuation and what methods he has followed; and as these reports are published by the Government, a check is thus created upon the discretion of the Actuary. It would be interesting to consider the Valuations already performed by Actuaries of Indian Companies; but as it would necessitate discussing the characteristics of different Mortality Tables and the relation of the Rate of Interest to the Money Market, I shall not go into the subject. I may briefly mention however that the Rate of Interest assumed in the recent Valuations of Indian Companies varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. to 4 p.c. and the Tables of Mortality generally adopted are the O^M or $O^{M(s)}$ with or without an addition of 5 to 7 years to the age. It may be mentioned that the higher the rate of interest assumed, the smaller comes out the Reserve or Net Liability. It may be similarly said in general (though this may be incorrect in some cases) that the better the mortality, assumed for Valuation, the smaller comes out the Reserve. A smaller Reserve means a larger surplus for distribution as profit. A part of every future premium, being required for future expenses, cannot be considered as an asset and hence it is necessary to adopt for the valuation only a part of the Premium, this being

called the Valuation Premium and to leave the balance untouched, calling it 'Loading Reserve for Future Expenses'. The percentage of such premium reserved in the recent Indian Companies' Valuations varies from 6 p.c. to 28 p.c.. The question of what percentage of premium should be reserved for expenses is one giving rise to great difference of opinion, inasmuch as this question depends for its solution upon a number of conditions which might be judged differently by different Actuaries in point of importance. The expenses made on New Business of every Company are very high generally, swallowing up almost the whole of, or sometimes more than, the first Premium. Hence the percentage of expenses to premium income depends largely on the proportion of New Business to the total Business on the books. Another point is the total amount of business; an increase in the amount of business does not involve any proportionate increase in the office expenses. Hence there is much room for difference of opinion. The assumption, for future expenses, of a very low percentage, however, such as 6 to 10 per cent. cannot be justified unless the first year's expenses have been very small indeed and unless the renewal commission also is very small. It is usual in a Valuation so to arrange that a large part of the first year's heavy expenses are to be recovered from all the subsequent years' Premiums. Hence usually the 'Loading Reserved' for future expenses is generally more than 20 p.c. of the premiums, particularly in the case of plans with a moderate number of payments of premium.

One part of a Life Assurance Company's business is to grant Annuities. Life Annuities are not very popular in India but they are common in the West. A certain lump sum is to be paid to the Company, in return for which, the Company binds itself to pay to the annuitant a fixed amount every year (or at shorter periods if so arranged) so long as he is alive. The younger the annuitant the more likely is he to live, and the larger is the lump sum he has to pay to the Company for purchasing the annuity. No return is made however if the annuitant dies early, because a balance has to be created between those who die early and those who live very long.

IS MUSIC A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE ?

BY MARGARET E. COUSINS, BACHELOR OF MUSIC OF THE ROYAL
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IN a vague way the idea is prevalent that, whereas the languages spoken by different races all over the world constitute an obstacle to mutual understanding and exchange of ideas, in music is to be found a medium of expression which will override all the barriers of speech, and which will appeal similarly to all peoples ; in short, music is generally thought of as a universal language.

No better illustration need be given of how far from that this idea is than the story current about the Shah of Persia's visit to a London concert. By mistake he arrives before the hour appointed for the concert, but in time to hear the preliminary tuning up of the thirty violins, numerous cellos, clarmets, brasses and many other instruments which combine to form the orchestra. When the din of tuning ceased he turned to leave saying he had enjoyed the concert music immensely ! And truly so great is the gulf fixed between certain types of music that he probably had found more affinity between the chaotic mingling of disconnected sounds and his Eastern taste in music than he would have discovered in the finished concert performance in the Western mode.

Yet the experience of the recently held All-India Conference of Music at Baroda showed that, despite differences of vernaculars which prevented the musicians gathered together from all quarters of India from enjoying verval interchange, in their musical performances they had a common language of emotion similarly understood by all. The same holds good with regard to Western music, which produces the same effect on its hearers, be they French, Russian, or German, or English. Thus it is undoubtedly true that within certain bounds music has the characteristics of a universal language. Yet if the Baroda musicians and European musicians had played and sung to one another the certainty is that they would have bored one another to death, failed

to understand one another, and had their faith shaken in the idea of music being a universal language.

The sounds used as the material of music are practically the same everywhere, but in the development of the art of combining sounds in ways which through custom have become pleasant to the ear, such divergences have occurred as cause one at first almost to despair of ever bringing about a "rapprochement" between the musical conventions of East and West. An examination of the many points still, however, held in common, and the renaissance of Indian self conscious interest in music will, nevertheless, show that the gulf between the two great systems may still be bridged and the universality of music's appeal become an established fact.

In the East, the 12 swaras, in the West the 12 semitones within the octave, represent the same sounds and form the basis of all music. The art of singing is common to both systems, though the methods of voice production vary : The tonic-solfa notation of the West or method of writing down the names of sounds, is similar to the Eastern notation. The desire to express and convey an emotion to another is the aim of singing in both hemispheres, its effect being reinforced by accompanying instruments. Both systems contain beautiful melodies, repeated with embellishments, in the West known as "Airs with Variations," in the East as "Ragams." Both systems sprang from a common origin lost in the mists of time, and travelled along the same paths of development right up through Grecian times and Grecian influence till the 11th century, so that the old church music before Pope Gregory's time is similar in its general character and its bourdon bass to much of the Indian music of to-day with its single-string sustained-note accompaniment, while the Scottish bag pipes

might even be mistaken for certain Eastern instruments—so alike are they.

The end of the Middle Ages saw the beginnings of great changes in Western music. From experiments in causing the drone accompaniment note to follow the melody instead of remaining fixed the whole system of musical harmony arose and proceeded so rapidly by the aid of mechanical improvements in the construction of new musical instruments that now the distinguishing feature of Western music is its reliance on harmony, whereas harmony is conspicuous by its absence in Eastern music. "It is the pride of Indian music that it is the same as it was centuries ago, yet that is an evidence of stagnation rather than of life, for change is a law of life in any sphere. During these centuries Eastern musicians have used their energy in the classification of existent, rather than the creation of new musical forms; in tabulating mathematical laws underlying the elaboration of the old *ragas* rather than in soaring to fresh flights of song, fancy-free.

The resultant is the amazement of the Eastern musician when to his first question "How many *ragas* have you?" the Western answers "literally innumerable;" and the equal astonishment of the latter at the statement that the Indians have 1440 *ragas* well-known to professional musicians! With the one every fresh composition is an original production built upon one of the two scales only used in modern music; with the other though the scales are more numerous, no fresh *ragas* are now possible.

So also one remembers the amazed delight of an Indian singer of culture on hearing a simple vocal quartette by western amateurs, when for the first time he discovered how consonant sounds at different pitches sung together enriched the melody and produced a new effect.

The West has exhausted the resources of the two scales or modes to which it had limited itself as its vessels of musical exploration. The only hope of further expansion is through a growing knowledge and use of the many Eastern scales in daily use, as the bases of the 32 *Melakartha ragas*. In exchange, the East should experiment in harmonising their *ragas* and in widening their form. Greater mutual knowledge would disprove the Western idea that all Eastern music is monoto-

nous, and the latter's delusion that Western music is disconnected, abrupt, discordant and formless.

The great difficulty in the way of exchanging knowledge is absence of a method of expressing sounds on paper common to the two systems. Some musicians at the historic Baroda Conference considered that Gramophone records would act as the future method of writing music, but these will never help the study of the construction. As the art of Indian music develops—for expand and change it must—some different method of musical notation will become imperative. That used in the West can cover every sound used in Indian music and if only it be adopted there will be every chance of interchange of musical knowledge, to the mutual enrichment of both the great divisions of music.

That the Eastern notation could not meet the needs of Western music is proved by the fact that the latter discarded its own Tonic-Solfa system as India has incorporated the terminology of Western science in its vocabulary; it will soon realise the desirability of learning also and using the more concise system of Western musical symbolism. Then only will the way be opened to share with the world the secret of Eastern music contained in its intense subjectivity, one-pointedness, harmonious adjustment to times and seasons, and belief in the Gandharvas.

Modern music is democratic in essence. It aims at the greater good of the greater number. Its method, of combination rather than unity, increases the area of pleasure and happiness in the world. It is the exponent of God in the Many, whereas ancient music used its voice as the path of sound leading to ecstatic union with its source, it sought God in the One, and aimed at liberation from the world, rather than improvement of conditions of the world.

Both ideals are true and necessary, and eventually by their fusion a greater system of music will evolve which will be their synthesis. Written in symbols common to all countries, using basic scales to which the hearing of all people will have become accustomed, this music of the future will become so capable of world-wide appeal as truly to merit being called a universal language.

MADAME OF THE SECOND FLOOR

BY WILLIAM LE QUEUX,

Author of "The House of Whispers," "The Invasion," &c.

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I CLIPPED my heels together, and bowed low over the gloved hand of the stout Countess von Wahlstalt, being afterwards warmly greeted by her white-bearded husband, the German Ambassador, as I entered the great ball-room of the Embassy in the Rue de Lille.

All the monde of Paris seemed to have assembled there, while we of the diplomatic corps made a brave show, with our gold-braided uniforms and glittering decorations.

Shorn of its tinsel and trappings, our fast living, intriguing little world of diplomacy—that world which revolves around the thrones of Europe—would be a sad and sorry circle, each member of it struggling for love, favours, supremacy, or secret knowledge of political undercurrents.

Our own staff from the Rue de Faubourg St. Honore were all there, from Lord Ashthorpe, the Ambassador, down to the youngest attache. Monsieur le President was present, wearing the crimson riband of the Legion d'Honneur, and with him several Cabinet Ministers and many officials with their chattering and often commonplace women folk.

The balls at the German Embassy were always among the smartest functions in Paris, the residence of the representative of the Kaiser, with its spacious salons and wonderful cut glass chandeliers, being admirably adapted for entertaining upon a lavish scale. The orchestra was playing one of Strauss's most tuneful waltzes, and the scene was a perfect kaleidoscope of colour, the gowns of smart Parisiennes contrasting artistically with the brilliant uniforms of the men who were serving their various sovereigns abroad.

As I strolled forward I noticed Gerald Ramsden, one of our attaches, seated with Stella Mansfield, a pretty, dark-haired, sweet-faced girl in a simple but extremely effective gown of pale carnation chiffon. Truly they were a very handsome pair,

and every one in that white-and-gold salon knew how intensely they adored each other. Gerry was one of my particular chums, for we had been up at Oxford together, had entered the diplomatic service in the same year; and while he had served at Rome, Lima, and the Sublime Porte before being appointed as attache to Paris, I had led a wandering and somewhat adventurous life, moving backwards and forwards across the face of Europe as a member of the British Secret Service.

I halted before the pair, and, bowing, paid my respects to the daughter of the great Sheffield ironmaster whose wife preferred the cosy flat on the second floor in the aristocratic Rue Bayard for the greater part of the year, to the big country mansion in Northamptonshire, or the mediæval castle and shooting which her money-grubbing husband had recently purchased in the Highlands.

Stella had been in London for three weeks, and Gerry had been daily at my apartment, inert and disconsolate. Without his well-beloved, he was nowadays always at a loose end.

Only that morning had she returned to Paris, therefore I welcomed her, telling her how Gerry had been visibly pining for her return.

"You really are too bad, Mr. Verrier," exclaimed the pretty girl, pouting and raising her sequin fan threateningly. "You are too fond of chaffing us. I don't know why we should be the laughing-stock of everybody."

"Because everybody is jealous of your mutual happiness," I said with diplomatic endeavour. "But I see your step-mother yonder with the Belgian Minister. I must cross to speak with her."

"Don't," urged the girl. "I'm—well, I'm rather cross with mother. She's vexed me to-day very much."

"I'm sorry for that," I said. "How?"
"Something she has said—something

which need not be repeated," replied the girl, whose annoyance had become the more marked, evidently surprising her lover.

"Never mind," I laughed. "Gerry will quickly put matters right. Your step-mother is awfully fond of him, you know."

The girl was silent, her dark brows knit very slightly. I saw that Gerry regarded her with a distinctly puzzled expression.

"Who is that young fellow speaking to her now?" I inquired, as a tall, dark-haired man, rather foppishly dressed, and wearing a gold-rimmed monocle, stood with his gloved hands behind his back as he bent to laugh with the elderly, well-dressed Englishwoman who for the past three years had been so well known in the best society in Paris.

"Oh, only one of mother's new friends," replied the girl. "His name is Somers."

"English, then?"

She nodded in the affirmative, and leaving the happy pair I was at once button-holed by Galli, the Italian councillor of Embassy, who had a tit-bit of scandal to relate concerning a fracas on the previous night at the Travellers, and an impending duel as result.

The ball differed in no respect from the dozens of similar functions where we of the diplomatic corps are compelled to be on show. In my capacity of secret service agent, I kept my eyes and ears well open, for there were at that moment strange and rather absurd rumours regarding an entente between Italy and France, and at Downing Street they were thirsting for information concerning the exact position of affairs.

I had a couple of dances with the Marchesa Spinola, the dark-haired, well-dressed wife of the Italian Ambassador, and just before two o'clock drove back to my apartment in the Boulevard Periere.

I had taken off my uniform, and in the ease of dressing-gown and slippers was enjoying a final cigar before turning in, calmly reflecting upon certain political information I had gathered that evening, when suddenly Gerry, pale-faced and agitated, burst into my room.

"It's all over, Jack!" he exclaimed, sinking into an armchair. "My engagement with Stella is broken. I—I—" And his voice trembled with emotion.

"Broken!" I gasped, staring at the

poor fellow. "How? Tell me all about it."

"I left before you did, and drove home with Stella and her mother. On arrival Mrs. Mansfield expressed a wish to speak with me alone. I followed her into the petit salon, where calmly and deliberately, she told me that her husband and herself had decided that my means were insufficient to provide properly for Stella, and that therefore they withdrew their consent to our marriage. I—I was staggered," he said in a hoarse whisper. "I ran to Stella, but she only burst into tears. She made no protest except to declare: 'I will never marry that man Somers—never!'"

"Is there some suggestion of her marrying that fellow, then?" I asked quickly.

"Yes. Stella afterwards admitted to me that her step-mother had that morning on her return from London told her plainly that Somers had asked for her hand, and that both her father and herself had consented."

"But surely Somers is quite a new acquaintance!" I exclaimed.

"The Mansfields have decided that he is to marry Stella," cried the unhappy fellow. "What am I to do? That woman is my enemy. She has been all along. But I will defy her. I will marry the woman I love!"

He seemed beside himself with grief and anger. I tried to console him, but without avail, and presently, with a fierce imprecation against Mrs. Mansfield, he went forth again. From my balcony I watched him until he had disappeared along the silent boulevard.

Then I sat down and wondered what strange reason there could be for Mrs. Mansfield's curious decision.

Next day I saw nothing of Gerry, and the following day I was out at Versailles with two English cousins and did not go down to the Embassy. We lunched at the gay Hotel des Reservoirs, and spent some hours viewing the ancient splendours of the Palace. It was not before seven o'clock that I returned to the Boulevard Periere.

While dressing for dinner, Jules, my man remarked:

"That affair in the Rue Bayard is a very strange one, is it not, m'sieur—the mysterious murder of an English lady?"

"Murder!" I exclaimed. "What, Apaches again?"

"No, m'sieur. A lady named Mansfield

was found by a servant shortly after twelve o'clock to-day in her apartment, stabbed to the heart."

I started, too amazed to utter a word.

"Here is the newspaper," Jules said, as he placed the journal in my hand.

In breathless eagerness I scanned the brief report it contained, and learnt that at half-past ten o'clock Mrs. Mansfield's daughter, Stella, had gone out to the Rue de Lubeck for her painting lesson, and half an hour later the man-servant having gone out upon an errand and the cook being away making her morning purchases, as is the habit in Paris, Mrs. Mansfield had despatched her maid Clotilde with a note addressed to a certain Monsieur George Somers, staying at the Hotel Ritz, in the Place Vendome.

The maid, on returning, had opened the door with her latch-key, and was in the flat fully twenty minutes before she made the ghastly discovery that her mistress was lying dead behind the door of the *salle-a-manger*, having been struck down by the hand of an assassin. The room was in disorder, and some antique plate was missing. The girl had raised the alarm, the police had been telephoned for, and Monsieur Bottin, the famous Chef du Surete, was already making the most exhaustive inquiries.

I took up my telephone instrument and got through to Gerald Ramsden's apartment in the Rue de Varenne. I recognised the voice of Pierre, his servant, who responded.

"Monsieur left this morning at eight o'clock—for London, I believe. He said he should be absent a week. I am sending his letters to his club in London," the man said in reply to my inquiry.

From Jackson, who was on duty at the Embassy, I could gather nothing definite. Gerry had not been there that day.

This caused me to wonder. Why was he absent from his post without leave of the Chief?

An inquiry over the telephone to the flat in the Rue Bayard elicited no reply. The place was, of course, in the hands of the police.

I went forth to find Stella, and after several hours of inquiry discovered her at the house of Madame Bouchard, a friend of her step-mother.

The police had already closely questioned her, it seemed. But beyond what was in

the papers she knew nothing. I made inquiry concerning Gerry, but she was too upset to be inclined to talk. Indeed, her thoughts were, I knew, running in the same direction as my own. It was, to say the least, a suspicious circumstance that he should have gone to London without first obtaining leave of absence.

I recollected those dark threats he had uttered against the woman who had stood between him and happiness, that frenzy of madness which has seized him, and his intense jealousy of George Somers.

Next morning the Paris papers were full of "The Affair of the Rue Bayard," and having on more than one occasion in my capacity of secret service agent met the great detective, Jules Bottin, I called upon him at noon at the Prefecture.

The stout, round-faced man in gold pince-nez was instantly interested when I explained that I had known the dead woman.

"The affair of the Rue Bayard is certainly very curious," he said. "The motive of the murder was revenge—not robbery. To me it seems quite plain that Madame Mansfield purposely sent out the servant because she wished to receive some visitor in secret. That visitor came, and——"

"He killed her," I said.

"How do we know? She may have been killed after her friend left."

"I see by the papers that she sent a note to a man named Somers, at the Ritz," I remarked.

"Yes. Here it is," and he placed before me a note in the dead woman's well-known hand—a few scribbled lines which read:

"Dear George,—I spoke to both Stella and Gerald last night. Their engagement is broken. Soon you will be my son-in-law, and then I shall congratulate you. Keep away from me for a few days, as your absence will obviate unpleasantness. Au revoir, MAUD MANSFIELD."

"And where is Somers?"

"In Paris—under observation. Your friend and colleague, Gerald Ramsden, had every motive to be incensed against the dead woman. He has left for London—he left Paris at noon—half an hour after the affair—and not by the 9.50 from the Gare du Nord, as his man supposes. You see," said Bottin, smiling in triumph through his glasses, "I have not been idle, M'sieur Verrier!"

"Then to put it plainly, you suspect my friend?"

"It is more than suspicious. Yesterday morning, soon after half-past six, Ramsden met Stella Mansfield clandestinely in the Avenue des Champs Elysees, at the corner of the Avenue Marigny. He told her something—something which she refuses to divulge."

"And you have telegraphed to London, of course—if your suspicion is so strong," I said bitterly, for the regrettable affair would cause a terrible scandal throughout our service.

"Two of my agents left for London by the four o'clock train yesterday. They arrived there last night."

"I'll not believe Gerry to be guilty of murder!" I cried. "That woman treated him badly, but he was not the man to commit such a cold-blooded crime."

"Probably it was committed in hot blood. I have ascertained that he was furious and beside himself with anger on the night before."

Then, controlling my feelings by dint of great effort, I related to the famous detective what had occurred at the German Embassy, and its curious sequel.

"Now," I added, "who is this stranger George Somers, and why should he so suddenly desire to marry a girl he has hardly ever seen?"

Bottin slowly stroked his beard. Then, in silence, he removed his pince-nez and polished them with his handkerchief.

"Yes," he admitted at last, "there is certainly some mystery about him—and depend upon it, Monsieur Verrier, there is more in this curious affair than at present appears."

"But you suspect Gerald Ramsden of the crime?"

"Most certainly. While Somers had everything to gain by the lady's friendship, remember, your friend Ramsden had everything to gain by her death!"

Such an argument I could not refute. As Bottin was just going round to the Rue Bayard in order to go through Madame's papers and effects, I begged leave to accompany him. I knew the flat well, a handsome apartment, luxuriously furnished, as became the Paris residence of a man worth at least a million sterling.

As we entered the large drawing-room I saw, upon a side table, a cabinet portrait of Somers in a silver frame. There was another in the fumoir; therefore I begged the loan of the latter and placed it in my

pocket. Suspicion had fallen upon Gerry, and it was my duty, as his friend, to save him if possible; indeed, at all hazards to prevent a British diplomatist being arrested for murder.

During three hours Bottin, aided by two of his agents, made careful investigation of every scrap of paper to be found in the place. Mr. Mansfield had been telegraphed for from Sheffield, but a reply had been received that he had unfortunately sailed from Liverpool for New York on business only the day before.

By the mail that night I left the Gare du Nord for London, and next morning found Gerry at his brother's rooms in Bruton Street.

When I approached the distasteful subject he remained pale and silent. His face was haggard, his eyes showed signs of sleeplessness, and he was restless and greatly agitated. He related how on the previous day he had been followed everywhere by two detectives.

"Look here, Gerry," I said when we were alone, "the police know that early on the morning of the tragedy you met Stella at the corner of the Avenue Marigny, and that you told her something. What was it?"

"I told her a secret—a secret that I had learnt the night previously."

"Of what?"

He hesitated for a second, then replied:

"No. I—I really can't tell you, Jack. Please do not ask me, I beg of you."

"That fellow Somers is the assassin, is he not?" I asked in a low, strained voice.

"No," he answered hoarsely. "The fellow may be a low blackguard, and worse, but—but he—he did not—kill Mrs. Mansfield. He must not be arrested. You understand, Jack—" he cried wildly. "You understand my meaning?"

I nodded. My heart was too full for words.

I left the house utterly dumbfounded. My friend's wild words rang in my ears. Bottin's surmise was correct!

What could be the nature of that secret which Gerry had refused to reveal to me?

In sheer desperation I took a taxi down to Scotland Yard, and was fortunate in finding my old friend, Inspector Taylor of the Criminal Investigation Department, in his office.

"Yes," he said, when I had explained the object of my visit, "we have been much interested in that Paris mystery. The French

police have not consulted us, or we might have placed quite another complexion upon the affair."

"How?" I gasped eagerly.

"The murdered woman sent a note to a certain man named Somers before she was killed—according to the 'Matin.' Now if that is the same Somers, I happen to know him well."

"Here is his photograph!" I cried, taking the picture from my pocket.

"Yes," he said slowly, as his eyes fell upon it. "The explanation of Mrs. Mansfield's sudden anxiety for this man to marry her step-daughter is not very far to seek. Seven years ago I arrested at Norwood Maud Thurston, as she was then, and George Somers, an engraver, for the ingenious forgery of French hundred-franc notes. The woman was sentenced at the Old Bailey to two years' imprisonment, while he, an old offender, got nine years. When she came out she apparently married Mansfield, who was a widower, his daughter Stella being then at school in Lucerne. Mrs. Mansfield preferred Paris, where she was not known, to London, where she might perhaps be recognised. Somers was released on ticket-of-leave six months ago, and no doubt went to his former associate, suggesting that if she would bring about his marriage with Stella he would keep a still tongue. Mrs. Mansfield would naturally be compelled to submit, and so keep her husband in ignorance of the truth."

"And who killed Mrs. Mansfield?"

"Your friend Ramsden. He somehow learnt the truth, and in a frenzy of hatred against the woman who had been to prison, and who, in order to shield herself, would sell her husband's daughter, made a secret appointment and struck her down," Taylor replied. "Bottin, over in Paris, will find I am correct," he added. And just then the telephone-bell at his elbow rang, and he received an urgent call to the other end of London.

I returned to Gerry, and told him what Taylor had said.

"Yes," he replied in a low hoarse voice, "it was that secret which I had learnt. A man, an ill-dressed Italian, was awaiting me outside my rooms on my return from the Embassy the night before last, and told me the amazing story. At first I thought him mad, but——" And he hesitated.

"And you told Stella on the following morning—eh?"

He nodded in the affirmative, his haggard countenance blanched to the lips.

"Look here, Gerry," I said, standing astride before him. "Stella knows who killed Mrs. Mansfield. She was there—in the apartment."

"How do you know that?" he gasped, starting and staring at me as though confronted by an apparition.

"By your own attitude," I said quietly. "Stella knows the truth. Why will she not speak? She must!"

"You will never obtain the truth from her, because—because——" and he whispered in a voice so low as to be almost inaudible—"because of me! She—she still loves me—ah! yes, Jack—we still love each other."

I was silent. The hard-set face of the man before me held me speechless.

"This mysterious Italian—who was he?" I asked at last. "What did he know?"

"Everything."

"His name?"

"His real name was Thurston—he was her son, born and bred in Italy. She had discarded him years ago. Then he had molested her, and upon her false testimony he had been sent to prison."

"And he has had his revenge!" I cried. "It was he who exposed her to you—he who went there next day, and killed her."

"I did not tell you that," he said very calmly. "He told me the truth, Jack, but I have not betrayed him, neither has Stella—who returned unexpectedly and actually saw her step-mother struck down."

"Ah!" I cried in relief. "Why have you led me to suppose that you, my friend, Gerry Ramsden, was an assassin?"

"Because I refused to betray the man who had, by his information, given Stella back to me," was his calm reply. "On that fateful morning I went to the Rue Bayard in order to face the infamous woman—to defy her. But on arrival at the door my ring remained unanswered, and I turned away, never dreaming that Stella had just slipped out, horrified, having stood beside her step-mother—lying dead. I knew that Mrs. Mansfield had a secret appointment with her son, but I never anticipated such a tragedy. I left Paris because—because I feared that some unfortunate circumstance must arise—because——"

"And her son? Where is he?"

"If Bottin goes to his lodgings in the Rue Bague, number fourteen, he will find him dead. See, I had this note from him, sent me by Pierre, this morning." And he showed me a dirty scrap of paper which left no doubt that the assassin had taken his own life.

Half an hour later I telegraphed to Bottin, and at seven o'clock that same night received a response that the body of the murderer of Madame Mansfield had been discovered.

The truth concerning the affair has

never been made public until now, and Mr. Mansfield, a most estimable man, has happily never learnt the infamy of the woman who had become his second wife.

The ex-convict Somers swiftly disappeared into oblivion, fearing another charge which Inspector Taylor held against him, while last April Stella and Gerry were happily wedded at St. James's, Piccadilly, he having been transferred as second secretary to His Majesty's Embassy to the Court of St. Petersburg.

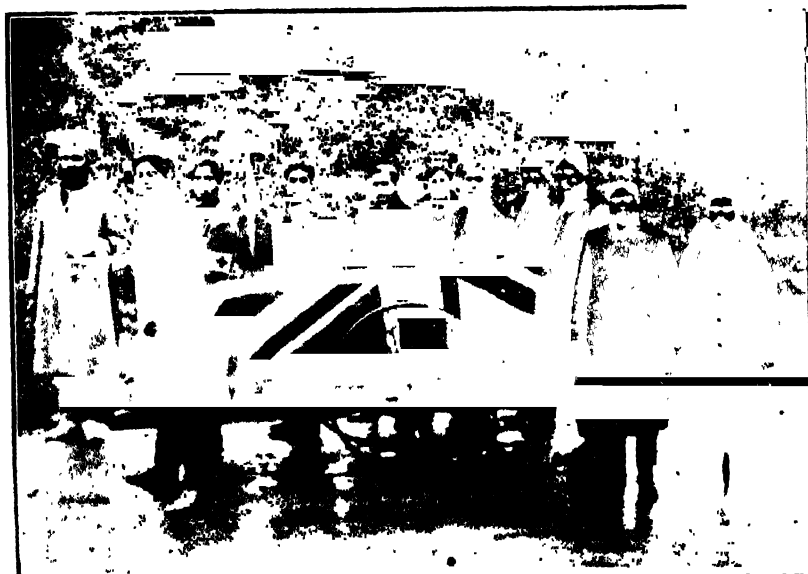
THE BURNING GHAT

IT was a glorious summer evening. The air was full of the sweet smell of flowers and the song of the birds. Everywhere was calm and quiet. The leaves on the trees quietly whispered to each other as the gentle breeze stirred them, the grasshoppers hopped merrily about, the moths fluttered gently by with the breeze, intent on making the most of their brief existence. Here and there a stray squirrel whisked by with a great flourish of its bushy little tail, as if ashamed of being seen out so late, and all the world seemed peaceful and at rest.

How beautiful! I said to my companion—how beautiful it all is! We were standing in the shade of a magnificent oak tree which spread out its branches like great arms as if to protect all the world. There seemed a strange hush over everything, an expectant hush as if the world were waiting for something that did not come. Listen! I said to my companion. In the distance, far away there came a sound of

singing, or rather chanting. Nearer it came, and as it drew closer the more grand and thrilling became the singing until my whole soul seemed to respond and I stood as one transfixed.

Then I looked and in the distance was a little body of men, walking slowly with measured tread, still singing, and in the midst of them was something they carried on a stretcher, a something covered with the Union Jack. Slowly they passed the



Carrying the dead body of a wounded soldier to the burning ground.

place where I stood. Softly and musically tell the chant from their lips which gradually swelled in volume and feeling until again I felt that strange exultation and my whole heart respond to the singing. With bowed head and clasped hands the singers passed on—tall Sikhs broken in the war. Some could only limp along. Others had their arms in slings or alas an empty coat sleeve pinned to their side, but all passed along towards the little building in the distance, where their friend and comrade who had succumbed to his wounds, would receive the last rites of his religion.

The building was more like a tent than anything else. In the middle of it a stream had been made which was full of running water, and over this the funeral pyre had been built. Quietly the little procession drew near, and then from underneath the Union Jack—the flag he had served so nobly and so well—the body of the dead warrior was taken and reverently placed upon the pyre.

Around the pyre the little company gathered with clasped hands. I noticed the look of exultant pride which seemed to flash from their eyes as they gazed at the recumbent figure on the pyre. There was no selfish grief depicted on the faces of these



The dead body has been brought to the burning ground.

splendid warriors, rather it was a look of gladness, of pride, that their friend should have died in such a cause and in such a way. Truly these men are marvellous, was the thought that flashed through my mind while my own eyes grew misty.

The wisdom of the East is often beyond the comprehension of the West. But they were singing again—and this time something grand and stirring, which sounded to me like a battle march, and then a mournful chant in which they seemed to bid him farewell. Then from the group advanced a tall handsome Sikh, and taking a taper, he lighted the pyre, whilst the rest stood around with hands clasped as if in prayer. Quietly they stood like statues while the smoke curled up and the flames ate away the wood.



Last rites being performed on the burning pyre

It was a strange sight, a weird sight to me and my heart felt like bursting as they turned away and slowly disappeared in the distance. The tears filled my eyes so that pyre and smoke and everything else was blurred and indistinct. A great sob rose in my throat when in the distance again I heard that chant—so grand, so exultant, so full of hope and gladness—that my tears were swept away and my soul was comforted. But the music of that chant still lives with me—a sweet solace in weary workday hours, and a grand inspiration in wakeful nights—and although the incidents connected with it were so sad, yet I would



Dead body of a wounded soldier burning

give much to hear that chant again, sung by those broken warriors in the calm and quiet of a summer evening.

EVA WILLIS.

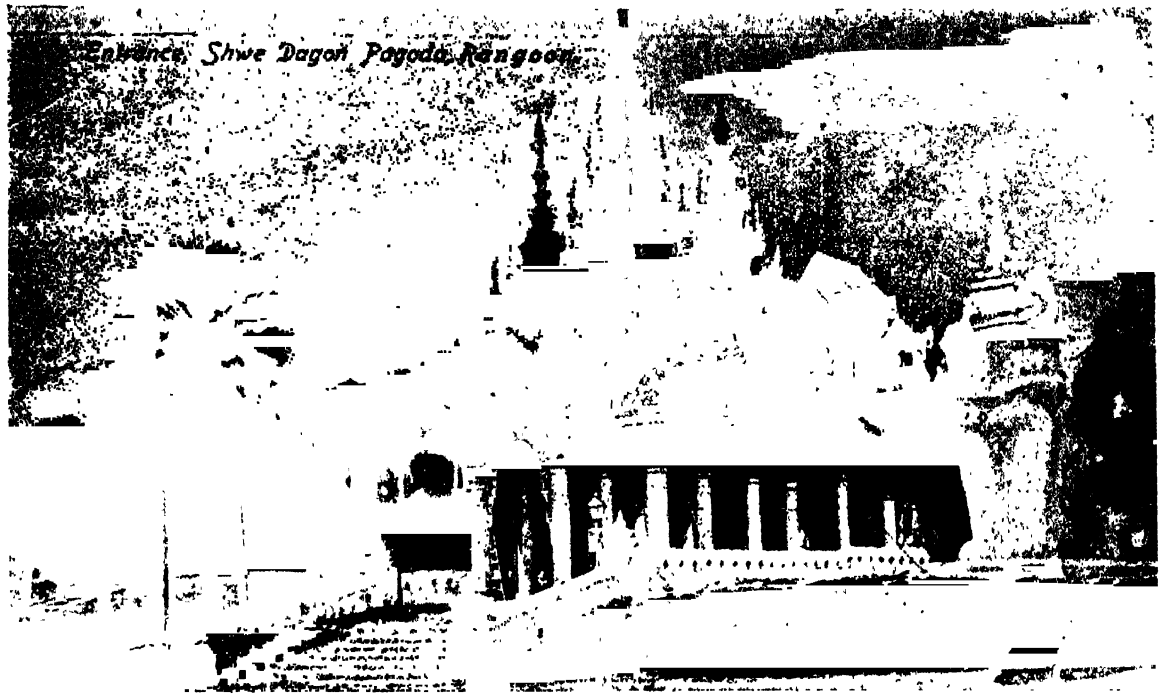
GLIMPSES OF LIFE IN THE LAND OF PAGODAS

BY MANILAL MADHAVLAL PURANIK.

THE life in the Silken East with its luxuriant foliage and abundant supply of water of the Irrawaddy is very charming. No sooner does a stranger set foot on the land of Burma, than he naturally becomes keenly interested about the people of the land. The dress and the manners of the Burmese people at the outset creates a favourable impression on the foreigner. Much unlike in India. Burmese women here do take a prominent part in the dealings of the land. Despite the facts that the Burmese Buddhists make no provision for the elementary education of girls there is more equality between the sexes than among other Eastern races. Indeed in many respects the women in Burma enjoy freedom and independence far ahead of what as yet prevails among Western Nations. To call a woman the "weaker vessel" would indeed be a misnomer. The wit and intelligence of

Burmese women are decidedly above the average of those of men. Their capacity for petty trades and even for concerns of greater magnitude is so well recognised that even the words of Burmese female traders are equally valuable just like the written documents.

The burmese birth customs are more or less identical with those of ours. On the seventh day of the birth of a child the name giving ceremony is performed. This is fixed after consulting the horoscope prepared by the Phoongyi—the religious priest. The boys might be called Maung An, Maung Gauk etc., and girls be called Ma Gyi, Ma Shwe Mi, etc. The names thus given in infancy may as often be changed as desirable. Burmese people have no family name of their own. When they migrate to distant lands or tracts and found new hamlets there, they often bear the name of the village whence the



Shway Pagone Pagoda, Rangoon



An avenue of 729 pagodas, each containing a stone whereon are written verses from the holy books of Buddhism.



GAUTAMA BUDDHAS IN THE BINGYI CAVES.

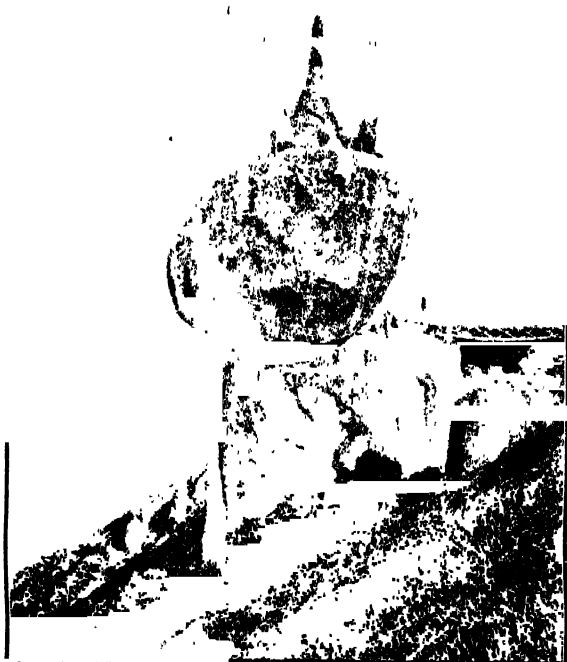
Burma is noted amongst other things for its caves. The Bingyi group is the most interesting of the series.

colony was planted. In order to fix the identity of any individual it is therefore necessary to describe him or her in all proceedings as Maung Ka the son of Maung Lugale. The Burmese girl entering into the bonds of matrimony still retains her maiden name.

At about eight or nine years of age the happy time of unrestricted nudity and amusements comes to an end when the boy goes to the monastery to study. There the method of instruction is very simple. The boy is taught to read and write generally with a bit of elementary lesson in Arithmetic. After having spent a year or two in the monastery the small boy returns home again. He assumes at the age of twelve or thereabout a temporary "Yellow Robe" of an acolyte. The Shinpyu or ceremony of becoming an Acolyte is next to birth and death, and by far the most important event in any Burman's life. In comparison with this, such an event as marriage is a mere incident of much less significance. The idea of putting on the

yellow robe is to assume the garb of humility and to enter upon the life of mendicant poverty. After entering the Life of Poverty and Self-denial the Slim or Koyin continues his study in the Buddhist sacred writings. The education thus obtainable from about seven or eight to fourteen or fifteen years is certainly narrow and circumscribed. But it has this advantage that the proportion of literates to illiterates is as 487 to 513 according to the census of 1891. Phoon-gyis do evince a keen interest in teaching their pupils.

Every boy in Burma has to subject himself to the process of tattooing. This forms one of the ceremonies, the day for which has to be fixed after consulting the horoscope. The tattoo marks extend from waist to down below the knees. In addition to this regular adornment of the male person many other tattoo marks are often seen on the chest, back, arms, and elsewhere. Burmese girls are not tattooed. After receiving her name when about a fortnight old the first great and real event in the life



A PAGODA THAT ROCKS WITH THE WIND

The temple is called Sampan or boat pagoda on account of the shape of the rocking stone upon which it is built. The temple is situated 3,650 feet above sea-level and can only be reached from the parent rock by means of ladders

of a girl is the ceremony of Ear-boring, generally performed more commonly just before the attainment of puberty. The day on which the ear-boring ceremony is fixed is observed with greater gaiety and pomposity. The friends and relatives are invited in the usual manner, by means of sending round small packets of tea. Conversation and music while away the time. The girl on whom the ceremony is performed is gaily dressed and seated on a raised seat for the purpose. She is surrounded by her female relatives and when the auspicious time is announced the professional borers force the needles into the soft lobes of the ear and shrieks and screams are more or less drowned by the deafening music provided.

Until about the thirteen years the education of a girl is confined to household duties, general instructions in reading and writing coupled with elementary instructions in additions, subtractions, mul-



A Burmese Priest.

tiplications etc. To give a finishing touch to her education the Burmese girl has to maintain a stall in the market. There her naturally keen mercantile instincts and business capacity is given a full swing. Burmese girls of nineteen or twenty is consequently much smarter than a lad of the same age. Greater care is bestowed by the Burmese girls on their personal looks, than an average Indian lady. The bark of a sweet scented wood called 'thantka' is rubbed down in fine with water and is applied all over the body. After being rubbed it is smeared over the face and then allowed to dry. This affords a polishing touch to the skin and makes the appearance rather attractive. Her long black hair, glossy and lustrous with cocoa-nut oil brings her toilet to an end.

All love affairs are conducted in strict accordance with ancient usage and custom. The bachelors in the evening form a company under the leadership of one and



A Burmese Festival.

meet at a fixed place. As they take the round of the village the lads drop off either singly or in twos and threes. The lovers make some sort of signs before they venture to go up where their beloved ones live. This certainly has the tacit approval of the girls' parents. A public form of courting is the attention which may quite correctly be paid to girls keeping stalls at a night Bazar.

When the boy has made his choice of his sweet-heart, he informs his parents of the same; who accompanied with relatives and elders of the village make a formal demand of the girl in marriage with his son. The terms of the betrothal are settled i.e. (dowry and jewels) and the contract lasts for a period of three years. A day is fixed for the marriage. The main ceremony consists in joining the hands palm to palm at the moment prescribed as auspicious, in eating out of the same dish, in placing morsels of food in each other's mouth in token of their vow to love and to cherish each other. While the festival is being kept up in the evening, the young couple retire to the bridal chamber amidst showers of saffron-dyed-rice and remain there in seclusion for seven days. The old customs have in course of time somewhat altered and the

period of betrothal has become much shorter. The marriage in Burma is purely a civil contract and as such there is vast liberty for divorce.

The death of any one member of a family is of course cause for sorrow in other countries but in Burma the funeral ceremony, like all other religious rites, is somewhat of the nature of a festival. As soon as convenient after the death the corpse is placed in the open front portion or verandah of the house. It is there washed and covered from chest downwards with snow-white cloth. The thumbs and toes of legs are either tied together with a cord made out of the hair of a son or a daughter or of twisted white cotton. Often too a small silver coin is placed in the mouth. The burial ground and crematory places are almost invariably situated to the west of any village or town. When the corpse has been nailed down into the coffin the priest renders assistance by reciting extracts from sacred writings regarding "Ancissa, Dokka, Annatta", i.e., impermanence, misery, and unreality. The bodies of the poorer people are disposed off the next day at the latest: The richer the deceased the greater is the delay in completing the obsequies and the more imposingly spectacular is the display connected with

the preparations and the funeral rites. Lest the solemnities partake too much of a festive nature professional mourners or weepers are sometimes em-

ployed. Cremation or fire-rites are much more common than burial rites among all the well-to-do classes. Wooden posts or brick monuments are sometimes erected



Burmese National Dance



Burmese Paddy Boat

over the bones of the deceased. Sometimes the bones are pulverised mixed with lac and saw-dust and formed into images of Gautama which are either placed in the sacred edifice or retained in the house. But such images are never worshipped in any way.

It has been frequently said that the Burmese are the Irish of the East. There are it is true various outstanding traits of character in common such as pride of race, love for laughter, amusements, light-heartedness, want of prudence etc. They are proud of their nationality. The Burmese consider the Chinese, Siamese and Shans as of the same stock as themselves. The Burmese are on the whole decidedly truthful and they are credulous and superstitious to a degree. Passive courage and high resistance they often maintain is the direct outcome of their religious philosophy and their belief in destiny being controlled by the influence of past deeds. Another characteristic arising mainly from their religion is marked tolerance. As a race the Burmese have no mechanical ability or inventive talent. Idiotic children are exceedingly rare in Burma but adult idiots and lunatics are regarded with much awe as being inspired. Burmese women exhibit marked modesty in all her movements. The behaviour of Burmans towards their womenfolk is habitually courteous and entirely free from anything like coarse familiarity. Gentle affection, kindly regard, benevolence and freedom from all kinds of desires are considered the four cardinal virtues. Burmans have a love for gambling which they have in common with their Chinese relatives.

While still an independent nation the Burmans were divided into seven classes. These consisted of the Royal family, the priesthood, officials, traders, cultivators, handicraftsmen, slaves, and outcasts. Priests and monks have always enjoyed special considerations on religious grounds, while officials formed the most powerful section of Society under the Burmese Rulers. Short of Royalty and throne, any individual other than the slaves and outcasts could rise to the highest position in the land. But slaves and criminal outcasts were entirely debarred from the rights of free-men. Grave-diggers, beggars, prostitutes and lepers are included among the social outcasts. The natural veneration for the Royal blood was extreme and amounted in fact to superstition. While

there are no caste distinctions, there is also no landed aristocracy, but there is nobility. To be appointed an official of the state was in itself practically of the nature of conferring nobility while merchants and large traders who acquired property were registered by royal edict as "rich-men" (Thute). The Burmans are naturally very polite. The respectful attitude before a visitor is to kneel down and draw the legs closely together. Among Burmans poly-



A Burmese Beauty.

gamy is permitted by law. The national dress is simple and very attractive. The man's waist cloth (Pase) is originally made eighteen cubits long and twenty and a half inches wide. The ends being folded back, it is stitched together forming a plaid nine yards long and one and a quarter broad which is tied round the waist. A white cotton or silk jacket is worn over the body down to the waist. A silk handkerchief in which the hair of the head,

nicely combed and arranged in top-knot, is enclosed, forms the head dress. The Burmese women do not cover the head but a handkerchief is loosely thrown over the shoulder.



Phoongyees or priests and Scholars of Burma.

where all sorts of things are available for sale at the spot. Pwés and dances and theatrical performances by amateurs are being held throughout the night. During the day the ceremony consists of offering

candles, flowers, fruits, burning of scented sticks before the images of Gautama Buddha and hearing the sacred passages read by Phoongyis. On the evening of the last day of the festival vast crowds dissolve with marvellous rapidity. By nightfall the spaces between the lines of booths so lately thronged with people are all but empty. Such pwés and dances are also being arranged for at the time of household rites such as naming of the child, boring of a girl's ears, the entry of a boy into his acolytehood at monastery and the funeral rites etc. These dances or pwés are always assisted by Burmese music parties.

Mirth-loving people like the Burmese cannot do without festivals and amusements. In fact every attempt is being made to celebrate a day of every Pagoda that may lie in the vicinity. Their way of enjoying and celebrating a festival is much commendable. The two great national festivals are those connected with the New Year which is generally called "The Burmese Lent." People from different parts of the province come and meet at the place of worship in their best. They take their abode temporarily in the bamboo-huts erected for the purpose.

These huts are erected around the pagodas and in such a way that when inhabited by beautiful damsels, lend an appearance of a village nicely laid out with roads and streets and bye lanes. The stalls are also arranged and the trustees of the Pagodas arrange for the temporary bazaars

With the spread of education and contact with the people of both the East and West, the Burmans have introduced remarkable changes in their daily life. The huts and bamboo planks which used to form the



A Burmese Passenger Cart

place of abode in times past, have been replaced by the houses of bricks with wooden partitions. The Burmese menfolk have begun to come forward and join hands in work with women carrying trade and business of large dimensions. As a result prosperity of both the land and the people becomes inevitable. Schools by missionary efforts are daily multiplying in numbers. They are now beginning to feel

as a nation and in fact efforts are now being made to make their public opinion echoed. The most commendable of the modern Burmian's activity is the foundation of the "Young Men's Buddhist Association" which directly aims at social, moral and national reforms. It bids fair to be a movement of which any son of the soil may legitimately be proud.

WORLD'S MARATHON CHAMPIONSHIP

SINCE writing in the February issue of this magazine, I have received many letters from various parts of India, of which one of special interest was from Mr. S. V. Dattar's friend, Mr. K. N. Dixit, M.A. Mr. Dixit's communication places me in a position to acquaint all my readers with the circumstances under which Mr. Dattar ran his memorable 27 miles, in an incredibly short space of time. As will be noticed from his photograph, Mr. Dattar is a brilliant athlete and our hope to see a champion amongst ourselves is very likely to be realised in him. He promises, as the reader will see from Mr. Dixit's letter, to run eleven miles per hour in his next attempt, and even if he runs ten miles an hour, he will do the necessary 25 miles in 2 hrs. 30 mts. and that will constitute a unique world's record. But we should not count the chickens before they are hatched; we must wait and see what Mr. Dattar can do in his next attempt. We have already accepted him to be the champion long-distance runner of the East and we do hope to see him as the world's greatest runner after his second attempt.

As a sort of introduction, it will not be absolutely out of place to say, that Mr. Dattar is self-trained, which proves clearly that Mr. Dattar is not only a man of wonderful stamina but a singularly brainy athlete. Intelligence is the mark of superiority in everything and it would be no mean encomium to Mr. Dattar to say that though he possesses little knowledge of books he has a wonderful brain as will be evident from his mode of training which

he had himself laid out and followed. What a wonder Mr. Dattar could have been, had he been in the hands of Springboke experts or of a great master of running! Mr. Dattar has undoubtedly reached a very high standard in athletics, though under very adverse circumstances, and we have been given to understand that he will be obliged to quit the track unless he is backed up sufficiently to keep in trim.

"Mr. Sadashiv Bishwanath Dattar was born at Sangli (150 miles south of Poona) in 1887 of poor, honest and respectable Brahmin parents," thus runs Mr. Dixit's letter to me. "His father started a modest primary vernacular school, which somehow enabled him to maintain himself, owing to the then very backward state of education, in the Sangli State. Sadashiv, the younger of his two sons, was clearly marked out from his boyhood, as a very active, naughty little fellow. While scarcely ten years of age young Sadashiv had the great misfortune of losing both his father and elder brother, who fell victims to the ravages of the inhuman scourge, which still devastates the Deccan, viz., the plague. With his primary education only half completed, Dattar had now to face the world, with scarcely anyone at his back, except his widowed mother. He soon found himself obliged to exchange his pen for a hammer, owing to the stress of circumstances. He has ever since maintained a little workshop of his own, where he shapes brass and copper vessels, a commodity for which



Sadasiv Viswanath Dattar.

Sangli is particularly famous in Maharashtra, though it barely suffices him to maintain himself and his family.

“When very young he began to cultivate the habit of physical exercise. At first he took a fancy to wrestling, but soon found running more to his taste. He began his career in running from his fifteenth year and soon found that he could run a course of two miles in 15 to 20 minutes. A year more and he hit upon a plan by which he could continue his practice uninterrupted. At a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Sangli, is an ancient temple of the God Siva, to which is imputed a special sanctity, owing to its being situated near the confluence of two rivers. Now Dattar took it into his head that if he could with religious scruple observe the practice of worshipping the holy Sangameshwar early at dawn, it would serve him a double purpose. Accordingly he has for the last ten years continued his practice of running to and from the temple, covering a distance of five miles within 25 minutes. As

it has been a part of his religion, he has never once failed in his daily practice; he would refuse to partake of the highest refreshment, before he saw his God Siva. The first time when he became conscious of his powers, was three years ago, when he ran to a place of pilgrimage in the neighbourhood, covering 14 miles within an hour and a quarter. First he would not believe himself, but the second time, being accompanied by a cyclist friend of his, he was for the first time fully alive to his own potentialities. Some of his friends having arranged for his run at the annual sports conducted by the Deccan Gymkhana here, he ran over $27\frac{1}{4}$ miles in 3 hrs. 8 mts. in March 1915, and over 27 miles in 2 hrs. 50 mts. $2\frac{1}{4}$ secs. in September 1915.

“Mr. Dattar's running dress, as will be clear from his photograph, is very simple, consisting of a shirt (which he generally damps before running), a short *dhoti*, and a cap. His feet are bare and in his hands he holds a cudgel, which is useful to him in scaring off reptiles as it is generally dark when he begins his work in the morning.

“The secret of Mr. Dattar's success is his temperance, regularity and perseverance. His diet and manners are extremely simple. As a Maharashtra Brahmin, he is a strict vegetarian and teetotaler. He takes his food three times a day, every time it consisting of nothing but millet bread, rice, curry and a vegetable. He is not accustomed to bread of wheat-flour, or fruits or to nourishing articles like almonds, pistachios, etc., generally used by Indian wrestlers. His quantity of milk never exceeds $\frac{1}{2}$ seer. He seldom takes more than his fixed quantity of food, and has consequently known no disease during the last 15 years. He is not habituated to take tea or coffee. He smokes occasionally, but it is not a habit with him. He is a strict bachelor.

“Strange to say, before Dattar exhibited his running feats, he was long known to Sangli as the best swimmer in the neighbourhood. During the rainy seasons, he is in the habit of swimming for hours together, when the river Krishna overflows her sides. He would remain in water, for a wonderfully long time and perform the most amazing tricks in swimming. He finds himself perfectly at home in water and would occasionally swim alone in the dead of the night, on high floods. It is a pleasure to see him floating down the

current at times, with both his hands tied, or swimming with only one hand. Both in swimming and running, he is always very cool, his breath is very constant, and his energy so very indefatigable after his huge exertions.

“His measurements are :—

Height	5-3 ³ / ₄ ”
Chest	33 ³ / ₄ ”
Do. (expanded)	35 ¹ / ₂ ”
Neck	13”
Biceps	10 ¹ / ₄ ”
Waist	28 ¹ / ₂ ”
Thigh	19 ¹ / ₂ ”
Calf	13”

It is obvious that Dattar labours under the natural disadvantage of height, as compared to European champions. He has received no training from an expert and had no partners or champions to help him in his efforts. He does not know the use of running pumps.”

This is the short sketch of Dattar's life I have obtained from Mr. Dixit. It would be absolutely clear to my readers under what a great disadvantage this great athlete labours. I understand from another letter of Mr. Dixit that Dattar will have to retire soon from the athletic world only for want of money. He cannot go on training and at the same time maintain his family, which is impossible. Had he been born in Europe or America, he would have been in different circumstances but things are very different down here. As a recognition of his great efforts he has only received a gold medal, but that cannot help him along a bit. Now it is incum-

bent upon us that we should back him up and help him to keep in condition with whatever monetary help we can readily offer him, in return of which Dattar has offered to run, either at Allahabad or Calcutta. I have failed to arrange for his run at Allahabad only for the lack of sporting spirit, which, I hope, the Calcutta public has enough in encouraging hockey and football. I have been requested to raise a fund for his next attempt at record breaking and if sufficient money is raised Dattar is ready to run at Calcutta this season. I appeal to the generosity of the public on his behalf through the medium of the *Modern Review*. All donations to this fund will be gratefully received by the Treasurer, The Allahabad and the Students' Sporting Clubs, Allahabad, or by Dattar's manager and friend, Mr. K. N. Dixit, M.A. 235 Budhwar, Poona City. If sufficient money is raised for backing Dattar, I shall come down to Calcutta with him and shall arrange matters. We shall put up a suitable prize, if Dattar succeeds in breaking the record and if he runs either at Allahabad or Calcutta. I do hope that the Secretary of the Calcutta Walking Association will please take up the matter in hand and help Dattar and myself in this noble cause. In the meantime I shall be very much gratified to correspond with him about the possibility of such a big run at Calcutta this season.

SACHINDRANATH MAZUMDAR.

Of The Allahabad Sporting Club,
Allahabad.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Sikh and his new critics : our viewpoint.

BY MR. PURAN SINGH (DEHRA DUN).

MUCH has recently gone round the press on Sikhs and Sikhism. People have written books to prove that Sikhs were not Sikhs. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath Tagore are also amongst those who pity us. I cannot but smile at the utter ignorance of these great writers of the subject which they wish to clear up to the world. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar may be doing quite a good

making Aurangzeb his historical study, but he could commit no greater blunder than to speak of our Gurus in the same strain.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has written a small article on Sikhs in the April Number of the *Modern Review*. He has also quoted therein with some pride a previous article by Sir Rabindranath Tagore on the militarisation of the Sikh nation by Guru Gobind Singh, which they both mourn as a great fall from the lofty spirituality of Guru Nanak. As both have joined in their ignorance, I must say that our ideals of the life of spirit are quite different. We do not think that the longing of man for a sweet undisturbed calm or an

exquisite sweetness of human relations is the only high form of blossoming of life. The best blossoming of life may not be so much the blowing of the rose and the scattering of the cherry-petals by the roving winds in space filled with the little drum-sounds of the human octaves, as in the earth-splitting thunderbolts of heaven and the Almighty dissoliteness of all that seems. The best song is not sung by man in dreams of an Ideal Sweetheart, but one sung in chorus with the universal dance of death. All other songs are out of tune. The varied sweet strains that we modify out of our seven fundamental notes are best lost in the greater and mightier harmony of the bitter yells of a thundering angry sea. We believe in the sweet flower-like face of Jesus, and it is as good and sweet to pass some time with him, but in Mohammad we meet him in a still more serious and intenser mood. We believe all great men are but moods of the same One Great Man, the *Guru*. He whom we call *Guru Nanak* is the Ancient Man who was, is and shall be. People of limited vision cannot see that it was Mohammad's mood which drove out the money-changers from the temple of God. Mohammad's sword flashed in great and terrible awe of God. Mohammad could not express his spirit in any other way than to take up the sword. His kiss of sympathy on our cheeks is our sweet death. His mind is so highly intensified by his great love of his beautiful God that he begins killing people. We only need dare to understand his genius. Lord Gauranga had Krishna the War-God as his ideal. The Great Rama was a sword-wielder. We cannot look at things greater and higher than ourselves by standing where we are. Sir Tagore likes Guru Nanak because he does not know him beyond his being a sweet dreamy kind of an unitarian. I am sure if he knew him a little more, the present gamut of his mind will have nothing to do with him on the same ground and for the same reason which leads him to think that Guru Gobind Singh was a much lesser man than Guru Nanak.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article uses our private legendary diaries only as far as this helps him to condemn us. We never wrote history as the Moslem genius did. We wished to write mythology like the ancients descriptive of our heroes and we failed because most of us were not literary men. To treat our private writings so useful to us as the beginning of the great mythology we yet have to write through life and through love, as historical material, is absurd. He is not the first who has tried to ridicule us. The very first is Macauliffe, who has given such a miserable view of us to the English-speaking world. I would not care for the Sikh and his religion if I were to look through the glasses of Macauliffe. What has been Macauliffe's great work? He took from us a beautiful living figure whose beauty thrills us by every little curve of her face and every little mole on her temples, and he brought it back to us saying "how beautiful!" It was the same thing, but alas! the thing was dead. He has not changed anything of the original, only he has killed it and it is now a lifeless corpse as it is in his English. It is a pity that men like Sir Tagore and Jadunath Sarkar studied the Sikh from such dead materials. They have not taken up the trouble of scaling up to the required altitude to look at the Sikh. Prof. Sarkar in his fury of a great theist has failed to see that the persons of the Guru are sacred to us. It is a sin to injure the feelings of another, even if they be developing round a stone. Ah! Prof. Sarkar should know if he worships a personal God with any feelings, that our feelings alone name Him for us. There is no God but as we spell

Him through His Man and Nature. Some artists would prefer the landscape to the face of Man, others would prefer the face of man to the landscape, but pray, how do you spell or fashion your God? Feeling is all in all and how does he conclude that we cannot pour out our soul and all at the foot of our Men-Gurus with the jealousy of a theist which he has for his own-thought-God. We may be fools in differing from him, but he must know if he has any feelings that feelings are always foolish. It is against the goodness of Sir Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to have come all the way from Bengal to injure us like this. Prof. Sarkar blames Guru Arjan Dev for organising the Church of the Disciples—the Sikhs. He says, like a "petty trader" the Guru started a Guru Treasury which he never used even to save his own life. Prof. Sarkar cannot bear a man of God having so much pomp and prosperity round him. But on account of his small stature, he misses the deep renunciation in this realisation of kingdom within and without. Does he not know that the Upanishads say that prosperity and learning wait with folded hands at the door of a man of God? *Brahmavilya* and *Upanishads* originally belonged to the kings, the *Kshatriyas* and not to the beggars, the Brahmins. The Guru did not wish to be a king, he could not help it. Men greater than Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar gathered round him and crowned him their king. This is the first time we hear from Sir Rabindranath and his disciple Prof. Sarkar that it is such a heinous spiritual sin to be a king of the hearts of men. The greatest sinner then is He who subordinates even such a will as Christ's, and Christ gladly cries out in joy,—"Father! Thy will be done." This person, the Great Guru Arjan Dev whom we crowned a king, met us often as our very slave. He used to ask his wife to cook and carry bread for us on the roadside waiting to welcome us coming from far and feed us as we came and he would fan us with his own hands and wash our feet. He would worship us first before we had the time to recognise him as the highest object of our worship. He was a poor man. He was no king in the sense in which Prof. Sarkar takes him to be. He clad himself in a black blanket, he ate little and sang to us his divine songs. He would not accept the union of his sons with the daughter of a proud rich man fond of this world and its pomp and he suffered death at the hands of this cruel and proud Hindu for that reason more than for the non-payment of a fine. As a matter of fact, Guru Arjan Dev rendered no assistance to Khusró. When Khusró was defeated in the battle of *Bharowal* all the adherents and supporters of Khusró were arrested in great number. It is evident from the records in *Jahangir Nama* that Jahangir was closely pursuing Khusró. Jahangir was at Sultanpore when Khusró reached Lahore. On the 15th (Ji-ul-haj) the battle of *Bharowal* was won and on the 30th Jahangir was at the garden of *Kamran* (Lahore). On the 3rd Moharram of 1015 Hijri, Khusró was produced before the Emperor. The latter remained in the garden of *Kamran* till the 9th. During these six days all adherents and supporters of Khusró, about 600 persons, were executed by *Sali*. But upto this time, nothing was said against Guru Arjan Dev Ji. If the Guru had done anything for Khusró, it must have been out by this time. The Emperor was encamped in the Guru Territory, Taran Taran, Goindwal and Amritsar for about two weeks after the battle of *Bharowal* and nothing transpired against the Guru. The spy system of Jahangir being on the other hand so efficient that he

heard about the prayers having been offered by Sheikh Nizam Benisi while he was at Thanesar's near Delhi. For this crime, the Sheikh was sentenced to transportation to Mecca. It is therefore very striking that a man as famous as Guru Arjan Dev should not have been detected, if he had openly helped Khuro or even prayed for him. The fact is that Chandu the Lahore Minister was waiting for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the Guru and it was he who got up a false charge against the Guru for his having appointed Khuro with a *tilak*. It is thus that he suffered more on account of the jealousy of Chandu, than for the political reasons. But even if it were the refusal to pay a heavy fine to the king out of the Guru's treasury, to save his life, it shows the man to everybody but not to Prof. Sarkar. Very strange, for him, he is a "Khatiri" with an eye on hoarding money and collecting pomp round his family.

The origin of "kingship" is there in the worship of man. If Gurus became our temporal kings, it is in the very nature of greatness and in the religion of "hero-worship" so deeply ingrained in human nature. For the mere reason of their having become temporal heads of the nation they created, it is grossly unjust on the part of Prof. Jadunath and Sir Rabindranath to call the Gurus as men who left their God and high ideals of Love and Life for mammon. Unless they thoroughly familiarise themselves with us and see with their own eyes the value of the worldly pomp that it had at the Guru's court, and unless they know with absolute certainty the inner life of the Gurus, they have no right to injure a neighbour nation taking advantage of their great position in the modern society.

The Sikh movement has been wholly misunderstood not only by Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath, but many of their type are thus. Guru Nanak contemplated of no metaphysical God. God is everywhere, it is difficult to find a man and still rarer to find a good man of God with his face towards the Divine. Once when asked by ascetics why he (Guru Nanak) roamed about so side of world, Guru Nanak replied he was roaming in search of a man of God. Guru Nanak's ideals of life are not what we think the highest ideals of a theist of to-day or what they call the ideals of the liberal religion of this scientific century. Nor are his ideals any akin to Kabir and Chaitanya or other Bhagats of medieval India that went before him in the light in which our critics see them. His ideals are the product of an highly original synthesis of the best in the Past with his own Realisation of the future religion of man. His synthesis is of such a grand nature as it can only be seen by a true idealistic agnostic like Goethe and not a theist so sectarian in his own notions of God and creation. In one word, Guru Nanak's religion is *continuous inspiration*, the keeping up of which in all the different spheres and conditions of life, *not one condition barred*, is the sole object of life on this earth. Guru Nanak's ideal is the ideal of the blossoming Bride. His renunciation is as of the Bride in the joys of love. That miserable pious self-sacrifice which is half-conscious of its high moral tone and is pathetic, so made by the pain of its renunciation and sadness for the love of the ideal, is discarded by Guru Nanak as trash. He insists on the ever-glowing inspiration of love, which if it is not there, nothing is there. In Guru Nanak's scheme of higher life of spirit, self-decoration is the highest renunciation. The Sikh is a Satee. On one side, his religion partakes of the sublime agnosticism of Buddha and on the

her of the beautiful Patience of the new Bride, and Guru Nanak's dance of joy like the Siva's dance, is on the kull of man. Guru Nanak found his disciples in Thugs and highway robbers. He was the greatest man-maker ever born. He cared little for society and religion with all the prescribed codes. His friends were farmers, carpenters and masons. Guru Nanak refuses to see God but through His Nature and Man. His best art was to see Him through Man. It is the poet of Nature where the best scene is the Man of God. If Guru Nanak does not give proof of his being a man-worshipper to the Brahmins of Bengal, let them come and read with us our *gathas* where he presents a coconut and five pice to Angad his disciple, goes three times around him and lays his head at the disciple's feet and says "Thou art Guru Nanak." Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Jadunath will not like this because it is not quite theistic to do so. But show me a prophet who made another like himself as Guru Nanak did. These people's praise of Guru Nanak too is a sort of an unwilling concession. They think too much of their own education. Leaving aside the prophet Nanak, the very first poet born in the Punjab after the death-hush of centuries that intervened between the song of Guru Nanak and the songs of Vedic rishis sung on the banks of the Punjab rivers, the very first thinker in this world (historically speaking) on comparative religion (the Akbar-Abu-ulfazal being the second and Raja Ram Mohan Roy the third) is given such scant praise by Prof. Jadunath as if the latter is even greater than Guru Nanak! Just imagine his saying "Even his (Guru Nanak's) hymns were mostly adapted from the sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past and had nothing distinctive." This is catholic theism run mad. Guru Nanak is the poet of Nature and Man. He is the master who knows every little string of the universal mind. I am sure Prof. Sarkar has not seen Guru Nanak's songs in original, otherwise he could not be so cruel as to call them adaptations from the "monotheistic reformers of the past." No. Guru Nanak looks straight into man and nature and his gaze is deep on the "Bridegroom." To him this world is the eternal marriage procession of the "Bridegroom." There is no second equal to him in this deep insight. Kalidas is but a reflection of Guru Nanak in his deep love of Nature. In no sense, can Kabir and Tukaram be said to come near him in his love of nature. He calls God the "*Kudrat Vasya*" the Presence in Nature. The morning reminds him of the first dawn of creation. The stars seem to him to be kindled by His breath. I could multiply examples of his classical poetry endlessly and I could challenge Prof. Sarkar to produce the clear cut crystalline thoughts expressed in single words such as "*Kudrat Vasya*," from any of his "monotheistic reformers of the past." Let him produce a line equivalent in beauty to any piece in Japji and Keertan Sohila. Show me a piece anywhere as sublime as *Arti* of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak's descriptions of man shall for ever remain unsurpassable. The wonder and worship of his mind, the celestial music of his lines, the solace-giving power of his hymns shall mark his poetry out of the other literatures of the world as the greatest comforter of man in distress and the greatest awakener of man in oblivion of *maya*. If by "sacred songs" is meant somewhat monotonous unpoetic songs, then I must say that Prof. Sarkar knows not the type of Guru Nanak's poetry. It differs from Kabir and Tukaram as "eyes" differ

from "no eyes" in seeing Nature. Guru Nanak never touched his theme, but brought out the infinite music of his soul into the finite. Guru Nanak could not live even a day without the *Rabab* and the minstrel by his side to sing. He would call out "O Mardana! the Heaven's Voice cometh, strike thy *Rabab* and sing." Thus did he compose his songs under the stars of the sky in deep solitudes of his travels. Guru Arjan Dev calls Guru Nanak the *purusharasiik Buiragi*, the man of renunciation and the man of aesthetic taste. As a man, Guru Nanak could not live without music. Such a man is called by Prof. Sarkar only an adapter of the "sacred songs left behind by the monotheistic reformers of the past."

Guru Nanak's personal God was Guru Angad, and Guru Angad's God was Guru Nanak. This man-worship of Guru Nanak is God-worship. No true theism can exist in the heart of man without the true man-worship. These theists talk against man-worship only as long as they do not come across a true man of God. Man-worship is the basis of religion. And pray, what is poetry even, without the highest of man-worship suffused in it somewhere and somehow? Does not Browning dimly feel this highest spiritual truth which forms the corner-stone of the Sikh worship, what though even if the modern Sikh fails to grasp its true significance?—

"All tended to Mankind,

And man produced, all has its end thus far ;

But in completed man begins anew

A tendency to God."

Prof. Sarkar in his theistic fervour of a sort of moral ideal raised within himself by his clean clairvoyant conscience falls foul with everything Sikh for he thinks they worship man, for he reads that polygamy was allowed and quotes that Guru Har Rai when a boy was collectively married to the seven daughters of a Sikh and is very shy of such things in our history. He compares a Sikh with a *Tantia Bhil* and calls him a plunderer and a political rebel, thus exonerating his beloved Aurangzeb for his tyranny towards the Sikhs. This injustice to the Sikhs has not been done even by his worst enemies. For example, see the opinion expressed in Jangnama by Qazi Nur Muhammed. In 1178 Hijri, Ahmad Shah Abdali invited Nasir-uddin the Khan of Qillat for his help in conquering the Punjab. The Khan of Qillat requisitioned the services of Qazi Nur Muhammed of the family of the famous Nizami, the author of the Shah Nama, to write the descriptions of his invasion of the Punjab. This book written by the said Qazi is entitled Jang Nama, its manuscript is in Balochistan, a copy of which was secured by Bhai Karam Singh of Patiala in his historical excursions, who has kindly supplied me this information and the reference about Guru Arjan Dev made above. Nur Muhammed calls the Sikhs not 'Sikh' but "Sag" or "Dog". This appellation itself shows the bitter tone of his mind against the Sikhs. But even he is compelled to admire the character of the Sikhs. The following is the translation of his seven Persian couplets on the subject.

- (1) They fight not with the weak nor dishonour the fallen.
- (2) They do not touch the gold and jewellery belonging to the womenfolk. Nor do they anyway trouble the womankind.
- (3) Adultery is unknown in the sect of these "Dogs", nor do they steal nor rob.
- (4) They call all women whether young or old "Buriya" (the old woman).
- (5) There is no stealing with these dogs, nor ever a thief was born midst them.

- (6) Nor do they have any friends amongst those who rob, steal, or commit adultery. In all their deeds they are good.

- (7) If you know not their religion, I tell you such is their religion.

Nur Muhammed should speak thus and Prof. Sarkar calls them "plunderers" and "Tantia Bhils". I fail to understand the absolutely unjust indignation of Prof. Sarkar against the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh, who have done so much service to the motherland in the cause of patriotism and religion.

Moreover Prof. Sarkar thinks that mere boys were made Gurus. It is evidently under the strange hallucination that the power of the spirit comes only to the grown up. Unless a man can talk and compose songs, according to him, he cannot be a king of men. As an Indian, he forgets the intensity of soul of a *Dhruva* and a *Prahlad* who were mere boys. He forgets that the greater Krishna is the child Krishna and the boy-Krishna and not so much the philosopher and the king-Krishna. The wise men of the East bowed to the child Jesus with much greater devotion than his own eleven when he was quite a full-fledged teacher. To be the teacher of men is a very small affair indeed and perhaps a thankless one! The laws of human love and heart-life are quite different from the rules of historic research, and Guru Gobind Singh was a mere boy when he ruled over the hearts of his disciples as a sweet Autocrat Divine. But Prof. Sarkar has not that personal affection for the Guru which could see that the child Jesus and the boy Prahlad may possibly be born quite near him in the Punjab within the last two or three centuries.

Sir Tagore thinks of the Khalsa as a "cantonment of mere soldiers". But from what he writes on the subject, it is certain that he has never been inside the cantonment nor has he ever made a personal study of the character of those whom he calls "mere soldiers." If things have come to this pass, let me inform Sir Tagore that many a man of his temperament and genius have roamed and are roaming still in the Khalsa cantonment with a beggar's bowl in hand begging for the spark of life to be made alive in the Name of God. As Emerson says, one may dream for centuries that he is making spiritual progress, but after centuries he may find that he is exactly where he was. All progress, he remarks truly, is by the grace of some one's "Lyrical glances".—(Emerson on Inspiration.) Come! even now, let me show you the gleaming eyes under the old white Sikh brows that can cast on you that "lyrical glance" which one meets once in centuries. This is a "cantonment" but he is not misled by mere names and appearances! These are the tents where gods dwell. One has just left us. Sant Sawaya Singh of Amritsar was a "burning gem", a man of "Lyrical glances". A Sikh saint sometimes ago lived near Mastwana, Jind. His name was known to no one. They called him "*Ghup Ghun*", as he emitted like a bird the sound "Rab Tun"—(Thou art God). It was wilderness then, it is a temple of God now built by the songs of another Saint Atar Singh who is amidst us in these days, keeping thousands of Sikhs spellbound by his presence and his Kirtan.

Nor can Prof. Jadunath see that all biographies and histories of spiritual geniuses are lies. No true man can be seen by any but by himself and even this latter is very doubtful. Unless a Goethe chooses to make a great self-sacrifice to give secrets of his life out in his writings for the good of man, no historian can paint for us his private character. All history on such matters is guess work. If any one wishes

to see what sublime heights of purity and human character lay at the feet of the Gurus,—all the ten Gurus not one less than the other—he should read their writings in original and then alone he can have a glimpse into their soul, which we call “Guru Nanak.” Guru Nanak of Bengal is not our Guru Nanak.

First of all, the story he quotes of Guru Har Rai being married collectively to the seven daughters of one Sikh is on the face of it absurd. What should be the ages of the eldest and the youngest? In those days, the girls were married very early. Supposing the eldest to be of 14 years, the youngest could hardly be two years old, taking an interval of two years. No sane man could believe this. But let us take the hypothetical girls and legend as it is, so wonderfully rendered by our great Renan, Mr. Macauliffe. I would stand by it, but Prof. Sarkar as an historian of his reputed critical faculty has no right to take such things as historical materials. In fact, there is no authentic historical material with the Sikhs, which can be passed as pure historical records as a whole, except the Manuscripts of Guru Granth. There have been so many additions and alterations made in the original manuscripts of the *Sakhis*, by unscrupulous enemies of Sikhism and parties opposed to the Gurus that it is better to reject the most of them when discussing things so critically.

The immortal in us is our feelings of love. The cultivation of the highest feelings in our bosoms by gathering round a man of God is our daily and only worship. We know nothing more. A disciple's, a Sikh's getting up in the open Sikh congregation and offering with feelings unknown to us all his daughters to his God—Guru Har Rai—is a divine event in our diaries which poor old Macauliffe has missed and Prof. Jadunath has misread. For his information, I say, the feelings of the noble father rose out of the very soul of his daughters to be the Brides of Guru Nanak. The father could do no better service to his daughters. Our daughters, perhaps quite against the expectations of Prof. Sarkar, are not helpless children which a cruel father makes over to an indifferent husband according to his whim. Our daughters even as young children know the life-ideal of Guru Nanak and before it is sunrise, every morning, each one of them goes to the Guru and gets a greater sunrise in her soul through his grace. The expression of the uncontrollable feelings of love by that blessed disciple of Guru Nanak in this crude way, may strike Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar as savage but who dare deny that it is the highest religion?

What is it to “barter” a wife and a child if the Guru, God, wants a parrot? Ah! Prof. Sarkar knows not how is the kingdom of heaven won! If I can barter myself for the love of God and the Guru, I do not see any reason why I cannot barter all my own, even my wife and children provided I have made the latter through my strange love as near and dear to me as my own self. Ah! but mere “bartering” is quoted and the significance of the story is entirely omitted, perhaps not understood at all. The parrot-seller and his wife were struck dumb with the devotion of the Sikh. They honoured the Sikh lady and her child as if she were the Mother. The Guru hears of the event, he says to the Sikh “O Sikh! you have done a great cruelty to me.” The divine father runs to the side of his “bartered” daughter and his own grandchild. He brings them home and with them comes to the Guru the parrot-seller with all his family! The sublime devotion of one Sikh wins a whole family to the Sikh fold. This is the intensity

of love for God which alone appeals to us. What is Guru, if he is not God to us? The buying of a mere parrot in the name of God may sometime bring Heaven down while the whole shiploads of disciplined minds may miss it. “Bartering” loses all its sting, if the eyes are fixed on Him and in His Name goes everything and all, wife and children, friends and property. Our highest morality is this and not that which treats God at an arm's length and deals with Him like a gentleman or a lady of rank.

We read all our private diaries (containing similar sacred legends which we find scattered in all Eastern scriptures), which the critical world misuses as historical materials to ridicule us, only for kindling in us the life of feelings. Thinking in the modern sense is the death of the spirit, repeating as we do endlessly to each other what has been said so often. In those diaries we see nothing but one effulgent glory of God in whose iridescent brilliance we daily wish to die as moths. Our daughters even as young as of five summers wish nothing better than to be the Brides of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. St. Therese was the Bride of Christ. She openly said so. In a similar way if we are Sikhs, our daughters still aspire after no higher God. To us, intense love is religion. Moth defines for us our conduct. We do not wish to know more, nor do we ever trust any codes of moral life. When Oodho bidden by Krishna—the King and the Philosopher—came to console the Gopikas of Brindaban and to advise them to worship God, they promptly replied:

“Oodho! Our hearts are not ten nor twenty!

We had only one, which has been stolen out of us by Krishna!

Go back and tell him, we cannot worship God!”

Prof. Sarkar quotes Bhai Guru Das and translates a portion of a hymn sung by him and tries to condemn us as stupid man-worshippers not knowing that the particular hymn of Bhai Guru Das puts the best of the highest possible religion of man in a brief compass. Let me inform Prof. Sarkar that the sentiments and thoughts of the highest poems in “Gitanjali” and “Gardener,” though not of the same richness of the word-perfume, just rise high enough to merge on the mystic heights into the sentiments of Bhai Guru Das. Bhai Guru Das is a great mystic poet. He sees in Sikhs what Tolstoy saw in peasants of Russia and in their blind faith in which Tolstoy found greater solace than in the whole of the learned solemn church. Bhai Guru Das sings like a poet interpreting the people and their life and not preaching a new religion to enslave man. When we differ so much, I need not stay to argue with Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath. I only say that the Olinic genius of Guru Nanak was even too much for Guru Nanak himself to allow him of a fair expression. It took ten different generations to complete its one repetition of the eternal alphabet of love. All boy-Gurus age Gurus, though Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath do not know this. Bhai Budha whom Prof. Sarkar brings as his witness is known more to us than to him. He might have enquired of the Guru the meaning of the sword, but then he put his hoary head forever at the feet of the Guru, because Bhai Budha saw Guru Nanak where Prof. Sarkar sees a military nobleman. Guru Har Kishan when giving up his physical vehicle at Delhi, the child-Harkishan said to the Sikhs, “Guru Nanak is at *Bakala*.” This child Guru saw what even men like Bhai Budha were not given to see. Guru Har Gobind was Guru Nanak of Bhai Budha. The life-long devotion of Bhai Budha to

Guru Har Gobind is much greater testimony of the lofty spirituality of Guru Har Gobind than a casual question or even a doubt of his own expressed to the Guru as reported. Bhai Budha was the disciple of Guru Nanak. He had seen all the five Gurus succeeding Guru Nanak. A saint of his independent nature must have revolted if what Prof. Jadunath says were true. But why should Prof. Sarkar study this side of the question? In this connection, I point out here that it is nothing but an unconscious misrepresentation for Prof. Jadunath to say that Guru Tegh Bahadur "succeeded in being recognised as Guru by most of the Sikhs." This suggests as if he ever sought it! Guru Tegh Bahadur lived in such sublime isolation that he was called "Mad Tegha." Nobody could notice him. It was the miracle of the Sikh devotion that found him out and forcibly crowned him a king.

The personality of Guru Gobind Singh is the Almighty Pearl of the sweet murmurs of Guru Nanak. Here are not the ordinary prophets of God whom everybody can praise and understand. They are those beings of inscrutable destiny to read whose character with any satisfaction of soul, the great ones wrote the Hindu and the Norse mythology for centuries and developed all those mystic arts for a partial expression of it, the arts the deciphering of whose lines and curves today constitutes the present-day genius of ours! I am sorry the poor dumb Sikh chroniclers have not yet had time enough to write sufficient mythology in the praise of their Gurus. What little these simple farmers of the Punjab wrote was so foolishly omitted by our friend Macauliffe. In his English translation we have mere bones before us. Perhaps it is impossible to translate Guru Granth, the songs of Guru Nanak into English, so imperfect is the language for the interpretation of the poetry of Guru Nanak. Some people have said in the newspapers that Guru Govind Singh was just another Shivaji of the Punjab. This is exactly the same insult which these luminaries of Bengal have offered us. We feel injured and we refuse to look at these puerile statements. What was Shivaji but an ordinary soldier of Guru Govind Singh minus his spirituality. Shivaji may be great politically, but it is fetish worship if we raise him in the eyes of the nation as a spiritual genius. All these learned scholars have combined to injure our feelings because Guru Govind Singh is much too high for them to understand. Sir Rabindranath as an unitarian has missed in his life the deep spiritual life that lies hidden in the man-worship of Guru Nanak.

If things were said about us, the present day Sikhs, we will welcome the brotherly wisdom from Bengal. But we strongly resent such unworthy things being said about the race of men that has gone before us. It is very painful to see that the keen-edged intellectual people of India sacrifice the best of human relations at the altar of this heartless goddess, the carping intellect. How can we love you as brothers, when you drive us mad in defence of the highest verity of our soul? Life is nothing to us, if you touch us thus, what to say of ideals and principles which are meant only to serve us only to live by. Man lives for one unknown thing hidden somewhere in him as the verity of his life. If you wish to spread peace, love and unity amongst mankind, do not touch man, even the poorest and the weakest, on that point in spite of your intellectual doubts, moral persuasions and high motives, for he would prefer death to this treatment. The wisdom of a neighbour lies in mutual respect of this sacred centre in man round which he revolves.

If a sympathetic student of the subject of genius

were to study the life of *Akaltes* that once were and alas! are no more, he will stand aghast at the sublime spirit so suddenly awakened by the touch of the genius of Guru Gobind Singh. What are the Ironsides of a Cromwell, even as compared with the *Akaltes*? Mere sea-spray against the rock! The devotional intensity of a *Billa-mangala*, the heroic recklessness of a Samurai of Japan, the richness of the spirit of a Diogenes, the mastery over self and senses as of a great Hindu Yogi, the mystic life of an Augustine, add all these and you come near a Sikh!

Feeling of religion was so intense and great that death was nothing to the Sikhs. Bhai Mani Singh was cut to pieces bit by bit and his face lost not the calm repose of "Naming Him". No historian can give one single instance of a Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh having ever given up his faith in temptation of a rich earthly life as a Moslem! The mothers would go with their innocent children to be willingly cut down while bathing in the sacred tank of the golden temple of Amritsar. Great mothers will make rejoicings and offer thanks to God at the death of their only sons in the holy cause of the Guru. To a real student, the story of an ordinary common Sikh would astonish him. He will see a saint concealed in silence,—a veritable king of men dressed in rags! Ah! He will see a teacher of men concealed from the vulgar ken by the ordinary practical life of a common man. Come, I will show you poets and saints in carpenters and masons. I will show you adepts in labourers. I will show you goddesses in ordinary poor Sikh girls. Come, I will show you the grand civilisation of the illiterate! Thank God that for the first time in the history of India, we Sikhs have forgotten that each one of us is a teacher and a God or that each one has finally to be one. We have learned well to obey, to dare and to die. There are living masters in the dumb singing Khalsa even of today, who would light fire in your soul and go away without even looking at you. They hide themselves from you.

Is this fanaticism? Well, Religion ceases to be an inspiration without it. Look at the fanaticism of Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath for what they consider spirituality and religion and they are incapable of seeing our view-point. It is in the nature of religion and every true religious man must boldly stand by some kind of religious madness.

Sir Rabindranath thinks, we as a nation are bankrupted because no teacher amongst us has been foolish enough to earn a reputation in Bengal. This opinion of his is the denial of very God! That spark which made Lord Chaitanya throw away a load of worthless books, the same pile which Prof. Sarkar is so laboriously making again, we nestle within ourselves. The Sikh saint still kindles the human heart. The Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh is a study and I believe the best study in the religious world. Okakura will appreciate him better than the outworn Hindu whose ideas of spiritual life have become so hopelessly confused and unhealthy. The life spiritual is known better to the agnostic artists of Japan than to the believing theists of India. Life in its infinitude and in its rough stormy vastness is too savage to be contained in the lines so deeply cut in our brains by the pen-knives of the modern education, the brains that have grown so sectarian that they have become incapable of thinking in any other possible direction. Killing is better than kissing in the eternal laws of Love. Let me have enough passion in my soul and I will get up and kill straight the very person I love most. Kissing and caressing, loving and longing,

are just expressions of that small portion of the octave of love on which poor man can lay his fingers to get out a sort of music for himself. But death and dissolution when brought in by Mohammed and Guru Govind Singh is our Salvation. It may seem war and bloodshed, but the wise know that it is only a great soul in serious Divine agitation. Guru Govind Singh is Guru Nanak in still greater glory and in a still mightier flash!

Guru Govind Singh understood Guru Nanak in a way in which nobody else in the world can ever understand! What he is to him, nobody else can be.

I was present when we asked Vivekananda about our Man, l'Homme, and I saw he became a poet of Guru Govinda Singh there and then. We asked Bhai Nand Lal from Afghanistan, the great scholar repated for his learning in his age, and we know he laid his head at the feet of Guru Govind Singh and then never raised it again from there. Bhai Nand Lal is the great mystic poet of the time of Guru Govind Singh. His poems descriptive of Guru Govind Singh are pearls of soul as of a Vedic Rishi to the dawn. This man knew him, ask him, what Guru Govind Singh is?

To go out of their way and to talk without much meaning and use of such sacred things in the way and in the language in which Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath have chosen to speak of them, clearly proves to us the utter bankruptcy of soul that the modern liberal religious thought causes even in such high quarters. It is a sheer disappointment to us to see the failure of Prof. Sarkar and Sir Rabindranath Tagore to appreciate the high spirituality of the Sikh and his Gurus. We attach no weight to their opinions, as to us Sir Rabindranath and Prof. Sarkar seem to be talking like two unitarians from America or England whose ideal is but a shapeless haze, absolutely unfamiliar with the intensity of our oriental soul.

Verily, we say, we are man-worshippers, we are idol-worshippers, but show us the God or Gods you worship.

Resist not evil or अहिंसा।

Jesus Christ said "Resist not evil." Tolstoy has shown that Jesus meant it *literally*. Jesus condemned anger *unconditionally*. Tolstoy pointed out that the phrase "without a cause" was interpolated by worldly wise improvers of Christ's teaching in the sentence "He who is angry with his brother [without a cause] is in danger of the judgment." You are never to be angry, not even under grave provocation. It is worthy of note that the new version of the English Bible does not contain the words "without a cause," though the authorised version has them; and this is due to Tolstoy's labours in biblical criticism.

Now, can it be said that Jesus was *right* when he preached this doctrine? Would Belgium have been right to turn her right cheek to the German, when he slapped her on the left cheek? Tolstoy would have said 'yes.' The well-known Cambridge writer Bertrand Russel has said 'yes'.

What would Hindus say? What would Krishna have said? Krishna said in the *Gita* most unequivocally that War is a sacred duty in defence of Right. The other Hindu Sastras say the same thing.

Hinduism also teaches the doctrine of 'resist not evil or ineffable love' अक्रियभिवारिणो i. e. you are to love your enemies even: your love or *bhakti* must not have any exception or *vyabhichara*. But this is meant for *Sannyasis*: for those who have left the world and who have given *abhaya* to all creatures. [In modern language, men of religion, priests and monks and nuns are not to fight even for a right cause.] All others, whether Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras, ought to resist evil.

I have a suspicion that Christ's teaching has been borrowed from the teachings of the fourth *asrama* in India, and that his followers or rather those who profess to follow him, have wrongly given a universal character to Christ's teachings which could only be meant for those who left their families and adopted the fourth *asrama*. Even modern *Sannyasis* [and these are undoubtedly of Jesus's type] preach as if they want every man to become a *Sannyasin*. "Well, if every man becomes a *Sannyasin*, the world would soon cease to contain any man." "Yes. But notwithstanding our preaching, the vast majority will remain in the world and have remained in the world. Hence our preaching is no evil. Similarly Christ Jesus might say "notwithstanding my teaching—resist not evil—the majority will resist evil. I meant it as an ideal to be literally followed only by monks. I did not mean it for the people of Belgium at all."

Universal *ahimsa* is also an ideal. It is pragmatically justified by its results and might be taught as if it were wholly true.

Ahimsa and *paropakara* are the two sides of the same ideal of universal love सर्वेषु भूतेषु अक्रियभिवारिणो॥ The present Hindu society unduly emphasises the former. To say that अहिंसा has a positive side is to force unyielding facts into too narrow theories. *Ahimsa* is negative; *upakara* is positive. नोपकारात् परं पुण्य must be joined to मा हिंसा सर्वा भूतानि to get a complete idea of love or *bhakti*.

BANAMALI CHAKRABARTTI.

HOPE'S AWAKENING

BY NAWAF SIR SY'UD WASIF ALI MEERZA BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD.

The day is done and night creeps on,
See the birds are homeward flying,
The leaves on which the sun has shone
Sigh because the day is dying.

How peaceful seems the world at rest
Enwapt in darkness all around ;
Shadows creep down the hill's high crest
With silent steps to tread the ground.

In darkness dwell conceal'd from sight
All works of Nature's tender care ;
Beyond recall seems Heaven's light ;
Cover'd in gloom the world doth wear

A cheerless countenance. But lo !
Night's gloom heralds a coming morn—
A less'n of patience in sorrow,
Of suff'ring is heav'nly peace born.

Soul-refreshing thoughts soon prevail
When fortune smiles on dark despair ;
Where sorrow reign'd sweet joy doth dwell.
After weary night a day-break fair.

Perch'd on the tree the Bulbul sings
To the silvery lake, alone :
Borne by the breeze its echo brings
Cheer to sad hearts that in silence mourn.

MISLEADING EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

IN the 100th number of this Review, i.e., for April 1915, it was clearly shown how the figure of 15 per cent. assumed by the Government Education Department as representing the proportion of school-going-age population to the total population of India was misleading and an under-estimate. "School" in official language includes schools of all sorts, primary, secondary, technical and colleges and universities. From figures of population actually at school in the several states of U. S. of America and in the various countries of Europe and Australia it was conclusively proved that the figure varied between 23 and 24 and much shorter than that in American and European countries which is between 15 and 27 per cent. and that therefore the probable figure for such percentage in India ought to be rather 30 than 15. In India the average life is only between 40 and 50 and therefore the proportion of school-going-age population, i.e., population of say between 6 and 20 years of age to the total population, must be much greater in this country than in coun-

tries where average life is much longer. However, leaving this consideration of the effect of average life on educational statistics aside and going only from the figures of population actually at school in those advanced countries it is quite evident that the 15 per cent. figure assumed is obviously an under-estimate and in fairness and truth should be corrected by the Government as early as possible to the more probable figure of 30. If the figure of 15 per cent is assumed to represent only *primary-school-age* population, i.e., between the years of 6 and 12 it is very near the truth as shown from 1911 census figures by Hon. Mr. H. Sharp in "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912" Vol. I, p. 15. He says :

"The school-going population has been calculated in India as 15 per cent. of the population. Doubts have recently been cast upon this conventional figure.

.....
On the one hand, in a country which is tropical and sub-tropical the proportion of the population contained in the earlier age-periods is larger than in cold climates.....

"The primary course (and this is all that need be considered) ordinarily occupies from 5 to 6 years ; and the average age of school-life is from the comple-

tion of the tenth to the completion of the eleventh or twelfth year. These ages include (if we reckon to the end of the eleventh year) 13.7 per cent of the population, (if we reckon to the end of the twelfth year) just below 16 per cent. The old figure of 15 per cent. may therefore be taken as fairly correct."

How he jumps at once from 15 per cent as representing *primary*-school-age population to representing *all-school*-age population is a feat of jugglery which cannot be understood by the reasoning power of an ordinary human being.

In this note an attempt is made to prove the incorrectness of the figure of 15 per cent from the figures of male population actually at school in several Municipal areas in the Madras Presidency on 1st April 1915, taken from the official Report on Public Instruction. Had education of girls advanced in this country as much as that of boys, which it unfortunately has not, figures for education of female population would have been equally high, and therefore of total population. But the conclusion with regard to the percentage derived from figures of education of male population of any country stands good without the least modification for education of total population of that country.

Madras Presidency has more of its population urban than Bengal but less than Bombay. In Bombay one person in every 5 living in that presidency lives in towns, in Madras 1 in 8½ and in Bengal 1 in 15½. Thus nearly 12 per cent of the total population of Madras Presidency lives in towns or Municipal areas. There are 64 *tash* areas in the presidency including the city of Madras. Now out of these 64 areas as many as 47 or nearly three quarters have their school-going population above 15 per cent of their respective total population. Here school is taken to mean, as in official language, all schools and colleges. Is this not a startling fact that in 47 Municipal towns out of 64 in the Madras Presidency more than 15 per cent of the total population of the towns, i.e., more than the maximum ever attainable in the opinion of the Education Department, is already at school on the voluntary system? If compulsion by law, even for the primary stage of education, be resorted to in these areas, the percentage will be still higher and the supposed maximum of 15 per cent. will be left far far behind the actual percentage which the school population in those and other towns may then attain. Is this not enough to show

without a shred of doubt that the maximum of 15 per cent assumed by the department is a gross underestimate? I give below the table of the more populous of these fortunate 46 towns, and where more than the maximum number of boys are already receiving education and where there is no scope for more boys being brought to school in the opinion of the Department.

No.	Name of the town.	Total population.	Total male population.	Male population actually at school.	Per cent- age of col. 5 to 4.
1	Trichinopoly	1,23,512	61,560	11,427	18.5
2	Cahoot	78,417	40,680	6,821	16.8
3	Kumbakonam	64,647	31,327	5,593	17.4
4	Tanjore	60,341	28,777	5,437	18.9
5	Salem	59,153	29,232	5,518	18.9
6	Cocanada	54,110	26,629	4,642	17.4
7	Vellore	49,746	23,831	4,169	17.5
8	Rajahmundry	48,417	23,761	4,424	18.6
9	Mangalore	48,412	25,129	5,547	22.1
10	Combatores	47,007	23,399	5,428	23.2
11	Pallancottah	44,909	21,231	3,695	17.4
12	Tinnevely	44,805	21,246	4,200	19.8
13	Palghat	44,319	21,776	3,669	16.7
14	Vizagapatam	43,413	21,465	4,289	20.0
15	Masulipatam	42,123	20,536	4,311	21.0
16	Guntur	40,529	20,826	3,846	18.5
17	Ellore	37,819	18,302	2,975	16.3
18	Vizianagram	37,550	17,897	3,932	22.0
19	Nellore	33,246	16,180	2,865	17.7
20	Bezwada	32,867	17,026	2,654	15.0
21	Berhampur	31,456	15,331	2,577	16.8
22	Tellicherry	29,258	14,275	2,948	21.4
23	Cannanore	28,957	14,241	2,294	16.1
24	Mayavaram	27,121	13,264	2,869	21.6
25	Kurnool	26,040	12,766	2,757	21.6
26	Dindigul	25,052	12,720	2,290	18.0

Some one will argue that there is a source of error in the calculations given above and it is that boys migrating from villages to the towns mentioned above and staying there temporarily for study in high schools and colleges are included and their number ought to be eliminated to arrive at the correct percentage in the last column. This is no doubt correct. If figures of such boys were available, they should no doubt be deducted from figures in column 5 and the percentage in column 6 would be reduced to that extent. But this reduction would be very slight, not more than 1 to 2 per cent. Out of the 15 to 23 per cent male population shown in column 6, 9 to 14 per cent are made up by students of elementary and private schools only, the remaining 6 to 9 per cent being made up of boys studying in Secondary schools and colleges. At a rough estimate we can say that not more than one quarter of the total number of boys studying in all secondary schools and colleges came from

outside the Municipal areas, and hence a deduction of $\frac{1}{4}$ of 6 to 9 per cent, or say 2 per cent, should be made in order to eliminate any possible error due to temporary residence of village boys as pupils in the towns. Even after making this fairly liberal allowance of 2 per cent the 46 towns have 13 to 21 per cent, and in cases of some smaller towns more than 21 per cent, of their male population actually at school, a state of things approximating the ideal, or having gone beyond the ideal aimed at by the education department. Surely there is something wrong with this ideal, as it is too much to believe, though told to do so by the Education Department of the Government of India, that several large towns in the Madras Presidency, with their industrial and illiterate masses, have by the purely voluntary system gone much beyond the haven of education, and that there is no scope in these happy cities for a Compulsory Education Act. It is now high time for the department to change its maximum of school-age population from 15 per cent to 30 per cent of total population.

Madras and Madura are the largest cities in Madras Presidency, the former having a population of 5,18,660 and the latter 1,34,130. It is a well known fact

that in very large towns, there is always a much larger proportion of labouring and therefore illiterate population than in less populous towns of, say, 25,000 to one lakh. The city of Bombay with nearly a million souls has smaller percentage of its population at school than Ahmedabad. Karachi, Poona and Surat which have a population of one lakh to two and a quarter lakhs, and still smaller than towns having a population of less than a lakh of souls. Notwithstanding this fact Madras and Madura have 14.0 and 14.5 per cent of their population respectively at school, which is practically saying that in spite of their unfavourable circumstances with regard to mass education they have nearly reached the goal of education set before us by our rulers. We may hope that at the time of the publication of the next quinquennial report on education in India, i.e., for the period 1912-17 this gross underestimate of the maximum population that can be at school will be rectified and that educational statistics will be shown in their true dimensions and not double of what they actually are.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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IN early Vedic times justice was administered by the tribe and clan assemblies, and the judicial procedure was very simple.¹ But with the extension of the

functions of the State and the growth of the royal powers, the King came gradually to be regarded as the fountain of justice,² and a more or less elaborate system of judicial administration came into existence.

According to Brihaspati, "judicial

punishment (Danda) confirm this supposition. Vedic Index. I. Pp. 391-392.

He adds that there is very little recorded as to civil law or procedure in early Vedic literature.

2 "The King is the fountain-head of justice." Narada, (Jolly), Legal Procedure, III. 7. But Brihaspati says: "A Brahmana is the root of the tree of justice; the sovereign prince is its stem and branches; the ministers are its leaves and blossoms; and just government is its fruit." I. 34.

1 Prof. Macdonell says: "(In the early Vedic Age) there is no trace of an organised criminal justice vested either in the King or in the people. There still seems to have prevailed the system of wergeld (Vaira), which indicates that criminal justice seems to have remained in the hands of those who were wronged. In the Sutras, on the other hand, the King's peace is recognised as infringed, a penalty being paid to him, or according to the Brahminical text-books, to the Brahmins. It may, therefore, reasonably be conjectured that the royal power of jurisdiction steadily increased; the references in the Satapatha-Brahmana to the King as wielding

assemblies are of four sorts: stationary, not stationary, furnished with the King's signet ring, and directed (by the King). The judges are of as many sorts. A stationary court meets in a town or village; one not stationary is called movable; one furnished with (the King's) signet ring is superintended by the Chief Judge; one directed is held in the King's presence."¹

Narada says: "Family meetings (*kula*), corporations (*sreni*), village assemblies (*gana*), one appointed (by the King), and the King (himself) are invested with the power to decide lawsuits; and of these, each succeeding is superior to the one preceding it in order."²

At the head of the judicial system stood the King's Court. This Court was held at the capital, and was presided over, sometimes by the King himself, but more often by a learned Brahmana appointed for the purpose, who was known as the *Adhyaksha* or *Sabhapati*. The *Adhyaksha*, perhaps originally selected for each particular occasion, in course of time became a permanent Officer-of-State, and held the position of the Chief Justice (*Pradvivaka*) of the realm. The King, together with the *Pradvivaka* and three or four other judges (*dharmikah*), formed the highest Court of Justice.³ It was, however, the Chief Justice who in reality presided over the King's Court, even when the King was present. Narada says: "Attending to the dictates of the law book and adhering to the opinion of his Chief Justice, let him (i.e. the King) try causes in due order, exhibiting great care."⁴ *Brihaspati* describes the respective duties of the different members of the King's Court in these words: "The Chief Justice decides causes: the King inflicts punishments: the judges investigate the merits of the case."⁵ The

number of judges varied. According to Manu, three judges, besides the Chief Justice, were enough to form a court, but Chanakya held that the judicial assembly should consist of six persons,—three Officers-of-State, and three other learned persons.¹ According to the *Sukraniti*, the number of judges was to be uneven,—seven, five, or three.

The jury system, as it now prevails in the European countries, is somewhat different from what prevailed in Ancient India. The three or five members of the judicial assembly acted as jurors as well as judges, but the final decision rested with the Chief Judge. There is, however, one point on which we still require more light. It seems that, besides the members of the assembly, other persons present in court were permitted, on certain occasions, to offer their opinions. Narada says: "Whether authorised or unauthorised, one acquainted with the law shall give his opinion. He passes a divine sentence who acts up to the dictates of law."² The *Sukraniti* quotes this passage with approval, and adds: "Duly qualified merchants should be made hearers."³ The *Sukraniti* also quotes another passage from the *Smritis*, namely, "Either the court-house should not be entered, or the right word should be said. A man who does not speak, or speaks unjustly, incurs sin." The point is not clear, and we wonder how the custom, if it existed at all, worked in practice.

The Chief Justice and the puisne judges were chosen in view of their eminent character and deep learning.⁴ They were,

the judicial assembly." Manu, VIII. 10. The *Sukraniti* also says that the chief judge should sit with the members of the judicial assembly (*sabhya sabha*) to decide cases. II. 96.

1 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

2 Narada, Legal Procedure, III. 2.

3 Sukraniti, IV. 5, 27.

4 "The King should appoint as judges persons who are well versed in the Vedas and the other branches of learning, who are acquainted with the Sacred Law, and who are truthful and impartial towards friends and foes." Yajnavalkya, II. 2-3. Cf. *Brihaspati*, I. 29-30, and *Sukraniti*, IV. 5, 14. Narada says: "He is called a (*Pradvivaka*) chief judge who—fully acquainted with the eighteen titles (of law) and with the eight thousand subdivisions thereof, skilled in logic and other branches of science, and thoroughly versed in revealed and traditional lore—investigates the law relative to the case in hand by putting questions (*prat*) and passing a decision (*vivechayati*) according to what was heard or understood by him." Quotations from Narada, I. 1-2. Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII.

1. *Brihaspati*, I. 2-3.

2. Legal Procedure (Jolly), 7.

3. Manu says: "A King desirous of investigating law cases must enter his Court of Justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with Brahmanas and experienced councillors. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation of his dress or ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors." VIII. 12.

Yajnavalkya says: "The King, putting aside wrath and covetousness, should decide cases with the assistance of learned Brahmanas and in accordance with law." II. 1. According to the *Sukraniti*, the King was never to try cases alone and by himself.

4. Narada (Jolly), Legal Procedure, 35.

5. *Brihaspati*, I. 6. "He (the *Adhyaksha*) should decide cases with the assistance of three members (of

as a rule, Brahmanas, but sometimes a few of them were selected from the other castes.

The King's Court, it seems, had two sorts of jurisdiction, namely, original and appellate. As an original court it tried all cases which arose within the boundaries of the capital. On its appellate side it was the highest Court of Appeal for all cases which were triable in the first instance by the inferior courts.¹ The King's Court also exercised a sort of general supervision over the administration of justice throughout the country.

Next in importance to the King's Court were the principal courts held in the important centres² and in the larger towns forming the headquarters of districts or sub-districts.³ The constitution of these courts was very similar to that of the King's Court. Royal officers, assisted by persons learned in the law, administered justice in these courts. They were presided over by adhyakshas appointed by the Central Government. They had original jurisdiction in respect of all cases arising within the boundaries of the towns in which they sat, and also of the more important civil and criminal cases occurring in the neighbouring villages. And it seems that they had a sort of appellate jurisdiction over the decisions of the lower courts within the districts or sub-districts of which the towns formed the headquarters.

As a rule, the same courts tried both civil and criminal cases. The Smṛiti works do not draw any distinction between civil and criminal courts. But Chanakya mentions, besides the ordinary law courts (dharmasthiya), a class of "courts for the removal of the thorns of the state" (Kantaka-sodhana). These latter were what may be called administrative courts. They were presided over by three Officers-of-State,⁴ and dealt with offences which affected not so much the rights of individuals as the interests of the community, and interfered with the proper government of the realm.⁵

Besides these courts, each village had its local court, which was composed of the headman and the elders of the village.¹ Such courts decided minor criminal cases, such as petty thefts, as well as civil suits of a trifling nature, like disputes relating to the boundaries of lands situated within the village.² Their powers it seems, were limited to the transfer of the possession of property and the inflicting of small fines. Decisions in these courts were given in accordance with the opinion of the majority of honest persons composing the courts.³ The idea of a system of local courts for the disposal of cases seems to have been firmly rooted in the minds of the people. The Sukraniti says: "They are the (best) judges of the merits of a case who live in the place where the accused person resides, and where the subject-matter of the dispute has arisen."⁴ Brihaspati goes so far as to recommend that "for persons roaming in the forest a court should be held in the forest, for warriors in the camp, and for merchants in the caravan."⁵ And it seems that this recommendation was, at least on many occasions, carried into effect for the convenience of suitors. From a Ceylon inscription we learn that itinerant justices from the capital used to visit different parts of the island for the disposal of cases and for the purpose of supervising the system of administration of justice.⁶ It

1 'Grama-vriddhah,' Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 9.

2 A flood of light is thrown on the system of administration of justice in Ceylon by the Veva'akatiya Slab-inscription of Mahinda IV. (1026-1042 A.D.). From this inscription we learn that within the Dasagama justice was administered by means of a Communal Court composed of headmen and responsible householders subject to the authority of the King in Council, and that this Court had the power to try all cases and to inflict even the extreme punishment of death. It runs thus: "... They (the headmen and the householders) shall sit in session and enquire of the inhabitants of the Dasagam (in regard to these crimes). The proceedings of the enquiry having been so recorded that the same may be produced (hereafter), they shall have the murderer punished with death. Out of the property taken by the thieves by violence, they shall have such things as have been identified restored to their respective owners, and have (the thieves) hanged. . . ." Epigraphia Zeylonica, Vol. I. No. 21.

3 "Yato bahavah suchayo" numatava tato niyachcheyuh." Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 9.

4 IV. 5, 24.

5 Brihaspati, I. 25.

6 The passage runs thus: "Should the inhabitants of these Dasagam villages have transgressed any of the rules stated (above) the royal officials who go annually (on circuit) to administer justice (in the country) shall . . ." Epigraphia Zeylonica, Vol. I. No. 21.

1 Brihaspati, I. 30.

2 'Janapada-sandhi,' Arthashastra, Bk. II. Ch. 36.

3 'Sangraha,' 'dronamukha,' 'sthaniya,' Arthashastra, Bk. II. ch. 36.

4 These officials were to be either ministers (amatyah) or directors (pradestarah). Arthashastra, Bk. IV, ch. 1.

5 Arthashastra, Bk. IV., deals with cases which were triable by these administrative courts.

is very probable that a similar system existed in India also.

The work of the regular courts was greatly lightened by arbitrators. All cases, except those concerning violent crimes, could be decided by arbitration by guilds of artisans, assemblies of co-habitants, meetings of religious sects, and by other bodies duly authorised by the King.¹ Narada is a great believer in the system of arbitration, and he says: "(In disputes) among merchants, artisans or the like persons, and in (disputes concerning) persons subsisting by agriculture or as dyers, it is impossible for outsiders to pass a sentence; and the passing of the sentence must, therefore, be entrusted to persons acquainted with such matters (in a cause of this sort)." This system had the great merit of giving substantial justice to the disputants and, at the same time, preventing ruinous litigation.

The relations subsisting between the different kinds of courts are thus described by Brihaspati: "When a cause has not been (duly) investigated by (meetings of) kindred, it should be decided after due deliberation by companies (of artisans); when it has not been duly examined by companies (of artisans), it should be decided by assemblies (of co-habitants); and when it has not been (sufficiently) made out by such assemblies (it should be) tried by appointed (judges)."² And again, "Judges are superior in authority to (meetings of) kindred and the rest: the chief judge is placed above them; and the King is superior to all, because he passes just sentences" (Yajñavalkya).³ Narada⁴ also describes these relations in terms almost identical with those used by Brihaspati. A gatha quoted by Asahaya in his commentary of Narada runs thus: "A case tried in the village (assembly) goes (on appeal) to the city (court); and one tried in the city (court) goes (on appeal) to the King

(i.e. the King's Court); but there is no appeal from the decision of the King, whether the decision be right or wrong."¹ These and other similar passages leave no doubt in our minds that there was a regular mode of appeal from the decisions of the inferior courts to the superior courts. How far this right of appeal was recognised in practice, and to what extent the people actually availed themselves of the right are questions which our present knowledge of the history of Ancient India does not enable us to answer with any degree of satisfaction.

So much about the Courts of Justice. We now pass on to a consideration of judicial procedure as it prevailed in Ancient India. Justice was administered in accordance with legal rules which fell under one or other of the following four heads: (a) Sacred Law (Dharma), (b) Secular Law (Vyavahara), (c) Custom (Charitra), and (d) Royal Commands (Rajasasana).² "Sacred Law," says Chanakya, "is the embodiment of truth; Secular Law depends upon evidence; Custom is decided by the opinion of people; and Royal Edicts constitute administrative law."³ Some of the Smṛiti works adopt slightly different orders of classification, and they are often unwilling to admit the validity of Royal Edicts in the administration of justice. Opinion is also divided as to the relative importance of the different sets of legal rules. Chanakya and Narada agree in holding that "each following one is superior to the one previously named" in the above classification; but the former adds, "When there is disagreement between Sacred Law and Secular Law, or between Sacred Law and Custom, the matter should be decided according to Sacred Law. When, however, there is disagreement

1 Jolly, Narada, footnote to I. 11:

"Grame dristah pure yati pura dristastu rajani
Rajaa dristah kudristo va nasti paunarbhavo
vidhih."

¹ Brihaspati, I. 28. Vide also Sukraniti, Ch. IV. sec. 5.

² I. 30. Brihaspati adds: "(Meetings of) kindred, companies (of artisans), assemblies (of co-habitants), and chief judges are declared to be resorts for the passing of a sentence, to whom he whose cause has been previously tried may appeal in succession." I. 29.

³ "Kulaṇi srenayashaiva ganaschadhikrito
nripah."
Pratistha vyavaharanam purvebhyastuttarottaram."
Narada (Jolly's edn.), I. 7.

⁴ Yajñavalkya, II. 30

² Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1. The Smṛiti works adopt slightly different orders of classification.

³ Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1. A similar passage occurs in Narada (Legal Procedure, 10-11); but instead of 'caritram sangrahe pumsam,' we find there the words 'caritram pustakarane.' Prof. Jolly's translation of this passage does not appear to us to be correct.

'Vyavahara' is defined in the Sukraniti as that "which, by discriminating between good and evil, enables the people to remain on the path of virtue, and promotes their welfare." IV. 5.1.

between Sacred Law and morality, morality shall prevail, for it is likely that the original text (governing such a case) has been lost."¹ According to Narada, "When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of Sacred Law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because Custom decides everything and overrules the Sacred Law. Divine Law has a subtle nature, and is occult and difficult to understand. Therefore (the King or the judges) must try causes according 'to the visible path.'"² Thus, in practice, customs were the most of the four divisions of law, and Manu³ and almost all the other lawyers lay it down as the essential principle in the administration of justice that disputes should be decided according to the customs of countries and districts (janapada), of castes (jati), of guilds (sreni), and of families (kula).

The regular courts met once or twice every day, usually in the mornings and evenings. The Court-house was looked upon as a sacred place, and it was open to all. Trials were always held in public. The Sukraniti says: "Neither the King nor the members of the judicial assembly should ever try cases in private."⁴ Cases were taken up for disposal either in the order of their respective applications, or of their urgency, or of the nature of the injury suffered, or of the relative importance of the castes⁵ of suitors. The royal officers were strictly forbidden to take any part either in the commencement or in the subsequent conduct of a suit. Manu is very emphatic on this point. "Neither the King," says he, "nor any servant of his shall cause a lawsuit to be begun, or hush up one that has been brought (before the court) by (some) other (person)."⁶ It is not very clear whether this rule was confined only to civil suits, or applied to criminal cases as well. But it is probable that, in the graver criminal offences, the State took upon itself the duty of conducting the prosecution.⁷

1 *Ārthasastra*, Bk. III. ch. 1. Vajhavalikya, comparing *Dharmasastra* and *Ārthasastra*, remarks that the former is the more authoritative of the two.

2 Narada (Jolly), *Legal Procedure*, 41.

3 Manu, VIII. 41.

4 Sukraniti, IV. 4, 6.

5 Sukraniti, IV. 5, 161.

6 Manu, VIII. 13. Cf. Narada (Jolly), *Judicial Procedure*, 3.

7 In the trial scene in the *Sudra* (Mitrachakataka,

Lawsuits, according to Narada, have three efficient causes, for they proceed from one or other of three motives, namely, carnal desire, wrath, and greed.¹ "When mortals," says Narada, "were bent on doing their duty, and were habitually veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. The practice of duty having died out among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced."² The topics which gave rise to lawsuits were grouped by the law-givers under eighteen titles, namely, (1) recovery of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between owners of cattle and herdsmen, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) inheritance and partition, and (18) gambling and betting.³ It is evident that the list includes both civil and criminal cases. Although it was not found necessary to draw a line of separation between the two classes, the distinction, it appears, was fully understood. This becomes clear from the following passage which occurs in Brihaspati Smṛiti: "Law-suits are of two kinds, according as they originate in (demands regarding) wealth or in injuries. Law-suits originating in wealth are (divided again) into fourteen sorts, those originating in injuries into four sorts."⁴ Most of these titles had sub-divisions, which, taken together, amounted to one hundred and thirty-two.⁵

however, we find that in a murder case the court commences its proceedings on the application of a private person (arthi). It is difficult to say whether this was or was not the usual practice.

1 Narada (Jolly), I. 26.

2 Narada (Jolly's edn), I. 1-2. This is an illustration of the fact that men in all ages have looked back upon the remote past as the Golden Age of the World.

3 Manu, VIII. 4-7. The titles given in some of the other law books are slightly different.

4 Brihaspati, II. 5.

5 Narada gives the following list: "'Recovery of debt' has twenty-five divisions; 'deposits' has six; 'partnership' has three; 'resumption of gifts' has four; 'breach of service' consists of nine divisions; 'wages' has four divisions; there are two divisions of 'sales effected by another than the rightful owner';

The judicial proceedings in a case consisted of four stages, namely (1) the statement of the plaintiff (*purva-paksha*), (2) the reply of the defendant (*uttara-paksha*), (3) the actual trial, consisting of the evidence to establish the case and the arguments on both sides (*Kriya*), and (4) the decision (*nirnaya*).¹

Proceedings at law, according to Narada, were of two kinds: "Attended by a wager, or not attended by a wager. A lawsuit attended by a wager is where (either of the two parties) stakes in writing a certain sum which has to be paid besides the sum in dispute (in case of defeat)." ² This system of wager, however, is not to be found in other works, and probably in Narada's time only the remembrance existed of a custom which had died out long ago. It is interesting to note that the system of wagers in India was analogous to a similar custom in Rome in the earlier stages of the development of Roman legal procedure.

All civil actions as well as criminal cases were commenced by written petitions or verbal complaints made before the court by the aggrieved party. The date and the place of occurrence, the nature of the wrong done or of the claim made, and the names of the plaintiff (*urthi*) and the defendant (*pratyarthi*) were entered in the books of the court. ³ An important point for the court to determine at this stage was the capacity of the parties. If one of the parties was incapable of suing or

defending, the suit could not be proceeded with.

The first important step in the trial was the statement of the case by the plaintiff. ⁴ He had to cause the plaintiff to be put in writing, either by the officer of the court or by his legal adviser. A great deal of care, it seems, had to be taken in the preparation of the plaint, for Narada mentions the following as the defects of a plaint, namely "(1) if it relates to a different subject, (2) if it is unmeaning, (3) if the amount claimed has not been properly stated, (4) if it is wanting in propriety, (5) if the writing is deficient, or (6) redundant, (7) if it has been damaged." ⁵ A small verbal error, however, did not vitiate the plaint. ⁶ On the other hand, a plaint, though otherwise faultless, was held as incorrect if it was contrary to established law and usage. ⁷ The next step was the issue of summons for the attendance of the defendant. It was the duty of the defendant to attend the court on receipt of the summons; and if he attempted to abscond, the plaintiff might arrest him, to secure his presence in court. Such arrest might be one or other of four kinds, namely, local arrest, temporary arrest, inhibition from travelling, and arrest relating to his work. ⁸

The defendant, after having become acquainted with the tenour of the plaint, had to give a written reply. ⁹ A reply might be one or other of four sorts, namely, a denial (*mithya*), a confession (*samprati-patti*), a special plea (*pratyavaskandana*),

'non-delivery of a sold chattel' has a single division only; 'rescission of purchase' has four divisions; 'transgression of compact' is one-fold; 'boundary disputes' is twelve-fold; there are twenty divisions in 'mutual duties of husband and wife'; 'the law of inheritance' consists of nineteen divisions; 'heinous offences' of twelve; of both 'abuse' and 'assault' there are three divisions; 'gambling with dice and betting on animals' has a single division; 'miscellaneous' has six divisions." I. 20-25.

• 1 Brihaspati, III. 1-2. Vide also Sukraniti, IV. 5, 153. A good description of the actual proceedings in a criminal case is to be found in Sudraka's *Mrichchakatika*. Probably, this portion of the drama, like the rest, was based upon a much earlier work entitled 'Charudattam' by Bhasa; but, unfortunately, the whole of this latter book has not yet been discovered.

2 Narada (Jolly), Legal Procedure, 4.

3 Arthashastra, Bk IV. ch. 1. Yajñavalkya says that the representation, as made by the plaintiff, is to be put in writing in the presence of the defendant—the year, month, fortnight, and day, together with the names, caste, etc., being given.

1 "The accusation," says Narada, "is called the plaint: the answer is called the declaration of the defendant." Legal Procedure, 28. There were, according to Narada, two modes of plaint, "because a plaint may be either founded on suspicion or a fact." Ibid. 27.

2 Narada, Legal Procedure, II. 8.

3 Ibid. II. 25.

4 Ibid. II. 15.

5 Narada, Legal Procedure, 47. The following classes of persons, according to Narada, might not be arrested, namely, "one about to marry; one tormented of illness; one about to offer a sacrifice; one afflicted by a calamity; one accused by another; one employed in the King's service; cowherds engaged in tending cattle; cultivators in the act of cultivation; artisans while engaged in their own occupations; a minor; a messenger; one about to give alms; one fulfilling a vow; one harassed by difficulties."

6 The reply, according to Narada, was to correspond with the tenour of the plaint. Legal Procedure, II. 2.

a plea of former judgment (prannyaya).¹ Before the answer to the plaint was tendered, the plaintiff was at liberty to amend his plaint in any way he liked,² but after the delivery of the reply, no amendment was permitted. The plaintiff was entitled to submit a rejoinder to the defendant's reply.

If the case was a simple one, it was decided then and there. But if it was one which involved any important questions of fact or of law, and was not a matter of any urgency, the parties were given time to prepare their respective sides of the case.³ Where the defendant denied the charge or claim, the plaintiff had to prove his accusation or demand. Under certain circumstances, however, the burden of proof might be shifted from the plaintiff to the defendant.⁴ If the plaintiff failed to produce witnesses, or did not appear within three fortnights, he was non-suited. And if it was proved that the plaintiff had no just cause for bringing the suit, he was ordered to pay a fine. Counter-charges were not, as a rule, permitted. "One accused," says Narada, "of an offence, must not lodge a plaint himself, unless he has refuted the charge raised by the other party."⁵ But in certain classes of civil actions, such as disputes between members of a trade guild or between merchants, or in quarrels leading to duels, counter-suits were allowed.⁶ When two persons brought suits against each other, he was admitted as plaintiff whose grievance was the greater, or whose affair was the more important of the two, and not the person who was the first to go to law.⁷ A person who had already been accused by another person could not be accused by a different party

of the same offence, "for it is wrong to strike one again who has been struck (by another)."¹

Facts in a case were proved by evidence² which was either oral, or documentary, or real.³ In cases relating to property, possession was regarded as some evidence of ownership.⁴ Although all the forms of evidence were equally admissible, the oral evidence of witnesses was the commonest mode of proving a fact. Direct evidence was generally regarded as superior to circumstantial evidence, but in certain cases, e.g., theft and housebreaking, the latter was often the only kind of evidence available, and was held sufficient.⁵ It seems that hearsay evidence was not always excluded.⁶

The eligibility of witnesses was an important question. Householders, men with male issue, and natives of the country belonging to any of the few castes were regarded as eligible witnesses.⁷ Persons

1 Narada, I. 55.

2 In six cases, witnesses were held unnecessary, and indications of the crime committed were regarded as sufficient. "It should be known," says Narada, "that one carrying a firebrand in his hand is an incendiary; that one taken with a weapon in his hand is a murderer; and that where a man and the wife of another man seize one another by the hair, the man must be an adulterer. One who goes about with a hatchet in his hand and makes his approach may be recognised as a destroyer of bridges (and embankments); one carrying an axe is a destroyer of trees. One whose looks are suspicious is likely to have committed an assault. In all these cases, witnesses may be dispensed with; in the case of assault, careful investigation is required." I. 175. The indications may be regarded as constituting what is called 'real' and 'circumstantial' evidence.

3 "Evidence of guilt against a suspected person shall consist in the instruments used, his advisers and abettors, the article stolen, and any intermediaries." Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 8. Vasistha says: "It is declared in the Smṛiti that there are three kinds of proof which give title to (property, viz.) documents, witnesses, and possession; (thereby) an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him (but was lost)." He adds: In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance (may be placed on the depositions) of neighbours. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, documents (are) proof. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance (may be placed) on (the statements of) aged (inhabitants) of the village or town, and on (those of) guilds and corporations (of artisans and trades).

4 Cf. the English legal proverb, "Possession is nine points of the law."

5 Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 8.

6 Manu says: "Evidence in accordance with what has actually been seen or heard is admissible." VIII. 74.

7 Manu, VIII. 62, Cf. Narada (I. 177-190), who gives a longer list.

1 Narada (Jolly), II. 4.

2 Ibid. II. 7.

3 Gautama says: "If (the defendant) is unable to answer (the plaint) at once, (the judge) may wait for a year. But (in an action) covering kine, draught-oxen, women, or the procreation (of offspring), the defendant (shall answer) immediately; likewise in a case that will suffer by delay." XIII. 28-30. Narada also advises the King to give time to the defendant except in urgent affairs, heinous offences, etc. I. 44-45.

4 For instance, "when the defendant has evaded the plaint by means of a special plea, it becomes incumbent on him to prove his assertion, and he is placed in the position of a claimant." Narada (Judicial Procedure), II. 31.

5 Narada Legal Procedure, 55.

6 Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

7 Quotations from Narada (Jolly), I. 8.

who had an interest in the suit, familiar friends and companions, enemies of the parties, persons formerly convicted of perjury, persons suffering from some severe illness, and those tainted by mortal sin, were ineligible as witnesses.¹ And no person belonging to any of the following classes could be called as a witness, except under special circumstances: the King, mechanics, and actors, a student of the Veda, an ascetic, one wholly dependent, a person of ill repute, a dasyu, a person who followed forbidden occupations, an aged man, an infant, a man of the lowest caste, one extremely grieved, or intoxicated, one oppressed by hunger, thirst, or fatigue, a mad man, one tormented by desire, a wrathful man, and a thief.² The reasons why such persons were excluded from the witness box are thus indicated by Narada: "A child would speak falsely from ignorance, a woman from want of veracity, an impostor from habitual depravity, a relative from affection, and an enemy from desire of revenge." The ground on which some of the other classes were excluded appears to have been the desire on the part of the State to prevent, as far as possible, any interference with the ordinary vocations of the people. On failure of competent witnesses, however, the evidence of an infant, an aged person, a woman, a student, a relative, or a servant, might be offered.⁴

Uncorroborated evidence of a single witness was regarded as insufficient for the decision of a case, unless the witness happened to be a person possessed of exceptional qualifications and was agreeable to both the parties.⁵

Before the deposition of a witness was taken, it was the duty of the judge to

1 According to Vishnu, the proper witnesses are those born of a high family, possessing good qualifications or wealth, devoted to religious practices and sacrifices, those who have sons, who are versed in the law, who are truthful, who are devoted to study. Ch. 8 (Jolly's Sanskrit text).

2 Manu, VIII. 65-68.

3 I. 191.

4 Manu, 69-70. "But," adds Manu, "the judge should consider the evidence of infants, aged and diseased persons as untrustworthy, likewise that of disordered minds." VIII. 71. The competence of witnesses, in the opinion of Manu, should not be strictly examined in certain classes of criminal cases, e.g. violence, theft, adultery, defamation, and assault. VIII. 72.

5 Narada, I. 192; Manu, VIII. 77; Yajurveda, II. 72; Vishnu, VIII. 9.

impress on the witness the necessity of telling the truth, and the consequences, legal and moral, of telling a falsehood.¹ Witnesses were also charged on oath to speak the truth. According to Gautama, in the case of persons other than Brahmanas the oath was to be taken in the presence of the gods, of the King, or of the Brahmanas.² Perjury was regarded as a dire sin as well as a serious offence, and a witness who perjured himself was liable to be fined from one hundred to one thousand pausas, the exact amount of the fine depending upon the motive which induced him to give false evidence.³

Documentary evidence (lekhyā) was frequently resorted to in Ancient India, specially in civil actions. Vishnu mentions three kinds of documents, namely, (1) attested by the King's officers, (2) attested by private witnesses, and (3) unattested.⁴ According to Narada, a document, to be valid, should be signed by witnesses, the (natural) order of ideas and syllables should not be interrupted, local customs and general rules should be observed in it, and it should be complete in every respect.⁵

For the purpose of drawing conclusions from the evidence offered in court, it was the duty of the judge to weigh such evidence, and not merely to count the number of witnesses and documents on each side.⁶ Narada says: "There are some who give false evidence from covetousness, there are other villainous wretches who resort to forging documentary evidence. Therefore both sorts of evidence must be tested by the King with great care: documents according

1 Manu says that the judge should exhort the witnesses as follows: "A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame." "Such testimony is revered by Brahmana himself." And so on. Manu, VIII. 81-86. According to Gautama, Vasistha, and Boudhayana also, by giving false evidence a person incurs sin in varying degrees.

2 Gautama, XIII. 12-13.

3 Manu, VIII. 120-121. Megasthenes says: "A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities." Fragment XXVII.

4 Vishnu (Jolly's Sanskrit text) Ch. V. Brihaspati says: "Writings are declared to be tenfold." V. 18.

5 Quotations from Narada, IV. 1.

6 Manu, however, says: "On a conflict of witnesses the King shall accept (as true) the (evidence of the) majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born." VIII. 73.

to the rules regarding writings, witnesses according to the law of witnesses.¹ The means of arriving at the truth were regarded as four-fold, namely, 1. visible indications (pratyaksha), 2. reasoning (yukti), 3. inference (anumana), and 4. analogy (upamana).² If the witnesses disagreed with one another as to time, age, matter, quantity, shape, and species, such testimony was to be held as worthless. The judges were advised to note the demeanour of a witness in court and to draw an inference as to his veracity therefrom.³ But Narada, very wisely, cautions judges against accepting indications too readily. "Liars," says he, "may have the appearance of veracious men, and veracious men may resemble liars. There are many different characters. Therefore, it is necessary to examine (everything)." Safeguards were provided against the miscarriage of justice through belief in false evidence. And whenever it was found that the decision in a case was based upon false or insufficient evidence, the judgment was reversed, and all the proceedings in the case were declared null and void.⁴

The other modes of arriving at the truth, besides evidence, were the oath and the ordeal (divya). These methods, it seems, were resorted to only when evidence failed to establish the case one way or the other. As to the oath, Manu says, "let the judge cause a Brahmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain, and gold, and a Sudra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences."⁵ The ordeal was a divine test.⁶ It was used in criminal cases, and was of various kinds, such as (i) by the balance, (ii)

by fire, (iii) by water, and (iv) by poison.⁷ If the accused person was unhurt, or did not meet with any speedy misfortune, he was held to be innocent.⁸ Resort was had to the expedient of the ordeal when both the parties failed to bring witnesses, or to produce documentary evidence, and the merit of the case was so doubtful that the judges felt disinclined to take upon themselves the responsibility to give a decision.⁹ These methods were thus used only on rare occasions, and they became obsolete in course of time, leaving evidence as practically the sole method by which the court arrived at the right decision as to the guilt or innocence of an accused person.

Sometimes judicial investigation supplemented the information obtained by evidence offered in court. But great care was taken against an abuse of this method. Hsien Tsiang emphatically states that "in the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs."¹⁰

The next stage of the trial was the argument on both sides. When the parties themselves were persons unacquainted with the law, they were sometimes represented for the purpose of arguing the case

1 Manu, VIII. 114. Vishnu and Narada give detailed descriptions of the different kinds of ordeal. Hsien Tsiang, who was perhaps an eye-witness of ordeals, thus describes them: "When the ordeal is by water, then the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence or guilt in this way—if the man sinks, and the stone floats, he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks, then he is pronounced innocent. Secondly, by fire: They heat a plate of iron, and make the accused sit on it, and again place his feet on it, and apply it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, guilt is proved. In case of weak or timid persons who cannot endure such ordeal, they take a flower-bud and cast it towards the fire; if it opens he is innocent; if the flower is burnt, he is guilty. Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly; then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises, and the stone falls. Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram, and make an incision in the thigh (of the animal); if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect, and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect, and he survives. By these four modes of trial, the way of crime is stopped." Beal, Buddhist Records, Bk. II.

2 Manu, VIII. 115.

3 Vide Abul Fazl's *Ayecn-i-Akbery*, p. 495.

4 Buddhist Records, (Beal), Bk.

1 Narada, *Legal Procedure*, 70.

2 Sukraniti, II. 93.

3 "If a man being questioned does not uphold a statement duly made by himself (at a former stage of the trial); or if he ends by admitting what had been previously negated by himself; or if he is unable to produce any witnesses after having declared that they are in existence, and having been asked to produce them; by all such signs as these, persons devoid of virtue may be known." Narada, *Legal Procedure*, 61.

Abul Fazl, describing the Hindu system of administration of justice, says: "The judge will derive collateral proof by the physiognomy and prevarication of the party." *Ayecn-i-Akbery* (Gladwin), p. 496.

4 Manu, VIII. 117.

5 'Divya' is a term not found in early Vedic literature.

6 Manu, VIII. 113.

by their relatives, or friends, or professional lawyers (*pratinidhi*).¹ Such representation, it seems, was usual in the civil suits and in the less serious criminal cases, but no representation was permitted in the graver criminal offences, such as murder, adultery, abduction, forgery, sedition, robbery, and theft.²

Judgment was delivered at the end of the hearing of a case. In applying the law to a particular case, the judges were expected to take into consideration all the circumstances. "No sentence," says Brihaspati, "should be passed merely in accordance with the letter of the law. If a decision is arrived at without considering the circumstances of the case violation of justice will be the result."³ The judgment was embodied in a document, a copy of which was furnished to the victorious party.⁴

The remedies given by the courts depended upon the character and circumstances of each case. In civil actions, the usual remedies were restoration of property and fines. The courts had also power to declare agreements as invalid. Thus, for instance, contracts entered into under provocation, compulsion, or intoxication, or by dependents, infants, aged persons, and lunatics, were often held as void.⁵ In an action for the recovery of debts the court had the power to modify the whole transaction, and to grant only a reasonable rate of interest. In criminal cases, the punishments were :⁶ (i) fine, (ii) im-

prisonment, (iii) whipping, (iv) physical torture, (v) banishment, (vi) condemnation to work in the mines, and (vii) death.

The punishment awarded in criminal cases corresponded to the nature of the offence.⁷ The extreme penalty of death was rarely inflicted,⁸ and any other kind of corporal punishment was uncommon. "The King," says Fa Hian, "in the administration of justice inflicts no corporal punishment, but each culprit is fined in money according to the gravity of his offence, and even in cases where the culprit has been guilty of repeated attempts to excite rebellion, they restrict themselves to the cutting off of his right hand." This statement is confirmed by Hsuen Tsiang and Sung Yun. Hsuen Tsiang says: "There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men."⁹ Megasthenes mentions cropping of the hair as a punishment. If one is guilty," says he, "of a heinous offence, the King orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment in the last degree infamous."¹⁰

Sureties (*pratibhu*)¹¹ for good behaviour were also sometimes taken from persons found guilty of criminal offences. Abettors of a crime were punished in a manner similar to the punishment provided for the principal offender.

The extra-judicial remedy of self-help was also recognised by the courts within reasonable limits. Manu, for instance, says: "By moral suasion, by suits of law, by artful management, or by the customary proceeding, a creditor may recover property lent; and fifthly, by force. A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor must not be blamed by the King for retaking what is his own."¹²

If any person was dissatisfied with the judgment, and thought that the case had been decided in a way contrary to justice, he might have it re-tried on payment of a fine. Narada says: "When a lawsuit has been judged without any previous exami-

1. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 110. According to Sukra, the lawyer's fee was to be one-sixteenth of the value of the suit. IV. 5, 114.

Narada says: "He deserves punishment who speaks in behalf of another, without being either the brother, the father, the son, or the appointed agent." Narada (Judicial Procedure), II., 23.

2. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 120.

3. Brihaspati, II. 12.

4. Narada says: "The victorious party shall receive a document recording his victory, and couched in appropriate language." Legal Procedure, II. 43. Brihaspati says: "Whatever has been transacted in a suit, the plaint, answer, and so forth, as well as the gist of the trial, should be noted completely in the document recording the success (of the claimant or defendant)."

5. Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 1.

6. Narada says: "Punishment is pronounced to be two-fold: bodily punishment and fines. Bodily punishment is declared to be of ten sorts, fines are also of more than one kind. Fines begin with a *Kakani*, and the highest amount is one's entire property. Bodily punishment begins with confinement, and ends with capital punishment." Jolly, Appendices, 53-54.

1. Brihaspati VI. 2.

2. Sung Yun, speaking of the Kingdom of Udyana (Kashmir), says: "Supposing a man has committed murder, they do not suffer him to be killed, but banish him to the desert mountains." Buddhist Records, p. 188.

3. Fa Hian (Beal), Ch. XVI.

4. Buddhist Records (Beal), Bk. II.

5. Fragment XXVII. D.

6. Sukraniti, IV. 5, 125. 7. Manu, VIII. 49-50.

nation of witnesses (or other evidence), or when it has been decided in an improper manner, or when it has been judged by unauthorised persons, the trial has to be renewed."¹ An appeal also lay from the decision of an inferior court to a higher tribunal, where the whole case was re-tried.²

We now pass on to a consideration of some of the important features of the administration of justice in Ancient India. The first characteristic that strikes the enquirer is the responsibility of the judges and their independence. The judges had to perform their duties in accordance with the law, and it was their duty to deal out equal justice to all.³ If they transgressed the laws, or acted improperly in the discharge of their duties, they not only incurred sin,⁴ but were liable to be punished. Chanakya prescribes punishment for any unrighteous behaviour on the part of the judges. "If a judge," says he, "chides or threatens or sends out or unjustly silences a litigant, he shall be liable to the first amercement. If he defames any litigant, his punishment shall be double the amount. If he does not ask any questions which ought to be asked, or asks questions which ought not to be asked, or having asked a question, leaves it out, or tutors a witness, or reminds him what he said before, he shall be liable to the second amercement. If he does not enquire into relevant matters or enquires into irrelevant matters, or unnecessarily delays the trial, or maliciously postpones business, or makes one of the parties leave the court disgusted and tired, or leaves out statements which may lead to a right decision, or lends assistance to the witnesses, or takes up a case already decided, he shall be liable to the first amercement. On a repetition of the offence, his punishment shall be double, and he shall be

removed from office."⁵ So also, Yajñavalkya says: "If the members of the judicial assembly give any decisions contrary to law and custom, through affection, temptation, or fear, each of them would be liable to double the punishment provided for the case."⁶ But if the responsibility of the judges was great, so was their independence. The law was their only master and guide, and they had power to deal equally with the high and the low. The administration of justice was kept separate from the executive functions of the State, and no interference with judicial business by the executive was permitted.

Another feature of the judicial system was that every person resident in the country, whatever his position might be, and whether he was a native or a foreigner,⁷ received the protection of the courts. Such protection was, of course, specially appreciated by the weaker members of society. If a *dasa*, for instance, was ill-treated, he was permitted by the courts to leave his master, and the courts inflicted a punishment on the master if he failed to liberate the *dasa* on receipt of a ransom.⁸ So also, servants were protected from ill-treatment at the hands of their masters. A servant could, with the help of the courts, enforce the payment of his wages, and any agreement made between master and servant to the prejudice of the latter was liable to be set aside by the courts.⁹

The third feature of the legal system is not one which is very pleasing to note. Although every member of the society had a *locus standi* in the courts, the idea of equality before the law was not fully developed in Ancient India. A modified form of privilege ran through the whole system of Hindu Jurisprudence. The law was not the same for all, but depended upon the status of the person concerned. If a man belonging to one of the higher

¹ Quotations from Narada (Jolly), I. 14.

² Brihaspati, I. 29-30.

³ Manu, VIII. 13-14.

⁴ Manu says: "When any injustice is done, one-fourth of the sin attaches to the wrong-doer, one-fourth to the witness, one-fourth to the judges, and the remaining fourth to the King." VIII. 18. Abul Fazl, speaking of the administration of justice in Hindu India, says, "He (the judge) must consider it a religious obligation to discharge the duties of his office with impartiality and justice." Ayeen-i-Akbery (Gladwin), p. 405.

⁵ 1 Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 9. Kautilya says further: "If the judge, or the director, unjustly fines anybody, he shall be fined twice the amount. If he condemns any person unjustly to bodily punishment, he shall himself suffer the same punishment, or be fined twice the amount of the ransom payable."

⁶ II. 4. Some of the other *Smṛiti* works also prescribe punishments for judges who transgress the law.

⁷ Vide Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 2.

⁸ Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 13.

⁹ Arthashastra, Bk. III. ch. 14.

castes committed an offence, his punishment was lighter than what would be inflicted on a man of a lower grade for a similar offence. As an instance may be mentioned the fact that the Brahmanas, as a rule, enjoyed immunity from the more degrading kinds of punishment provided for criminal offences.¹

From the records preserved in Indian literature as well as from the accounts left by foreign travellers, it seems quite clear that the administration of justice was very efficient in Ancient India. This must have been the result of three factors, namely, the uprightness of the judges, the efficiency of the police, and the general honesty and probity of the people. Judges were recruited from the class of learned Brahmanas who were noted for their high character and purity of life. Adequate measures were taken to secure the efficiency

of the police force. As for the last factor, the testimony of the most eminent foreign observers is conclusive. "Theft," says Megasthenes, "is of very rare occurrence... The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits, and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense."² This statement is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, the great Chinese monk, who travelled in India a thousand years after Megasthenes. His words are: "With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of things of this world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, while in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness."³

¹ Fragment XXVII.

² Hiuen Tsiang's Travels, Buddhist Records (Beal), Bk. II.

³ Gautama says: "A learned Brahmana (i.e. one deeply versed in the Vedas and other branches of learning), must be allowed by the King immunity from the following six (kinds of opprobrious treatment): he must not be subjected to corporal punishment, he must not be imprisoned, he must not be fined, he must not be exiled, he must not be reviled, nor be excluded" VIII. 12-13. But Kautilya says: "When a Brahmana has committed a crime, he should be branded, his crime should be proclaimed in public, his property should be confiscated, and he should be condemned to work in the mines." Arthashastra, Bk. IV. ch. 18. In the *Mricchakatika* we find that the sentence of death passed on a Brahmana becomes the immediate cause of a revolution.

THE IDEALS OF THE ANCIENT HINDU STATE

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III.

GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO THE HINDU CONCEPTION, IS AN ORGANIZATION TO PROMOTE THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH A DUE REGULATION OF CONFLICTING AND DIFFERENT INTERESTS THAT MAKE UP SOCIETY.

GOVERNMENT like all other concerns of life is associated in the eye of a Hindu with an ultimate spiritual purpose. A well-conducted government forms the basis, without which

the aggregate spiritual progress of the people in an orderly and effective way is not possible. Hence comes the great responsibility of a monarch, who as the head of a royal polity, works this important machinery, which being out of order, affects not merely the material interests of the people but also their spiritual interests, the latter being regarded by them as far superior to the former. The successive links by which government is chained up to the *summum bonum* are the four castes viz., Brāhmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sūdra com-

posing the society have arts and sciences to learn and duties to follow in and through the prescribed modes of life, which ultimately leads them to salvation. For a strict adherence to the duties, and for punishment of deviations¹ therefrom, as also for the protec-

tion and maintenance of order among the people, an organization is needed; and this is supplied by the ruler.

THE EVILS OF A STATE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT.

Without him, anarchy¹ prevails bringing

1. According to Kautilya, there are four branches of learning: viz. (I) *anvikshiki* (II) *trayi* (III) *varta* and (IV) *dandaniti* (Bk. I, *Vidyasamuddesa*, pp. 6ff.) The first comprises the three branches of metaphysics viz. *Saṅkhyā*, *Yoga* and *Lokayata*. The second literally means "triple" i.e. the three Vedas *Rīg*, *Tajus* and *Sāma*; but the signification is extended to include also the *Atharva Veda* and *Itihāsa-Veda* which according to Kautilya's explanation (Bk. I, *Vridhasamyogah*, p. 10) consists of (a) *Purāṇa*, (b) *itihāsa* (history), (c) *ākhyayikā* (legends), (d) *udāharana* (illustrations), (e) *dharmaśāstra* (codes of law and morals), and (f) *Arthasāstra* of which Kautilya thus marks out the scope—*manuṣhyāṅgaṃ vṛttirarthah; manuṣhyavatu bhumintyarthah; tasyaḥ prithivyā lābhapālānopayāḥ sāstramārtha—sāstramiti* (Bk. XV, *tantrayuktayah*, p. 224) which means "artha (wealth or 'goods') is the object of man's desire; the inhabited land (or country) is *artha*; that science which treats of the means of the acquiring, preserving and developing of the said land or country is *Arthasāstra* (science of wealth), which thus includes the ground covered by the modern sciences of economics and politics. The six *Angas* are of course studied along with the *Vedas*—viz., *sikshā* (phonetics), *kalpa* (rules for rituals), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta* (etymological explanation of difficult Vedic terms), 'chhanda' (prosody) and *gyotish* (astronomy). [Bk. I, p. 7.] The third is economics primarily concerned with agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade, while the fourth is science of Government. Nilakantha has the following comments on the 'Santiparva', ch. 59, slk. 33 "trayī-karmakāṇḍah. Anvikshiki jñānakāṇḍah. Vartā krishivāṇijyādi jivikā-kāṇḍah. Dandanitih pālana-vidyā". About the relative importance of these subjects of human learning, there are differences of opinion, which are indicated by the classification of learning followed, Kautilya like Kāmandakiya dividing it into four branches ('Kāmandakiya-Niṣāra, sarga 2, slks 1, 2 and 6), the school of Manu as three, subsuming (I) under (II), that of Brihaspati as two viz., (III) and (IV), that of Usanas as (IV) alone viz., dandaniti, the other three being but its dependents (see *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I, *Vidyasamuddesa*, p. 6; also Kāmandakiya, sarga I, slks. 3-5). In the *Rāmāyana*, the divisions of learning are mentioned as three (*Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, sarga 100, slk. 68—"ashtavargam trivargam cha vidyāṁśascha raghava"). In 'Manu', VII, 43, the *vidyās* are five, if 'anvikshiki' and 'atma-vidyā' be taken as separate, as some commentators have done, and in 'Yājñavalkya' the 'vidyās' are four (I, 311, M. N. Dutta's ed.) Kāmandaki follows Kautilya in fixing the number at four using 'atma-vidyā' as explanatory of 'anvikshiki' (sarga 2, slk. 11). Cf. *Raghuvansa*, III, 30, which mentions four 'vidyās'. According to some, 'vidyā' has fourteen or eighteen divisions; others reckon thirty-three or even sixty-four. The principal branches however are the four indicated above. The object of the first division of learning

is, as Kāmandaki (*sarga 2, slk. 11*) explains, to create non-attachment to this world, that of the second to enable to distinguish between righteousness and non-righteousness, of the third to impart a knowledge of economics, and of the fourth to make one well-versed in the science of government. Cf. 'Agni-Purāṇa', *Anvikshikiyāntu vijñānam dharma-dharmau trayisthitau. Arthanarthau varṇāyām dandanityām nayāṇayau*, ch. 238, slk. 9.

These four branches of learning are the means by which the people are to secure the forefold objects of human existence, viz., 'dharma', 'artha', 'kāma' and 'moksha', i.e., the fulfilment of legitimate desires in a legitimate way through the means acquired also in a legitimate way, which ultimately leads to salvation. This is not possible without the practical application of the science of Government by a ruler. Hence his importance. [For the paramount importance of 'Rajadharma', see M. Bh. 'Santiparva', ch. 63, slks. 24-30.] He it is who checks all deviations from the proper courses marked out for the people for performing their duties for the attainment of the ultimate object. The respective duties of the four castes are laid down in the 'Kautilya' at Bk. I, p. 7. 'Vidyasamuddesa', along with the four modes of life, viz., of student, householder, forest-recluse and wandering mendicant' (pp. 7, 8, *Ibid*)

1. 'Kautilya uses the pithy expression' *mātsya-nāya* which reigns supreme in the absence of a ruler, the stronger destroying the weak like the large fishes preying on the small fry. In the 'Rāmāyana', the idea occurs in *Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, sarga 67, slk. 31, where the banefulness of anarchy is delineated—

Narajake janapade svakam bhavati kasyachit,
Matsya iva janā nityam bhakshayanti paraspāram.

Cf. 'Ayoḍhyakāṇḍa', sarga 61, slk. 22—where the phenomenon is thus referred to—*svayameva hatah pitṛa jalajenātmaṇo yataḥ*. The *Mahabharata* in a similar context has *Rajachennabhavelloke prithivyām dandadhārakah, jāle matsyāṇi vā bhakshyan durvalam valavattarāḥ*—'Santiparva', ch. 67, slk. 16.

Cf. 'Matsya-Purāṇa' which has
Bala-vridhdhatura-yati-dvija-stri-vidhava yataḥ,
Matsyanyāyena bhakshyeran yadi dandam na patayet.
ch. 225, slk. 9.

The Kāmandakiya has *dandabhāve paridhvamsi mātsyonyāyah pravartate*. *Sarga 2, slk. 40*.

The expression also occurs in the inscription of Dharmapāla at Khālīmpura [Gunda-lekha-māṇā, p. 12]. Various meanings of the expression are given at p. 148 of the *History of Bengal* (in Bengali) by Mr. R. D. Bannerjee, M.A.

The evils of anarchy are vividly depicted in the 'Rāmāyana', 'Ayodhyakāṇḍa', ch. 67; 'Mbh.' 'Santiparva', chs. 67, 68. Just as anarchy is deprecated, so

in its train the evils *that are so much dreaded by mankind.*

is ruling with an iron hand or a mild one. Cf. 'Arthashastra', Bk. I, Vidyasamudgesah, p. 9, which has been verified almost verbatim in the Kāmandakiya.

Prof. Hopkins refers to these evils of anarchy in 'J. A. O. S.', xiii, p. 136, but he confuses "autonomous (kingless)" states with those in which anarchy prevails. The Vedic term for anarchy is 'arajata' (see V. I, 125).

REVIEWS

THE HINDU LAW OF ADOPTION—By Golapchandra Sarkar, Sastri, M.A., B.L., (Former Lecturer for 1888). Edited by Raghunath Srinivasa M.A., B.L., Fakir, High Court, Calcutta. Published by R. Cambay & Co., 9, Hastings Street, 1916.

This new edition of the well-known work of Pandit Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri requires no introduction to the public. The very fact that a second edition has been called for shows the usefulness of this book to the legal public. It is a matter of regret that the learned author did not live to see this work through the press. It has, however, been very ably edited by his son, who has brought it up to-date by giving references to all cases since decided, in the foot-notes.

In connection with this we may mention that it would have been better, if the editor had given fuller references in the foot-notes. Thus at page 6, the reference to Mitaksara is "Bombay Edition, p. 225, original." There are several Bombay editions of Mitaksara, and without further specification it is not possible to find out to what edition the reference is made. It is not certainly at p. 225, of Gharpure's Edition of 1914, nor in the Edition of Shivaram Janardana Sastri Gore of 1887, nor in that of Wasudeva Laxman Shastri Pansikar of 1909. The better way of giving such references would be to give the reference of the original verse of Yajñavalkya, on which Vijnanesvara is commenting.

So also it would have been better to give more copious references. Thus at the same page 6, we find that reference is made to Balambhatta, and it is said "that a boy who has been given and taken, but whose adoption fails on this ground or on the ground of its being in contravention of other rules relating to the subject, is pronounced by Balambhatta, Nanda Pandita and Jagannatha to become a slave of the adopter." It is not shown where Balambhatta makes this pronouncement, though references to Nanda Pandita and Jagannatha are given.

The author starts his lectures by the statement—"The usage of Adoption is the survival of an archaic institution which owed its origin to the principle of slavery, whereby a man might, like the lower animals, be the subject of dominion or proprietary right, might, in fact, be bought and sold, given and accepted, or relinquished in the same way as a cow or a horse." This is the generally adopted view of modern historians. But in the case of India, it may not be true. The oldest reference to adoption is in the Aitareya Brahmana, where in VII. 13 to 18 the story of Sunahsepha is given. It is on this story that the whole fabric of adoption is based. That the son was

not treated as a slave is to be found in the very opening verses of that story, where it is emphatically said, "The father pays a debt in his son, and gains immortality, when he beholds the face of a son living who was born to him." "The pleasure which a father has in his son, exceeds the enjoyment of all other beings, be they on the earth, or in the fire, or in the water." "Fathers always overcome great difficulties through a son. (In him) the Self is born out of Self. The son is like a well-provisioned boat, which carries him over." "What is the use of living unwashed, wearing the goatskin, and heard? What is the use of performing austerities? You should wish for a son, O Brahmins!" "Thus people talk of them (who forego the married life on account of religious devotion)." "Food preserves life, clothes protect from cold, gold (golden ornaments) gives beauty, marriages produce wealth in cattle; the wife is the friend, the daughter object of compassion, but the son shines as his light in the highest heaven."

So also Apastamba (II. 9, XXIV. 1 et seq) says:—"Now the Veda declares also one's offspring to be immortality (in this verse): 'In thy offspring thou art born again, that mortal, is thy immortality.'" Here also the son is said to be the immortality of the father. In fact, we may search in vain throughout the whole of ancient Sanskrit literature for an explicit statement, that the son was the slave of the father.

It was only in cases of extreme necessity that parents could give away their sons in adoption. Thus Manu (IX. 168) says:—"That (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father affectionately give, (confirming the gift) with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son (Dattima)." Thus Balambhatta, in commenting on the Mitaksara, Yajñavalkya's verse 13) of the Vyavahara Adhyaya, says, "He, who through extreme misfortune is unable to support (may give away his son in adoption)." (See Gharpure's Balambhatti, Vyavahara Adhyaya, p. 171, "बोद्धव्यं दुर्गता भरणसामर्थ्येन")

No doubt, slavery is recognised in the law, as found in modern compilations like Manu and Narada. There we do not see any trace that adoption was treated as a slavery. Adoption arises only among those people who know the value of a son and can appreciate him properly. It was only a modern fad of some orientalists, who trace adoption to slavery and marriage to captivity in war. They totally forget that the instincts which lead a person to adopt a son or to marry a wife, are totally distinct from the instincts which make on

purchase a slave, or commit adultery. It is a universal instinct and a beneficent instinct, this instinct of adoption. It is found in some animals also. Only the other day the pet cat of my nephew gave birth to four kittens. Two of these were given away after some days to a friend. The poor cat mewed about the whole house for two nights, and on the third day she brought a kitten, God knows whence, and adopted it and treats it as if it were her own child.

At page-10, the author describes the difference between Daiva and Prajapatya form of marriage. He says, "In the Prajapatya form the bride is given to a person with an agreement that the donee is to treat her as a partner for secular and religious purposes, and the proposal comes from the bridegroom who is a suitor for the damsel. The existence of the condition restricting the husband's freedom of action was perhaps the reason why this form is considered to be inferior to Arsa and Daiva."

The real difference, however, between the Prajapatya and other forms of marriages, has not been fully brought out by the learned author. While in other approved forms of marriages, a husband could take another wife during the life-time of his first wife, he could not do so, if the marriage was in the Prajapatya form. Monogamy was the essence in this form of marriage. Thus Balambhatta, in commenting on Yajñavalkya, Acharya Adhyaya, verse 60 (p. 201 of Gharpure's Balambhatti) quotes Haradatta and Nrisimha :—

यद्यन्येषूपि विवाहेषु सहषर्मादिवरणमस्ति तथाप्यत्र
यावज्जीवं तदेव न तु मध्ये आश्रमान्तपरिग्रहः स्यन्तपरिग्रहः
वेति विशेषः."

The full text of Haradatta is given below :—

"प्राजापत्यसंज्ञके विवाहे सहषर्माद्यर्थतामिति प्रदानमन्त्रः ।
यद्यपि ब्राह्मादिषुपि सहषर्माद्यर्था भवति तथाऽप्यात्तादनया सह
षर्मादितयः । नाश्रमान्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्यन्तरमुपयन्तव्य-
मिति मन्त्रेण समयः क्रियते । एष ब्राह्मादेः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः
आधादाव्यक्ततामिति समानम् ।"

(Gautama IV. 7, Haradatta's commentary). The above passage may be freely translated thus :—

"At the marriage called Prajapatya, the formula in giving away the daughter is :—'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.' Though in marriages, under Brahma rites and other, the fulfilment of law conjointly does also take place, yet, here up to the end, the law should be fulfilled with her. The husband should not take to another Ashrama, (i.e., should not become a Sannyasin), nor should he marry another wife—this is the contract made by this formula. This is the specific difference between the Prajapatya and other forms of marriages like Brahma and the rest."

Thus, the essential feature of this Prajapatya rite consisted in this contract (Samaya) to observe monogamy, and never to forsake the wife.

Nor is the learned author right in saying that the Prajapatya form is considered inferior to Arsa and Daiva. It is not only not inferior, but it is distinctly superior to them, according to Gautama (IV. 7 and 6). He mentions it as second in the list of marriages, the first being Brahma. Thus he says :—"If the father gives (his daughter) dressed (in two garments) and decked with ornaments to a person possessing (sacred) learning, of virtuous conduct, who has rela-

tives and a (good) disposition, (that is a) Brahma (wedding)." At the Prajapatya (wedding) the marriage-formula is, 'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.'

No doubt, Manu (III. 21) says about the eight forms of marriages :—"They are) the rite of Brahma (Brahma), that of the gods (Daiva), that of the Risis (Arsa), that of Prajapati (Prajapatya), that of the Asuras (Asura), that of the Gandharvas (Gandharva), that of the Raksas (Raksasa), and that of the Pisachas (Pisacha)." He has placed here the Prajapatya as fourth in order, but that does not indicate that the Prajapatya is inferior to the Daiva and the Arsa rites. In III. 38, he says that a son born of a wife, according to the Daiva rite, saves seven ancestors and seven descendants. The son of a wife married by Arsa rite saves three ancestors in the ascending and descending lines, and the son of a wife married by Prajapatya rite saves six ancestors in either line. Thus according to Manu even, the Prajapatya form is superior to Arsa, because in the Prajapatya rite six ancestors are saved, while in the Arsa rite three only. While according to Gautama, Prajapatya is mentioned just after the Brahma, and in Gautama IV. 30 et seq., we find :—"A son born of a wife married) according to the Arsa rite (saves) three ancestors (from hell). (A son born of a wife married) according to the Daiva rite, ten. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Prajapatya rite, also ten. (But) the son of a wife married according to the Brahma rite (saves) ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself."

The above extract from Haradatta's commentary, and the marriage-mantra in Prajapatya form, disproves the following assertion of the learned author at page 11 :—"The primitive conception of marriage consisting in the acquisition of dominion over a woman, and wives being regarded as a sort of possession, there was no limit to the number of wives a man might have; he could have as many as he might afford to procure by the different modes pointed above. Under such circumstances mutual fidelity could not form any part of the marital relation; looseness of the marriage tie and laxity in sexual morality must necessarily prevail. Any idea of fidelity, sentiment or delicacy did not exist as an element of marriage union, and a husband appears to have had no great objection to allow his wife to be approached by other men."

The last sentence certainly gives a wrong idea of ancient Hindu society, and is not authorised by Vedic texts. The learned author has quoted Apastamba, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II, p. 130. The full text of Apastamba (II. 6. 13. 7) is given here :—"Now they quote also (the following Gatha from the Veda) : '(Having considered myself) formerly a father, I shall not now allow (any longer) my wives (to be approached by other men), since they have declared that a son belongs to the begetter in the world of Yama. The giver of the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world, therefore they guard their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over (the procreation of) your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an (imprudent) husband makes the (begetting of) children vain (for himself)."

This text, certainly, does not authorize the sweeping statement to the effect, that the husband had no great objection to allow his wife to be approached by other men. The Gatha above quoted refers to the ancient controversy, to whom did the Ksetraja child belong—to the Bijin, to the begetter, or to the Ksetrin, the husband. The commentary of Hara-

datta, on this Sutra, makes it clear. The purport of this commentary is given by Dr. Bühler under the Sutra quoted:—"According to Haradatta this Gatha gives the sentiments of a husband who neglected to watch his wives, and who had heard from those learned in the law that the sons of his unfaithful wives would in the next world belong to their natural fathers, and that he would not derive any spiritual benefit from their oblations. He adds that this verse does not refer to or prevent the appointment of a eunuch's wife or of a childless widow to a relation. He also quotes a passage from the Srauta-Sutra I, 9, in which the dvipita, 'the son of two fathers,' is mentioned."

The next text quoted by the learned lecturer in support of his proposition is Baudhayana (Sacred Books of the East, Vol IV. p. 229).

That text also does not support his proposition. It occurs in Baudhayana (II. 2. 3 31 et seq.) in connection with various kinds of sons. We give the full text below:—"Now they quote also (the following verses): 'They declare the legitimate son, the son of an appointed daughter, the son begotten on a wife, the adopted son and the son made, the son born secretly, the son cast off, (to be entitled) to share the inheritance.' 'They declare the son of an unmarried damsel and the son received with the bride, the son bought, likewise the son of a twice-married female, the son self-given and the Nisada, to be members of the family. 'Apajandham (declares that) the first among them alone is (entitled to inherit, and a member of his father's family.' 'Now, O Janaka, I jealously watch my wives, (though I did) not (do it) formerly; for they have declared in Yama's court that the son belongs to the begetter. The giver of the seed carries off the son, after death, in Yama's hall. Therefore they carefully protect their wives, fearing the seed of strangers.' 'Carefully watch (the procreation of your) offspring, lest strange seed fall on your soil. After death the son belongs to the begetter, through carelessness a husband makes (the procreation of) a son useless.'"

The proper conclusion to draw from these passages is that in ancient times women had more liberty, and mixed freely in society and were not secluded in the Zenana. No doubt, some women abused the liberty given to them, and these texts are the thin end of the wedge which introduce the parda system into India. There is no proof that the husbands looked with complacency, far less permitted, infidelity in their wives.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that Apastamba, at least, does not permit even the gift of a son in adoption. He says (II. 6. 13, 10):—दानं क्रयवर्ण-
वापव्यस्य न विद्यते", the gift, and the right to sell child, are not recognised.

Haradatta commenting on this Sutra, no doubt, modifies this text, by saying that the gift of a son in adoption must be recognised, though the gift of a son should not be recognised in the Visva-jit-yaga, where a man gives away all his property. He is emphatic in his declaration that a son can never be sold.

"विश्वजितौ च सर्वस्वदाने गवादिपदस्य न दैयम् । विक्रयस्तु सर्वस्य निषिद्धः ।"

Vajnavalkya also (III. 236) makes the sale of a son an Upapataka sin.

RANENDRANATH BASU.

MOHAMMEDAN THEORIES OF FINANCE WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO MOHAMMEDAN LAW AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY by *Nicolas P. Agnides*. Price \$4.00. New York, Columbia University.

Since the year 1891 the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia has issued a succession of monographs on different questions of History, Economics and Public Law, and this is the seventieth volume of the series. In accordance with the character of the series it is meant for the advanced student and specialist, not for the beginner or general reader. No other work covering the same ground exists in any European language, although the subject of finance has been touched on incidentally in some translations of Mohammedan legal text-books. As the style is extremely concise, a great mass of information is condensed in the 535 pages of this volume.

The book consists of two parts, the first giving a brief account of Mohammedan law, and the second dealing with the proper subject-matter of the work, finance. The law of Islam rests on four bases, the Quran, the Sunnah, Ijma' and Qijas. As to the Quran all scholars, Muslim and European, are agreed that we have in it with scarcely any change the words uttered by Mohammad in a state of inspiration. But the Quran alone would not be sufficient for the decision of every question. It is supplemented by the Sunnah or rules of conduct derived from the acts and sayings of the Prophet. For a prophet is divinely guided in all his acts and sayings. "The only difference between the ordinary expressions of the prophet and his revelations consists in the fact that whereas the former are divine in content alone, the latter are divine in form also." Certain rules have been laid down by Muslim scholars for testing the genuineness of the traditions about the Prophet but European scholars without exception have considered these rules inadequate. "For instance, the rules in question have almost nothing to say concerning the subject-matter of the traditions. Thus a tradition which claims the occurrence of things existing only in the wildest imagination would be accepted as genuine if all the mechanical rules concerning its transmission were conformed to, since no higher criticism would be exercised as regards its content." Still Dr. Agnides thinks that "for the most part the collections of Sunnah considered by the Muslims as canonical are genuine records of the rise and early growth of Islam." These collections, six in number, were made in the 3rd century of the Hijra, and the most important of them, the Sahih of Bukhari is revered almost as much as the Quran itself. Abu Hanifah, the chief of the Moslem legists, lived a hundred years before Bukhari, and the traditions which he used were collected by one of his students. Ijma' or the agreement of the faithful is, the third basis of law, and there has been some discussion as to whether only the agreement of professional theologian is required, or that of laymen as well. But it is about Qijas or analogy, the fourth basis, that most controversy has arisen, the school of Kufa founded by Abu Hanifah taking one side and the school of Madina founded by Malik-ibn-Anas the other. Not that Abu Hanifah was the first to use qijas but he was the first to recognise it as a general principle. "So long as the use of qijas was not given a formal recognition, but was resorted to occasionally when judgments were rendered, no controversy broke out. It was, however, a very different matter when Abu Hanifah openly declared qijas to be a legitimate basis of law and proceeded

to codify the law using *qujas* as one of his bases." Then there arose bitter opposition and the school of Abu Hanifah was accused of substituting personal opinion for revelation. The Malikite school of Madina preferred to use even a weak tradition rather than resort to analogy. But the life of Syria and Mesopotamia was so different from that of Arabia that no traditions could be found applicable to all cases and ultimately *qujas* was accepted by all schools of law. The determination of the right analogy to use gave rise to minute scholastic subtleties, somewhat resembling the subtleties of European mediæval theologians. Dr. Agnides, concludes this first part, which he claims contains much matter not previously given in any European language, with an account of the different Mohammedan schools of law.

Even in a short notice, it would not be right to omit to mention the valuable classified and annotated bibliography which follows.

The second part deals with the revenue and expenditure of Muslim states. A sharp distinction is made between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslims pay the *zakat* or alms, while the infidels pay the *kharaj* or land-tax and the *jizyah* or poll-tax. "The *zakat* taxes are primarily a religious obligation as between every Moslem and God, and the function of state as regards them resolves itself into one of police, namely, of seeing that the obligation is performed." Their amount is fixed by religion and cannot be increased or diminished by the ruler. Hume remarks (in 1711): "It is regarded as a fundamental maxim of the Turkish government, that the *Grand Seigneur*, though absolute master of the lives and fortunes of each individual, has no authority to impose a new tax: and every Ottoman prince, who has made such an attempt, either has been obliged to retract, or has found the fatal effects of his perseverance." There is a minimum of property, called *nisab* below which *zakat* is not payable, and this *nisab* must be free from debt. But there have been differences of opinion as to how freedom from debt is to be understood. "A person possessing 200 *dirhams*, a slave and a quantity of borrowed grain, (according to the accepted Hanifite view) pays no *zakat*, because the debt is applied to the *dirhams*. According to Zufar the debts of grain and slave are applied to the grain and slave he possesses, and a *zakat* is due on the *dirhams*." The property must have been in possession of the owner for a year before *zakat*, is due on it. "Should a person exchange his camels, on which *zakat* is to fall due at the end of the year, for other camels just a day before the completion of the year, he is not subject to *zakat* because camels are subject to *zakat* in virtue of their physical identity, but the camels received in exchange are not the very same animals and therefore are subject to *zakat* only after a year has elapsed since their acquisition." The payment of *zakat* may not be avoided after it has once been incurred, but it "may be lawfully avoided by the property owner before it has as yet become due. Thus: if a person owning two hundred *dirhams* desires to escape paying *zakat* on them, the method is to give away as alms one of the two hundred *dirhams* just one day before the year has run out in order that the *nisab* may be incomplete at the end of the year." There is a difference of opinion as to whether honey is subject to tithe. According to Abu Hanifah it is. But "Al Shafi' in his more recent view and Malik exempted honey from tithe on the analogy of silk. The

Hanifite reply is that silkworms eat leaves which are not subject to tithe, unlike the bees which collect the honey from flowers and fruits on which there is a tithe."

The *jizyah* is paid by *dhimmi*s, that is to say by unbelievers who are living in a Moslem State and are under the protection of Moslems. Its collection is based on the divine words: "Make war upon such as those to whom a Scripture has been given, as do not believe in God nor in the last day, until they pay by their hands 'the *jizyah* in order to be humiliated.'" The collection of the *jizyah* according to the general Hanifite view is as follows: "When the *jizyah* is collected from the *dhimmi* he is obliged to stand while the collector is seated, and he must wear the distinctive dress prescribed for the *dhimmi*s. During the process of payment the *dhimmi* is seized by the collar and vigorously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation, and he is rebuked in these words 'O *dhimmi*, or O enemy of God, pay the *jizyah*!'" Other Hanifites recommend milder treatment but there is no doubt that the *dhimmi* must be humiliated, for this is God's own command.

The other tax paid by the infidels is the *kharaj* or land-tax. According to the Hanifites this is also paid by a Moslem who has bought land from a *dhimmi*. But Malik says that the Moslem must not pay landtax, for this involves humiliation, and a Moslem ought not to be humiliated. To this, the answer of the Hanifites is that the humiliation only arises when the tax is imposed for the first time, not when it is continued on land that was already paying it. *Kharaj* may be assessed either on the total area of the land, or on the area of the cultivated portion of the land, or on the produce. When any one of these three alternatives has been settled upon, one is not allowed to change it to another but it is continued for ever, and hence the tax may not be increased or decreased so long as the land continues the same with respect to its irrigation and advantages."

Dr. Agnides devotes a chapter to the expenditure of the *zakat* taxes. "The *zakat* may not be appropriated for impersonal purpose, such as the building of mosques, bridges, repairing of roads, draining of rivers, &c." It must be allotted to individuals and even in the Prophet's time the division often gave rise to ill-feeling. On one occasion the Prophet said, "I give to a man although another may be more pleasing to me than he is, fearing lest he should fall headlong on his face into the Fire." Afterwards God sent down "Alms are only to the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and to those whose hearts are won, and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and the wayfarer." With reference to the class called *muallafah qulubuhum* those whose hearts have been conciliated, disagreement arose after the death of the Prophet. Abu Bakr was willing to continue the presents made by the Prophet, but Umar refused. These presents, he said, were only for the time when the Muslims were weak, now that the Muslims were strong the infidels might take their choice between Islam and the sword.

In so comprehensive a work limits of space only allow us to note a few points here and there. The general character of Mohammedan finance is thus described by Dr. Agnides: "Mohammedan financial theory is an integral part of *fiqh* or Mohammedan law. Mohammedan law in turn is derived from the revealed sources of the Koran

and the Prophetic utterances and conduct, and its avowed object, as the doctors put it, is 'beatitude in the two worlds.' There is a body of revealed truth from which one must not stray, and to which one must adapt himself as best he can."

This learned work ought, we think, to form part of the library of every student of Muhammedan law. One remark in conclusion. The author says: "But for the rich collection of Oriental books of the New

York Public Library, the preparation of this dissertation in this country would have been well nigh impossible." We do not know about private libraries, but the Allahabad Public Library only contain a poor and badly catalogued collection of Arabic works. As far as books are concerned it seems to be easier to study Islam in New York than in the city of Akbar.

H. C.

A FEW WORDS ON ART AND LIFE

FOR sometime past a controversy has been raging in the Bengali monthlies about the use and purpose of art and its relation to life. This old threadbare question has now assumed such a form that it can no longer be ignored.

Some have put forth views on the mission of the poet and the relation of art to life, the trend of which is summed up in this dictum that the poet should consciously strive to be useful. They seem to forget when they so eloquently speak on the mission of the poet that the true role of the poet is not leadership: he does not intentionally show the way to any heroic time to come. He may sing of heroes: he does not create them in actual life. It is an accident that his record of their prowess is their best monument. True it is that—

...If Pindar celebrate Great

Hiero, Lord of Syracuse,

Or Theron, Chief of Acragas,

These despots wisely may refuse

Record in unending brass."

But it is true only because brass succumbs to time and stones may moulder away; while the poet's words handed down from age to age or the printed record, perpetually renewed, are more enduring. Pindar celebrated Hiero and Theron, because it pleased him to do so—not to stimulate other sovereigns to follow in their foot-steps.

The millenium need not come a day the sooner for all the poets in the world. "Art for Art's sake" may be just as meaningless a formula as the war-cry of "art for the service of society." In fact all theories of art when handled as canons and formula are apt to become meaningless. The poet does not use the things of art for an ulterior purpose. His poetry follows no ideal

of subserviency. But neither does he—as some would have it—sit aloof in the glory of his impenetrable mystery making lonely music amid the ruins of the world. The poet is no longer dishevelled, wild-eyed, half seer and half mad, pointing the road to some imagined Heaven. The detachment from all worldly things is no more true of the modern poet than of the most mundane of mortals.

One cannot even admit that Art is "for life's sake." At worst this is the masked apology of the propagandist. At best it only asserts—what is perfectly true but quite a needless truism—that Art like everything else subserves the ultimate purpose of the universe.

But to the artist Art has no extraneous purpose apart from its own expression. "Art for Art's sake," "Social Art" and "Art for Life's sake" are equally false in their isolated implications. Art is the effect, not the cause. Art is like a sunset or the flowers in the field. Like them, of course, it may produce results, but the results are incidental and variable. Lovers may kiss the sweeter for a sunset or a beautiful flower, but the sun does not set nor the flowers grow for them. Nor are the possible results of Art the reason of its being. The sea produces results. Earthquakes produce results. They do not *aim* at producing results. They are the expressions of the earth in the travail of its being. No poet, if he was a real poet, ever wrote in order to produce any effect whatever upon any one at all, not even his lady-love. Art is an inevitable product of a certain set of circumstances; it is one of the flowers of life—perhaps the finest.

The only conceivable purpose of exist-

once demands that every unit should come to its full self-realisation. No potential value must be lost. The claim of every individuality should be asserted. Every one of us strives unflinchingly to be himself. The poet too like any of us seeks to become himself. But there is more. Every intense individuality will express itself. It will seek to realise its approach to selfhood, its "becoming"—internally and externally as well. The artist's expression is Art. No individuality can escape this law. If there is no attempt at external expression, there is an inward refusal to be oneself—a shrinking from life. Poetry is the outward revelation of the poet's will to find himself. It is the effect of the causes that go to make up the potentiality of the poet : of circumstances in their widest sense, of the epoch in which he lives and by which he is, to some extent, conditioned : of the inherited past of the particular art in which he seeks expression ; but far more intimately of the obscure and undecipherable impulses that constitute his personality in its wildest and deepest sense.

To check or attempt to control this expression of the poet, by imposing upon him from outside any formula or theory on Art or Life, is to set back his inward self-expression and thus commit spiritual murder. The advocates of "Art with a purpose" should not forget that the personality of a man seeking self-realisation and expression is deeper than politics or nationality or religion. It is absurd to demand of a poet that he defend and identify himself with a cause, political, national or

religious, or that he even express it. Poet Nabin Sen's expression of himself is profoundly coloured by Hindu ideas and ideals. But he did not set out to glorify the "sacred tuft of hair" or versify the tracts of the Anti-cow-killing Society. His expression of himself is more than Hindu. I will even go so far as to say that his Hinduism is partly accidental, the result of external circumstances. But there is something deeper and more personal in his Art. There is himself. Some of his sincerest admirers are not Hindus at all. It cannot be his Hinduism which attracts them.

The critic should not also ask if a poet's expression, his poetry, is in accord or not with the accepted conventions of the world. For these are made by those and only those who have refused to live ! Indeed the more the poet's work is in disaccord with these, the newer and more valuable in the sum total of spiritual evolution will be the personality of which it is the outward expression. The duty of the critic is to disengage from the poet's work the part of the poet's surroundings, the part of his historical place in his art, and, beyond and above these, the part of the man expressing himself. The poet, then, expresses himself because he must. He creates beauty, quite independently of all formulas on Art, and says to the world if he says anything : "Take it or leave it." And the world mostly leaves it, afraid for "the little house of cards it calls Society, the refuge of the Eternal No."

AMAL CHANDRA HOME.

TAGORE IN JAPAN

I WAS pleased to hear in London two years ago that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, alarmed by the violent temper of the European nations running counter to all the finer instincts of humanity so cherished by him, hurried to return to a region in India where, to use Sir Rabindranath's words, his great ancient civilisation had its birth. As I already expressed somewhere, I returned home from London, let

me say again, much dissatisfied with the Western life founded on individualism and often egoism or self-satisfaction ; in fact, I returned to Japan, whose spiritual safety should require her to refuse the Western invasion with its long arms reaching out after exciting luxury or disruptive sensation. I said that the social community of the West was less harmonious and loving ; and when one does not respect the others,

I said, there will be only one thing to come, that is strife, in action or in silence. And my prophecy has been, I dare say, amply fulfilled by the present European war. (Pray, let me speak as if we were not concerned in the war as one of the belligerents.) I feel justified on reading Ernest Rhys' study of Rabindranath Tagore to find in the earlier part of the book such a phrase: "The major energies of the Western world, as Sir Rabindranath observed them, were not constructive; they did not make for the world's commonwealth, and by their nature they must come into conflict sooner or later." He was evidently in the same thought with myself: As I said at the beginning, I was pleased that our Indian poet returned from Europe to a region in India, to use his words, "where the mind is without fear and the head held high, where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow walls, where the mind is led forward into ever-widening thought and action."

My first thought, or more true to say, my uneasiness of mind, on having right before us the Indian poet whose melodious strength, as the *Athenaeum* once observed, might recall familiar passages in the Psalms or Solomon's Song, is certainly that our modern Japan with her wholesale adoption of the so-called Western civilization which is turned perhaps to use and then left aside, quite forgetting at least in our cities the old meditation and service for attainment of the ideal of perfection, would reveal herself to Sir Rabindranath as London or Paris to be an ugly monster restless and tending to trouble, from which he might run away in haste. He confesses his first impression of Japan seen from the balcony of a house at Kobe in the following language:

"The town of Kobe, that huge mass of corrugated iron roofs, appeared to me like a dragon, with glistening scales, basking in the sun, after having devoured a large slice of the living flesh of the earth. This dragon did not belong to the mythology of the past, but of the present; and with its iron mask it tried to look real to the children of this age,—real as the majestic rock on the shore, as the epic rhythm of the sea waves. Anyhow it hid Japan from my view, and I felt myself like the traveller, whose time is short, waiting for the cloud to be lifted to have a sight of the eternal snow on the Himalayan summit."

As I expected, his two lectures, gracefully elaborated in phraseology, which he delivered before the students under the

titles of the "Message of India to Japan," and the "Spirit of Japan," with an impressively vibrant voice and an eloquence, emphasised by something foreign, which, as Rhys remarked somewhere, turned a brick-made hall into a place where the sensation, the hubbub and the actuality of the modern world were put under a spell, were in fact a strong reminder to us of the threatening dangers in our surrender, to use his words, before the screeching machinery and gigantic selfishness, the blatant lies of statecraft and the smug self-satisfaction of the prosperous hypocrisy of the West. When he laughed and sneered at the so-called Modernism ("True modernism is independence of thought and action," he declared, "not tutelage under European schoolmasters"), he doubted and even slighted the Western science which forgot that man's existence is not merely of the surface, and as he declared offhand, looked so powerful because of its superficiality, like a hippopotamus that is very little else but physical; and when he declared the spirit of the Western civilization to be poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity, and advocated that Japan should have a firm faith in the moral law of existence clear of the path of suicide of the Western nations, and spoke of the common spiritual heritage of the "whole of Eastern Asia from Burma to Japan," the large audience who were listening to him distinctly divided into two opinions; while some, adherents of the so-called Western civilization in Japan, called Sir Rabindranath merely a propagandist of negativism or willful dreamer who, in spite of himself, will surely fail to realise the fulness of his own nature, the others, delightfully awakened into the so-called Japanism or Orientalism endorsed by the exposed weakness of the present European war, thought that Sir Rabindranath agreed with their first principle in encouraging the real individualism to assert the inner development of the nation. The Japanese chauvinists (I admit that we have a great number of them here) were pleased to hear the Indian poet saying that the political civilization which had sprung up from the soil of Europe and was overrunning the whole world like some prolific weed, was based upon exclusiveness; he declared: "This spirit of extermination is showing its fangs in another manner—in California, in Cana-

da, in Australia,—by inhospitably shutting out aliens through those who themselves were aliens in the land they now occupy." What Sir Rabindranath brought to the well-balanced intellectual Japanese minds was this : How can we properly check the Western invasion ? Again how can we keep our own beauty and strength grown from the soil a thousand years old and let them realize the fullness of their nature, not curtailing all that is best and true in them at the threatened encroachment of foreign elements ? After all, he only presents this great momentous question ; and like any other prophet, he does not answer the question, only pointing the way by his inspired hand unseen but sure ; it is our work to solve it.

Again I am glad to have him in Japan from a literary point of view ; his presence before us, as his presence in London encouraged many English poets who were in doubt how to return to an age like Chaucer's England, when there was only one mind, as Yeats remarked, and poetry was something which had never seemed strange, unnatural, or in need of defence, is in the highest sense meaningful, if as in fact our present Japanese literature is sauntering away from the spiritual wholeness of a symphony, becoming some individualistic scraps which only rebel against the soul's surrender to a divine instinct or real naturalness. I myself as a fellow-worker in the literary domain feel a great joy in reading his songs, again to use Yeats' words, "so abundant, so spontaneous, so daring in passion, so full of surprise," because first of all he teaches or hints to us, how to "rebuild our literature through the force of music whose heart is simplicity." I addressed to him one poem, part of which runs as follows :

"Oh, to have thy song without art's rebellion,
- To see thy life gaining a simple force that is itself
creation.
Oh, to be forgotten by the tyranny of intellect ;
Thou biddest the minuet, chausen and fancies to
be stopped,
"The revels and masquerade to be closed ;
Thou stoopest down from a high throne
To sit by people in simple garb and speech.

In simplicity
Thou hast thine own emancipation ;
Let us be sure of our true selves,
There is no imagination where is no reality ;
To see life plain
Is a discovery or sensation.

Although he was pessimistic over the general aspect of Japan at the outset seeing quite a dominating westernization which is threatening Japanese civilisation, it seems that he soon found a Japan more true and more human, as he had hoped to find ; he says in one of his lectures :

While travelling in a railway train I met, at a wayside station, some Buddhist priests and devotees. They brought their baskets of fruits to me and held their lighted incense before my face, wishing to pay homage to a man who had come from the land of Buddha. The distinguished serenity of their bearing, the simplicity of their devoutness, seemed to fill the atmosphere of the busy railway station with a golden light of peace. Their language of silence drowned the noisy effusion of the newspapers. I felt that I saw something which was at the root of Japan's greatness.

Again he says :

Japan does not boast of her mastery of nature, but to her she brings, with infinite care and joy, her offering of love. Her relationship with the world is the deerer relationship of heart....Your national unit is not an outcome of the necessity of organisation for some ulterior purpose, but is an extension of the family and the obligations of the heart in a wide field of space and time. The ideal of "Maitri" is at the bottom of your culture,—"maitri" with men and "maitri" with nature. And the true expression of this love is in the language of beauty, which is so abundantly universal in this land.

I can assure Sir Rabindranath or anybody else that we are still sufficiently Japanese as in the olden time, whose hearts will at once respond to the joy and song of foliage and waters ; we daresay that we are quite ready to sing, as Sir Rabindranath sang once in "Gitanjali" :

"I am here to sing the songs. In this hall of thine I have a corner seat.

In thy world I have no work to do ! my useless life can only break out in tunes without a purpose.

When the hour strikes for thy silent worship at the dark temple of midnight, command me, my master, to stand before thee to sing.

When in the morning air the golden harp is tuned, honour me, commanding my presence."

YONE NOGUCHI.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

The Triumph of Individualism

is the theme of an illuminating article appearing in the *Arya* for September. The conquest of individualism over conventionalism has been set forth in a masterly way in the article under review.

We read :

The individualism of the new age is an attempt to get back from conventionalism of belief and practice to some solid bed-rock, no matter what, of real and tangible Truth. And it is necessarily individualistic because all the old general standards have become bankrupt and can no longer give any inner help; it is therefore the individual who has to become a discoverer, a pioneer, and to search out by his individual reason, intuition, idealism, desire, claim upon life or whatever other light he finds in himself the true law of the world and of his own being. By that when he has found or thinks he has found it, he will strive to rebase on a firm foundation and remould in a more vital, even if a poorer form, religion, society, ethics, political institutions, his relations with his fellows, his strivings for his own perfection and his labour for mankind.

It is in Europe that the age of individualism has taken birth and exercised its full sway; the East has entered into it only by contact and influence, not from an original impulse.

And it is to its passion for the discovery of the actual truth of things and for the governing of human life by whatever law of the truth it has found that the West owes its centuries of strength, vigour, light, progress, irresistible expansion. Equally, it is due not to any original falsehood in the ideals on which its life was founded, but to the loss of the living sense of the Truth it once held and its long contended slumber in the cramping bonds of a mechanical conventionalism that the East has found itself helpless in the hour of its awakening, a giant empty of strength, inert masses of men who had forgotten how to deal with facts and forces because they had learned only how to live in a world of stereotyped habitudes of thought and customs of action. Yet the truths which Europe has found by its individualistic age were only the first obvious, physical facts of life such as the habit of analytical reason and the pursuit of practical utility can give to man. If its rationalistic civilisation has swept so triumphantly over the world, it is because it found no deeper and more powerful truth to confront it; for all the rest of mankind was still in the inactivity of the last dark hours of their conventional age.

The dawn of individualism is always a questioning, a denial. The individual finds a religion imposed upon him which does not base its dogma and practice upon a living sense of ever verifiable spiritual Truth but on the letter of an ancient book, the infallible dictum of a Pope, the tradition of a Church, the learned casuistry of schoolmen and Pundits, conclaves of ecclesiastics, heads of monastic orders, doctors of all sorts, all of them unquestionable

tribunals whose sole function is to judge and pronounce but none of whom seems to think it necessary or even allowable to search, test, prove, inquire. He finds that, as is inevitable under such a regime, true science and knowledge are either banned, punished and persecuted or else rendered obsolete by the habit of blind reliance on fixed authorities; even what is true in old authorities is no longer of any value because its words are learnedly or ignorantly repeated but its real sense is no longer lived except at most by a few. In politics he finds everywhere divine rights, established privileges, sanctified tyrannies which are evidently armed with an oppressive power and justify themselves by long prescription, but seem to have no real claim or title to exist. In the social order he finds an equally stereotyped reign of convention, fixed disabilities, fixed privileges, the self-regarding arrogance of the high, the blind prostration of the low, while the old functions which might have justified at one time such a distribution of status are either not performed at all or badly performed without any sense of obligation and merely as part of the caste pride. He has to rise in revolt; on every claim of authority he has to turn the eye of a resolute inquisition and when he is told that this is the sacred truth of things or the command of God or the immemorial order of human life, he has to reply, "But is it really so? How shall I know that this is the truth of things and not superstition and falsehood? When did God command it and how do I know that this was the sense of His command and not your error or invention or that the book on which you found yourself is His word at all or that He has ever spoken His will to mankind? This immemorial order of which you speak, is it really a law of Nature or an imperfect result of Time and at present a most false convention? And of all you say, still I must ask, does it agree with the facts of the world, with my sense of right, with my judgment of truth, with my experience of reality?" And if it does not, the revolting individual flings off the yoke, declares the truth as he sees it and in doing so strikes inevitably at the root of the religious, the social, the political, momentarily perhaps even the moral order of the community as it stands, because it stands upon the authority he discredits and the convention he destroys and not upon a living truth which can be successfully opposed to his own. The champions of the old order may be right when they seek to suppress him as a destructive agency perilous to social security, political order or religious tradition; but he stands there and can no other, because to destroy is his mission, to destroy falsehood and lay bare a new foundation of truth.

We thoroughly agree with the views so powerfully expressed in the following concluding portion of the article :

It is no longer possible that we should accept as an ideal any arrangement by which certain classes of society should arrogate development and full social fruition to themselves while assigning service

alone to others. It is now fixed that social development and well-being mean the development and well-being of all the individuals in the society and not merely a flourishing of the community in the mass which resolves itself really into the splendour and power of one or two classes. The individual is not merely a social unit, nor does his existence, right and claim to live and grow found itself on his social work and function, that he is not merely a member of a human pack, hive or ant-hill, but something in himself, a soul, a being, who has to fulfil his own individual truth and law as well as his natural or his assigned part in the truth and law of the collectivity. He demands freedom, space, initiative for his soul, for his nature, for that puissant and tremendous thing which society so much distrusts and has laboured in the past either to suppress altogether or to relegate to the purely spiritual field, an individual thought, will and conscience.

Bawa Budh Singh contributes an interesting article on

Punjabi Ballads and Songs

to the *Sikh Review* for August.

The writer tells us that the modern style and idiom are wanting in the old ballads. To the modern ear the diction may be rough and sometimes vulgar, but the *Idea* and the *Emotion* are there. And these really constitute the bulwark of poetry.

In Panjab, the old ballads have never been reduced to writing. The chief reason being that the local dialect never received the state support. At present the Hindus and Mohammedans are alienating their sympathy from their mother-tongue. Under such circumstances how can we expect the hidden treasures of a language to find their due place in the museum of the world literature? The Panjabi songs or ballads are as a rule mostly true songs—exhortations from a female to her lover or husband. We seldom come across any old ballad, or a love song in the form of an exhortation from a man to his lady love. This is the strain in which Panjabi songs are written and this style is somewhat general in India and rather in the east. The prevalence of this style is not to be misconstrued as showing that women of Panjab or the east are more fashionable and desperate lovers than their western sisters.

The Panjabi songs can be divided into two chief parts—(1) short ballads, (2) songs. The former generally consist of two or more lines and are in the form of exhortations or emotional outbursts of female hearts. They are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of some crude musical instrument, generally "Dholak" (a drum). Men have their own ballads which they sing on the occasion of fairs like Baisakhi, but these are mostly vulgar and have not much of beauty about them, although they depict the Jat mind in simple and forcible language. The lengthy songs are generally narrative, they narrate certain stories of incidents of love. Some of these songs are in the form of a dialogue, and occasionally more than two persons are introduced in the conversation. Most of the ballads are sung in adoration of "Ranjha," the idol of love and an ideal sweetheart

in the Panjab. Hir adores her cowherd lover in various forms. This love story attained so great a reputation in the Panjab that Saints and Fakirs also gave it a place in their compositions.

The songs are generally tuned to music but not properly versified. Some are written in blank verse, while others are with proper rhymes.

It is again difficult to define with certainty the authorship of such ballads. Some seem to have been composed by women while in others where metre and diction is regular the man's artful hand is clearly visible.

The language of the songs is Panjabi, but the Western Panjabi predominates. It is the Western Panjabi which is rich in ballads. All Panjabi romance sticks to the Chenab the eastern boundary of Western Panjab, its proximity to Lahore the Capital of Panjab naturally brought the romantic spirit of the song to the central Panjab, but the Eastern Panjab remained barren in this respect. We cannot find any Panjabi Poet of repute in the eastern Panjab. The language of the songs has traces of old Panjabi words now obsolete.

These songs beautifully depict the customs and the trend of human mind in those old times. They are grand in their simplicity, whether the song is a love ballad or a marriage ditty.

Here are some marriage songs :

At a boy's marriage a popular "Ghori" song is in the form of an exhortation from a sister :—

Oh my brother, thy sister has spun this very fine thread for thy turban which enhances thy beauty and thy father got it very carefully woven. Thy sister, Oh my brother, is ready to take over herself all thy misfortunes, thou mayst live for ages, and go to thy father-in-law's house with all glory.

The son of a weaver, friend of my beloved brother, whom he loves much, has brought these "Jora and Chuni," coat and a wrapper. Wear them, oh my brother, wear them.

My dear Mal or Nanda, thou lookst like the full moon, with a red mark "Filak" on thy forehead, with an umbrella over thy head, and a betel leaf in thy mouth; wear them oh my brother, thou wear them and I pay the price.

When nuptials of a daughter are to be celebrated the females sing :—

Oh daughter, why wert thou standing behind the sandal tree?

I was standing near my papa saying—"Papa speak, thy daughter has become of marriageable age and needs a consort."

Oh daughter, what sort of husband thou desirest? Oh papa (I want a husband who may be) like a moon amongst the stars, and a Krishna amongst the moons (handsome persons), I want a Kanhaiya-like husband.

The above song has succinctly put forth the emotions of a girl's heart. Krishna is still the ideal of love amongst Hindu women.

Another popular song "Sohag" is :—

A daughter implores her father :—Papa, send me into that house where masons build palaces.

Papa, it will be your great gift and charity, and great will be your praises. (The house may have) eight rooms and nine windows, and into each window I will put my heart. Papa marry me into that family, where Jats milk the she-buffaloes. I may keep milk of one to be turned into curd and churn that of the other that my hands be full of butter. Papa do so, it will be your great gift and charity to me and it will enhance your praises.

Papa send me into that family, where my mother-in-law has got good many sons, one may be betrothed, and another married and so on, and I may witness happy ceremonies frequently. Papa marry me into that family where the mother-in-law is a kind and prominent figure and the father-in-law be a chief. I may sit on a low lady's chair in front of my mother-in-law and she would never show a wrinkle on her forehead (be always pleased) and so on.

The following love songs though simple are yet appealing :

"The handsome lover has white teeth and black eye brows and his features are beautiful beyond description. Oh wearer of a turban, do not go turning your back towards me, I am looking at thee at every step. Oh save me. The offended lover does not turn round and listen to my bewailings. I sit on a low chair, and wash the clothes with tears which flow like rain from my eyes. I have spent myself up in pacifying him—but the displeased lover does not heed my entreaties."

The following song is put in the mouth of "Sohni" while she was being drowned in the Chenub in her wild attempt to see her sweetheart Maliwal :—

"Oh care-taker of the shu-bulaloes, Oh love intoxicated Fakir, thy Sohni is dying by drowning. On the yonder bank stands my sweetheart and lover, while I am being drowned by the waves. If this life is gone, let it be sacrificed over my lover, but let my love with him remain untarnished, if God is not pleased to allow my raft "Kachcha Ghara" (unburnt pitcher) to reach the bank of safety where my lover stands.

In another song Sohni is made to say :—

Oh fish and turtles of the water, eat and eat you may all my flesh, but pray, do not touch the eyes as I have still left the longing to see my lover.

Take to thy wings oh black starling and take a long long flight. Go and tell my husband—"Thou hast forgotten thy bride and cheated her." Is it oh my husband, that I have become old or that thou hast forgotten me ?

No ! My Beauty, thou hast neither become old nor I have forgotten thee.

Quite so ! (then) why hast thou neither sent any letter nor any word about thy welfare ?

My darling, to what messenger could I entrust my letters or word about welfare ?

Is it that thou hast got no paper to write upon and no reed to make your pen ?

If I were thee I would make the piece of my heart a writing paper and cut my fingers into pen. The black powder of my eyes moistened with my tears would form the adequate ink.

Fingers covered with rings, the little finger coloured yellow.

My offended sweetheart will not make peace, though I have employed a mediator.

Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid will not obey.

If our houses are side by side, and our fields adjoin each other ;

If my sweetheart's house be close by, I shall be able to live on having talk with him.

Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid will not listen.

With wildness in his eyes, he puts a low lady's chair (Pihra) down and sits besides me.

Though forbidden, he will not listen.

Female Education in India.

Some of the crying problems of female education in India have very well been presented in the following editorial notes appearing in a recent number of the *Indian Education*.

The eternal problem of female education is to find teachers. The Anglo-Indian communities of India have their full share of it. No sooner does an intelligent, attractive girl drift into the teaching profession than she is caught up by the claws of predestination and married. The Hindu community, with its surplus widows, might seem to a foreigner to be exceptionally well-placed for female education, but *a priori* reasoning as usual would be misleading. There is no profession in India where the widow is more impossible than in teaching. What is to be done ? Sometimes we have doubts about the education of women in schools at all.

One thing is certain, that extended female education, like other good things, will have to be paid for. The payment will come in the shape of added discomfort of life. The first effect of education is to give people a distaste for work and a taste for intellectual and other luxuries—the cinematograph, etc. This presses heavily on a small income, such as most of the candidates for education enjoy. And education has no tendency, at least no direct tendency, to increase the productivity of labour—there is not more to divide than there was before. Result—discomfort and discontent. We do not say the price is too heavy for the intellectual elevation, but it will have to be paid, and it will be heavier for the education of women than of men.

By the way there is much to be said for the San Francisco way of settling the female-teacher problem—as explained to us in San Francisco. They do not aim at having a permanent set of female teachers—middle-aged females get stale, they say. They look forward to a continuous stream of bright young girls flowing through their schools. They don't give them much training—just whack them into shape a little by a few practical lessons ; no pedagogics, no psychology. Then they launch them in the schools : their temperament carries them on. They find inducement for the career in the effect on their own characters of a little teaching experience, it gives them firmness, qualifies them to manage their husbands and their own children. The American man prefers a certain firmness in woman, so all is well. And the children learn their rudiments as well as they do under the more complicated systems. But, like other institutions, this might not bear transplanting.

Religion, Politics and Collective Life

is the theme of a sober and well-written article contributed to the *East and West* for October by G. C. Whitworth.

"Some writers in the *Prabuddha Bharata*" says the writer, "have been arguing that Indian political leaders make a great mistake in seeking to found an Indian nationality upon political principles." So

Every Indian—Hindu, Musalman or Christian—

is asked to rally round the spiritual ideal, without in any sense giving up his particular creed; and to steer clear of the Scylla of narrow orthodoxy as well as of the Charybdis of Western prepossessions; eschewing indeed all bigotry and recognising that the same God is worshipped by all; and looking forward to the harmonious development of all creeds and faiths already existing or yet to exist.

The writer very ably points out some fundamental errors involved in the views put forward.

In the first place, the conception of politics is entirely erroneous. It was a German who said "War is not the sequel, it is the failure of politics. The sequel of politics is art, science, religion—all that goes to make what Aristotle called the good life—for the full development of which the State is the essential condition."

If we regard politics as a "game," as furnishing a field for personal distinction, for the exercise of power, for a career; if we associate with the term such factors as party spirit, greed of place, sacrifice of principle, abandonment of conviction, jealousy, corruption, bribery, rowdy elections, snap divisions, and so on, it is to be remembered that these things are not true politics, but an abuse of politics.

And if politics must be rejected as a foundation for nationality because of the liability to abuse, what are we to say of religion in the same capacity? Is it not equally liable to abuse?

The right view of politics is thus set forth by Mr. Whitworth:

Politics rightly regarded may be said to consist primarily of thought and action for the benefit of others. As soon as a man's sympathy and consequent action extend beyond his own wants and those of his family, he enters upon politics. Nor is his part in politics valuable only for what he can do for others. It is necessary also for his own social development. Or, as Mill puts it, his individual energy of mind and character must be developed all round and in all things and can only be so developed if the area of individual thought and will be extended to embrace the affairs of the whole community.

The writer goes on to say:

These advocates of nationality founded on religion when they tell us that the most fundamental task in the practice of religion is to detach the mind from all domestic relations and sense-enjoyments, when they extol asceticism, and say that renunciation is essential to spiritual realisation, forget that religion transcends intellect, and that a religion within the limits of intellect and sentiment is no religion at all, that the same moral rules cannot be preached to *sadhus* and to householders and that the highest *advaitism* cannot be brought down to practical life. Clearly nationalism cannot be founded on religion as thus conceived. It is a religion for the few, not for the many. A nation must consist of householders, not of *sadhus*: a nation of hermits is a contradiction in terms.

These writers fail to perceive that in relation to nationality the two things, religion and politics, meet together and become in effect one. The difference between them is that in the case of religion a more concrete divine sanction is appealed to, while in the case of politics what is really the same sanction is rather assumed than formally expressed. But the

mischievous result of the attitude taken is that politics, instead of being cheerfully welcomed as a part of religion, is grudgingly admitted as a thing evil in itself though unfortunately necessary. Politics, it is admitted, has its subordinate function, but its connection with religion is not recognised. And then we are told absolutely that religion is not only the great redeemer of all mankind from *avidya* and its endless miseries, but specially in India it is also the great nation-builder; and these two aspects of religion, the writers say, they seek to present before their countrymen. But politics being excluded, there are not two aspects of religion, but only one aspect. And religion under that aspect, if indeed it can redeem all mankind, certainly cannot build a nation.

Spirituality is a term of high association both in the East and the West, while worldliness is usually a term of evil association. But both terms are liable to be misused, and it would be no offence to language to speak of a spiritual worldliness. Let us not be too quick to condemn the world. After all, we have been placed in it by what we conceive to be a beneficent power, and we know that the world is what it is partly through our material, but still more through our spiritual energy.

Elements of collective life are but vaguely dealt with by the writers of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. We read:

Education is to be imbued with the national ideal and is not to be narrowly denominational. Poverty and insanitation are to be met by bringing organised intelligence and activity into the villages, and this is to be effected apparently by getting the middle classes to return to the villages which they are said to have deserted.

Under these heads it is only the vagueness of the proposals to which exception can be taken—the ideals seem to be sound and elevated.

In the present crisis of disorganisation, we are told, the remedy is to reinstate that scale of social values which embodied itself in past social distinctions, and then to invite the low to emulate the high along the real line of social worthiness.

This is pitiful.

The article under review is concluded with the following pertinent observations:

There is a special reason why India should be distrustful of her past. There are few questions affecting human society which are not open to argument—something can usually be urged in support of even the worst causes. Still there are a few questions which are really past all reasonable argument, and two of these at once spring to mind upon the mention of the two words "untouchable" and "infanticide." The first of these questions is well before the public at the present time and needs no discussion here. As to the second, I do not for a moment aver that infanticide is a common crime in India, but the word with its associations serves, as no other single word can, to bring to mind that preference for male over female offspring which is still a strong sentiment in India. As providence has not endowed parents with the faculty of the choice of sex, it ought ordinarily to be a matter of equal joy whether a son or a daughter is born to them. We know that that is very far from being the case in India.

The Waste of Infant Life in India

is the title of a melancholy article appearing in the October number of the *Social Service Quarterly* which is a review of the annual reports of the sanitary commissioners of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Assam and Burma for the year 1914.

The writer correctly begins by saying that

The Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner on the sanitary administration of a province and the health of its inhabitants would be one of the most valuable of public documents, if, besides the various statements of figures in the prescribed form and the description of the routine of administration, the Sanitary Commissioner presented, in an attractive and popular style, the general conclusions to be drawn from the facts and figures marshalled in the Report and the remedies suggested. This general inadequacy is most clearly brought home when one considers the manner in which the subject of infant mortality is treated in these Reports.

The following statistics clearly show the appalling infant mortality in the country :

In Bombay, the rate of mortality of infants calculated on the number of registered births was 198.81 per 1,000 in 1914, against 188.42 in the previous year. As many as 2,61,302 deaths were recorded among children under 5 years of age, giving a rate of 95.51 per mille. Among the measures adopted in Bombay for reducing infant mortality, are the giving to a number of poor women, during confinement, relief in the shape of necessaries and comforts such as milk, loaves, blanket, and charpais. A few municipal nurses and midwives are also engaged and they have to move about in localities entrusted to them and find out prospective mothers. They have then to attend on confinements among the poor and continue their visits even after the lying-in period and give advice on the care and feeding of infants. The advantages of these measures, which are in the experimental stage, however, barely reach the bulk of poor women in Bombay. In the Madras Presidency, the infantile death-rate was 196.5, the incidence of the deaths of infants being the heaviest in the city of Madras where the rate was 312.5. It appears from figures for preceding years that this incidence shows a marked tendency to rise ; and as to preventive measures, they seem to be non-existent, for the Sanitary Commissioner finds it necessary to suggest that the Health Department of the Madras Corporation should see to this and try to discover causes with a view to adopting necessary remedies. In the United Provinces, the death-rate of infants was 233.5 as against a decennial average of 255. The chief preventive measure adopted in these provinces was an increase in the number of travelling dispensaries from 74 to 87. 793 *dais* were admitted for training in the essentials of midwifery and the care of children. In a few districts, leaflets on the feeding of young children were distributed.

The mortality among children under five years formed 60 per cent. of the total deaths in the Central Provinces. The rate of infant mortality was 263.89. The Sanitary Commissioner remarks that in many

towns a definite advance has been made by employing a municipal midwife or female sub-assistant surgeon. The Sanitary Commissioner also refers to the efforts made in Nagpur to secure a reduction of the mortality. The lady doctor of the city obtains information of as many labour cases as possible from the *dais* in attendance, and offers skilled assistance where needed. Her experience is that, although trained assistance is available, the employment of the *dai* is such a time-honoured custom that her services are preferred to those of another agency by the vast majority of people.

The rate of infantile mortality in Burma was 216.36. A marked increase was observed in nipe towns, but the Report states that for none of the towns was any satisfactory explanation received from the health officers. In some cases, the increase was overlooked and not considered fit for comment. Other frequent explanations were the prevalence of "child's diseases" or convulsions or malaria. The Sanitary Commissioner is therefore justified in remarking that the study of the causes of infantile mortality in the Province is still in its infancy. The only information vouchsafed in the Assam Report is that, as in the previous years, the death rate was highest among infants under one year.

We thoroughly agree with the writer when he says in conclusion :

• Here it will not be improper to comment on the more or less perfunctory manner in which the question has been treated in the Reports. The causes of the high mortality among infants may be as open to dispute as the means of its prevention. But that is no reason why the question should be dealt with in any but a thorough manner. It is apparent from the Reports that there is a diversity of views about the causes, but this is mainly due to the absence of systematic inquiry. The poverty, and not seldom the immaturity, of the parents, their ignorance of the proper ways of rearing children, and the insanitary surroundings in which the poor have to live necessarily make the life of infants very precarious. Under conditions like these—to which most mothers and children are exposed,—the surprising thing is not that so many infants die, but that more do not die.

A fuller knowledge of these and other causes will suggest remedies. As it is, the Reports do contain a record of measures adopted to remove the evil. But these measures are at best isolated and inadequate. Organized efforts are necessary and there is a heavy responsibility on all interested—parents, doctors, sanitary authorities, and the general public. The commencement of the campaign must be anti-natal. The care of the expectant mother takes the foremost place among the remedies. This presupposes in all who are concerned in the care of pregnant women the necessary knowledge of their proper treatment. We have yet to educate the masses of people in the best means of saving and preserving infant life, to open their eyes to the great extent of infant mortality, and to impress upon them the facts that the prevailing excessive mortality is a national disaster and that much of this waste of life can be, and ought to be, prevented. In this country, where the bulk of population is illiterate, it may be difficult to achieve much by trying to educate the mass of people through the Press or by lectures, but personal influence can be effective, and this work of promoting the health of mothers and the welfare of infants and children offers an ample field for the energies of those women who have received the benefit of higher

education. In addition to an educational propaganda and systematic house-to-house visiting, there is an urgent need for the provision of beds, wards, even hospitals, set apart for maternity cases, at least, in all towns. For, any suggestion like this about villages, most of which have to do without even a dispensary, would be premature. Hospital accommodation for pre-maternal cases may also be arranged for, but only in places where due provision has been made for the treatment of maternity cases. In brief, if from the commencement of pregnancy, healthy conditions of life could be made possible for mother and child, and proper attention could be secured for the feeding, clothing, and up-bringing of the infant throughout the first year of life, a large number of the lives of infants now lost from tetanus, debility at birth, acute lung diseases, and malnutrition might well be saved.

The Conservation of Life.

James Mathers contributes to the *Young Men of India* a thoughtful article under the above heading in which he tries to discuss the true meaning of life.

Man tries to interpret life according to his own temperament. Thus the materialist attempts to find life's secret in matter. The saint seeks its source and end in God. The ordinary man is content with vague and cloudy notions.

Much of the backwardness of India in things economic and material is due to the philosophic view of life which obtains in our country.

In the philosophic view, life is a dream, and true life only comes in the awakening from the dream. The world is a delusion, essentially an evil thing, and stands in the way of the true development of the soul. It is, therefore, something to be got rid of at all cost. Asceticism, seclusion from the world, forest life, meditation, and yogic practices are what this theory of life leads to. In ancient times in India an earnest attempt to conserve life in this way was made by not a few of her most gifted sons, and the Buddhist ideal of life follows the same path. Some aspects of Christian religious mysticism are also based on this ideal, especially certain ascetic types developed in mediæval times. But it is in India alone that the attempt has had a profound influence on the general life of her people. It has led to an almost universal lessening of the sense of the worth of the world and the world's work; and although many endeavours have been made mitigating the rigour of the theory in the interests of social and material progress—by such mediating philosophies as are embodied in the *Bhagavat Gita* and the commentaries of Ramanuja—still the effect is present in the whole general attitude of the people of India to the active side of life, and in the fatalistic acquiescence in events, which ever says, "What happens, happens." In a recent speech to the Mysore Economic Conference, the Dewan of Mysore traced to this fatalistic tendency of the race much of the difficulty that stands in the way of India's economic progress. How this is so may be gleaned from the words of a Spanish poet :—

Man dreams what he is, and wakes
Only when upon him breaks
Death's mysterious morning beam.
The King dreams he is a King
And in this delusive way
Lives and rules with sovereign sway :
All the cheers that round him ring,
Born of air on air take wing ;
And in ashes—mournful fate—
Death dissolves his pride and state.
Who would wish a crown to take,
Seeing that he must awake
In the dream beyond death's gate !
And the rich man dreams of gold
Gilding cares it scarce conceals ;
And the poor man dreams he feels
Want, and misery, and cold.
Dreams he too who rank would hold,
Dreams who bears toil's rough rubbed hands.
Dreams who wrong for wrong demands.
And in fine, throughout the earth
All men dream, whate'er their birth,
And yet none understands.
'Tis a dream that I in sadness
Here am bound, the scorn of Fate :
'Twas a dream that once a state
I enjoyed of light and gladness.
What is life ! 'Tis but a madness.
What is life ? A thing that seems,
A mirage, that falsely gleams,
Phantom joy, delusive rest.
Since is life a dream at best,
And even dreams themselves are dreams.

Such thinking in a people can but lead to a desire for death in the sense of a cessation of conscious existence and the extinction of personal individuality ; or, failing the hope of this, to a listless hopeless acquiescence in things as they are. And this latter is what in the main has actually happened in India. The chosen few may elect to tread the higher way to union with God, but the many are doomed to a seemingly endless whirl of cycles of existences, theoretical dreams, but very real and very hopeless to those imprisoned in them. India's pessimistic outlook on life and quietism have been the result. We need not stay to criticise this theory of life. The whole trend of modern thought condemns it, and the whole spirit of national feeling, and desire for economic and individual progress, that are so prevalent in India at the present time, are utterly contradictory to it.

The writer goes on to say :

To-day in the sciences dealing with mental and psychological processes, and in the science of religions, we are extending the boundaries of science as a whole, and in consequence revising many of the dictums of the natural scientists of last century. Then the tendency of science was to assert that there is no life after death. Death is the end of all things to the individual. The natural lesson from such a doctrine would be, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for death is the end of all." More, perhaps, than we realize, this philosophy of life has affected our Western political, social, and commercial idea. National self assertiveness, social emphasis upon position and power, and the commercial instinct that would ever buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, oblivious of all other interests, rest ultimately on a latent belief in the supreme worth of this present life. But to adopt this attitude to life is to reduce human life to the level of the beasts that perish. Man has

more intelligence, more adaptability, more power, and more cunning, than the animals. That is all.

The proper outlook on life should be as follows :

Life is immortal. What we are now experiencing here on earth is but one stage in a great journey, whose end is God. All life has a meaning, and its progress can be accelerated or retarded. Our central life has relations both with the physical and the spiritual sides of human existence. But while its relations to the physical side are merely temporal, while it inhabits the body, its everlasting seat is in the spirit of man. And just as there are laws of physical growth and health, so also there are laws of the well-being and advancement of the spirit.

Life cannot be lived alone. It is a social product, dependent at once for growth on God, the Giver of Life, and on communion with other lives.

The ascetic ideal is a mistake. Isolation leads to the death of the soul. It is in the rub and bustle of life that character is formed, and character is the food by which life grows. Not the man who hides his talent wins life, but he who puts it out to interest and reaps gain.

True life does not consist in getting, but in giving

not in love of self, but in love of others. The highest character is formed through the life of self-sacrifice for the good of others—family, nation, God.

It should be our privilege to be able to sing with the poet :

Rejoice we are allied
To That which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark distinguishes our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.
Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive and hold cheap the stain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never, grudge the
throe!
For thence,—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks,—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink in the
scale.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India After the War : Self-Government for India.

is the title of a telling article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After* by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras. We make a few important cuttings for the benefit of our readers :

With a few exceptions it is true to say that the desire for the maintenance of British rule is universal among the great mass of the peoples of India. On the other hand, the last fifty years have seen the rapid growth of an educated class throughout India who have received a Western education, are imbued with English political ideals, and by reason of a common language and civilisation have been inspired with a sense of National unity, and of which the Indian National Congress is the outward and visible sign. Among this class of educated men there has been growing up for the last half-century an increasing desire for a larger share in the government of their own country, a longing that India should have its place in the sun, and the vision of an Indian Nation, independent and self-governing, taking its place with the Colonies of Canada, South Africa and Australia as an integral part of the British Empire. If educated Indians desired a large share in the government of their own country before the War began, that desire will be far stronger when the War is over; if the desire to realise the ideal of Self-Government and to play an honourable part in the history of the world was strong in the hearts of the Indian peoples before the Indian troops landed in France, it will become incomparably stronger after the War.

All Englishmen would acknowledge that these are honourable ambitions and that the vision of the India that is to be is a noble and inspiring ideal, and that there is nothing in this ambition or this ideal in any way inconsistent with perfect loyalty to the British Empire or with the full and frank recognition of the fact that for many years to come the strength and efficiency of the British Government are absolutely necessary if the ideal is to be attained.

There has undoubtedly been a conflict between the ideal of the Englishman in India and the ideal of the educated India during the last few years, and we must expect that the conflict will be more acute after the War. It is not due to the fact that the two ideals are necessarily irreconcilable, but simply to the fact that each of the two races naturally tends to look at the political situation from a different angle and to take a one-sided and partial view of the problem it presents. It is perhaps natural that this should be so, simply because Englishmen and Indians differ so widely in temperament and mental characteristics. We English people are by temperament suspicious of ideals: we naturally fix our attention on present facts and deal with them as best we can: our whole interest is in the *status quo*: we live and work for the present and do not look forward to the future, and that to a very large extent is the secret of our success in the building of the Empire. It has been said that England conquered India in a fit of absent-mindedness, and this is partly true: we did not come to India with any idea of Empire or with any intention of conquering India; we came as traders; we established factories because they were necessary for the security of our trade; we assumed the Government of Districts and States because it seemed necessary to do so for the security of our factories,

and so we were led on by the practical necessities of the case step by step until at last there came out this Empire! We are doing much the same thing now; we are taking one step after another by the education of the people, the extension of railways and telegraphs, the spread of the English language, the training of the people in the arts of Government, the creation of a sense of unity among the peoples of India, and we are thus preparing the way for great political changes in the future; but we never trouble ourselves to look ahead seriously to think what is the inevitable goal towards which we are tending. Sufficient unto the day is the good and evil thereof.

On the other hand, Indians are essentially idealists, their whole interest in the past has been centred in religion, philosophy, and the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics. They have never taken much interest in history; their tendency is to concentrate on ideals, to go back to first principles, to dream dreams and see visions, and largely to ignore the intermediate steps by which the visions and ideals must be realised.

On the one hand, the English officials do not at all realise what a natural and honourable ambition it is on the part of the educated class to desire a greater share in the government of their own country nor how splendid the vision is of a self-governing India; nor can they understand how difficult their position must necessarily be in India from the mere fact that they are foreigners governing a people with an ancient civilisation and history of their own. They forget that no educated and civilised people like to be governed by foreigners however well they govern, and that the desire for independence and Self-Government is a simple elementary fact of human nature. They have always imagined that because they have governed well, their Government must necessarily be popular.

Then, again, it is hard for us to realise the fact that India has a civilisation of its own, which it ought to develop upon its own lines. There are certain principles of thought, morality, social life and political progress which are common to all mankind. It is our duty and privilege to establish these principles in India; but, on the other hand, the exact form which these principles will assume in India is necessarily different from that which they have assumed in England. Our function is to sow seeds and let them grow in accordance with the genius of the Indian peoples. India has got its own contribution to make to the thought, the religion, the social and political life of humanity; but it can never make this contribution unless it is allowed ultimately to grow and develop upon its own natural lines in accordance with its own genius, and this is not possible without political Self-Government.

And then, again, it is difficult for Englishmen in India to realise that in spite of the facts of past history, it is still true that the ultimate basis on which the British Government in India must rest in the future, is the will of the Indian peoples.

Were the peoples of India ever to become fit for independence and wish for independence, the British Government would have done its work and would retire. The idea that we can ever maintain our Government by force against the general will of the Indian people is unthinkable. Even if it were physically possible, our conscience would never allow us to use force and shed blood to maintain a foreign Government in India, if the mass of the people wished for a Government of their own. And

the present War is making it doubly impossible for us ever to try to impose our Government upon the peoples of India by force.

At the same time the present War is surely striking proof that the British Government can take its stand upon the will of the Indian peoples with perfect safety. It has been a wonderful demonstration of fundamental loyalty of the great mass of the princes and peoples of India to the British Empire; and if it has revealed the loyalty of India to the people of England, it has also revealed to the people of India the value to them of the British Empire.

What possible lines of advance are there towards the great ideal of a Self-Governing India?

The first is obviously to increase the number of Indians in Government service and promote them continually to positions of greater and greater responsibility, with the idea that ultimately the British element in the Government will to a very large extent disappear and India be governed almost entirely by Indians. This is practically the policy which has been steadily pursued for the last sixty or seventy years. Lord Morley's reforms were a great step in this direction, and the further reforms which have for some years past been advocated by the Nationalist Party all tend to the same end. This policy undoubtedly is valuable, inasmuch as it serves to train a large body of Indians in the art of administration and to bring the Government more in touch with Indian thought and feeling; but on the other hand, as has been pointed out above, it cannot be regarded as a true solution of the problem that has ultimately to be solved.

One of the foremost Indian politicians remarked very truly a few months ago: 'Even if all the posts in the Civil Service were filled with Indians, that would not constitute Self-Government for India. Self-Government must begin from below. There can be no such thing as Self-Government until the people in every village have learnt to govern themselves.'

The second line of advance is the development of Local Self-Government in municipalities and villages.

It is a minor point but I venture to think that it is a mistake to discourage the serious study of Indian politics in our Indian Universities. We greatly need in India a large body of thoughtful Indian politicians of the type of the late Mr. Gokhale and a great deal might be done to create such a body of men for the State by fostering and encouraging the study of political and social questions in the Universities. I fully believe myself that a school of Political Science in each University, with a body of really able professors to teach the subject, would have a very wholesome and steadying effect upon Indian politics. It would create in each Province a sound body of public opinion; it would discourage wild and thoughtless talk, and it would be able to apply the universal principles of political science to the special conditions of Indian life and society.

A more important point is the cultivation of friendly social relations between Europeans and Indians. It may be true that social relations between Europeans and Indians cannot be quite satisfactory so long as there is political inequality; and it may also be true, as is constantly urged by Europeans, that Indian customs, especially the seclusion of women and the caste rules of the Hindus with reference to food, place great obstacles in the way of social relations between the two races.

At the same time it is a great exaggeration to say that there can be no social relations at all between the two races until these obstacles are removed. I can bear witness from my own experience of thirty years in India, both in Calcutta and Madras, that a very large amount of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians is perfectly possible, and that such intercourse is of the utmost value to both parties.

We need a new attitude on the part of Europeans in India, both official and non-official, towards the peoples of India and their aspirations, a new ideal for our work, a new conception of the ultimate basis of our power. The all-important thing is, that after the War we should cease to talk of the population of India as a subject people, cease to talk of ourselves as a ruling race, cease the effort to impose upon the peoples of India a purely Western civilisation and cease to allow our policy to be dominated by the fear of weakening the position of the foreign bureaucracy.

The Voices of the Night.

Under the above heading a short but interesting article has been published in the *Westminster Gazette* penned by Horace Hutchinson. The writer tells us that the night is seldom if ever "stilly," in fact it is filled and alive with a perfectly astonishing number of sounds.

Says Mr. Hutchinson :

In the comparative calm of the night there is, for many minutes together, no single sound to occupy your attention strongly ; it is distributed, going from one of the little sounds to the other so quickly as to give them an illusion of coalescence, like the optical illusion of the kaleidoscope. It is thus even as you lean from your window. It is thus, magnified multifold, if you pass into that far closer communion with nature which you may establish if you come forth from your tenement of bricks and mortar, which is the fence that modern man has erected between himself and things as nature would have them be, and stand or lie silent on Mother Earth in the midst of all the rest of her children. Believe me you will not then find night "stilly," nor a time when all the good children of Mother Earth are asleep.

Certain of the sounds you will identify, or at least will believe that you assign to their real makers. Of such are the innumerable little patterings, as it were the sound of a scratchy pen travelling over paper, then stopping very short and abruptly—the scribe's idea not too fluent in his mind. These are the footfalls of small nocturnal people going over the carpeting of dry leaves or among the stiff grass blades with hard-shod feet and talons. They may be feet of shrews or voles, or even of larger creatures than these ; but the majority of the pattering and the scratching will be done by the insects, because they are far more numerous and incessantly busy—the ants, the beetles, and so on. And generally it is the fallen leaves that play the part of sounding-board to it all. One of the many correspondents who are kind enough to write me on the subjects of some of these short essays in the *Westminster* describes this process vividly. "Walking," he says, "in my garden on a quiet November

evening, I used to be astonished by hearing a constant rustling of dried leaves on the ground, always ahead of me. It was too late for birds to be about. I wondered, could it be mice, and would they be so numerous and omnipresent ? I decided in the negative, and then tried by the quietest and slowest approach to stalk the mysterious beings who rustled the leaves. After many failings I at last succeeded, and discovered they were Darwin's favorite earth-worms, who were busy pulling the withered leaves into and down their holes, I suppose to provide themselves with nourishment during the hard weather which lay before them. It then became a pleasure, while promegading the garden by day, to notice the leaves in scores that were more or less dragged into the worm-holes. They were twined round as we twined a sheet of paper round a bouquet of flowers, and I think the stalk and narrow end were always pulled in first.

There is one mood of Nature and one only in which the night, for the watcher, is not filled with these innumerable, scarcely palpable sounds. When all the world is wrapped in the garb of snow the activities of very many of the nocturnal creatures are checked ; this check of the activities occurs as a result of the low temperature simply, and we find it at times of a hard and crisp frost, no less. But the snow, besides being an enervator of vital forces, acts also as a muffler of all sound that creatures still have enough vitality to produce. It is not a time at which the watcher will care to remain watchful for long, by wood or fell. You will be the less tempted to dally because all except the louder voices of the night are hushed. It is, as it were, a dead world, or a world of arrested life. The very silence is so oppressive as almost to seem audible. You may go home, to your far more grateful fireside, with the impression that not a living thing has been stirring about you as you held your brief nocturnal vigil. And then coming forth the next morning and going to the same place, you will perceive the tell-tale face of the candid snow as it were riddled with wrinkles formed by the footprints of little creatures that must have been going to and fro all about you, even while you watched, though you saw and knew nothing of them.

Sir Robert Hadfield writing in the *Review of Reviews* presents some of the

Problems of Industrial Training

and tries to find out a means to solve them.

Says he :

I In my opinion neither the scientific man nor the practical man wholly fulfils the required conditions for the direction of great modern affairs. By the practical man I mean the man who has received a good secondary education, but not special scientific culture and by the scientific man I mean the man who is completely instructed, but is a stranger to actual experience and practice.

It usually happens that the scientific man is as necessary as the practical man, but neither the one nor the other is a satisfactory organiser, because they do not unite in one head the combination of the two indispensable elements. It is therefore necessary to

arrange our educational courses so as to combine the two ; in other words, to find a third type of man in whom such knowledge will be united. The solution of the problem is not easy, but it is more than ever necessary that at the present time such a new type should be evolved and developed.

Until quite recently many mistakes were made, either because the scientific man had been installed in view of his special knowledge or, at the other end of the scale, the practical man was given the preference. In a general way neither of these types has been a success.

The scientists can certainly do excellent work in his laboratory, but generally speaking, he will only be able to render these services in this one capacity, because he has not had the opportunity to adjust his theoretical knowledge to industrial conditions. The practical man also in his vocation is able to do good work, but it is doubtful whether in these days he can ever furnish work of the highest order.

How then are we to obtain this important combination ?

Naturally the best path to follow is that of scientific education, but on condition that instruction furnished by practical observation is not neglected.

All things considered, the scientist will certainly be in a better position, but if he does not possess the necessary turn of mind and the natural qualities to which reference has been made, this education which should have given him a great advantage may cause his ruin. It may prevent him from attaining the height of success to which he might have reached by applying his knowledge to practical ends. He remains in the same sphere, and cannot emerge therefrom.

The combination of science and practice is of the greatest importance, but it is doubtful whether it can be obtained by education alone. In order to attain the highest degree of success a man requires something even more than education, that is above all he must show personal application.

The *Spectator* has an article on

The Higher Indifference

which provides interesting reading.

There is a sense in which we must all, in self-defense, cultivate indifference. Some indifference, both intellectual and emotional, is part of the necessary armour of the man whose mind and whose sympathies have been systematically developed. We have all certain subjects upon which we dare not think. We administer to ourselves the soporific of consciously induced indifference whenever they present themselves before our eyes.

But the higher indifference is no matter of narrowing areas. It is not an effort to avoid thinking, but an

effort made by thinking to avoid pain. Doctors often attain to it. They cannot turn away even from such ills as they cannot cure and cannot effectually assuage. They are not, however, more unhappy than other men, neither are they more hard-hearted. There is, of course, a minority of case-hardened doctors who are very brutal, but they form an almost negligible minority. The good medical man dwells—it is his duty to dwell—upon every detail of the suffering before him, and he offers sympathy to the patient which is in no sense insincere, but which does not interfere with his sleep or his appetite, his enjoyment of life or his scheme of the universe. He will never speak cruelly, he will never perhaps even think hardly, of any single case that he attends. His indifference is neither callous nor careless, but it serves him as a complete protection all the while that he is under fire from the enemy's guns. He induces it by will-power. In his endless fight with pain he could not afford to go unarmed.

To attain to the higher indifference is the moral ambition of a great number of very good people who are not doctors. Philanthropists, for instance, try, and usually succeed ; but some of them in their efforts fall into that lower indifference which, while it protects the professional benefactor from distress, also impedes his efforts, and sometimes renders him useless altogether. Either he becomes an indulgent cynic whose influence is never very great or good, or else he becomes an academic correctionist, a lawgiver whose law remains a dead letter—murmuring "Thou shalt not" over his office table, but little heeded by the accused persons who appear before his bar, and whom he is powerless to help or punish, being incapable of either sympathy or indignation.

Among the best strivers after indifference are the would-be stoics. Pride forbids them to be overcome by grief and pain, whether their own or another's. They pretend to great strength of mind. They think by allowing no show of feeling to master all emotion. They make no harsh profession of indifference. They try to keep their minds on what they describe to themselves as a "plane" above distress and conflict. In reality they do but make a strong effort of concentration, and in the effort occasionally break down altogether and injure themselves mentally. Nature will not have us to be proud. If we take trouble simply, crying out in moderation and admitting our misery, she will console us by that remedy of time in which no one ever put any faith, but which does heal, nevertheless, most of those who are not too proud to give in. Time is the great anti-faith-cure doctor, whom all his patients distrust but who fails seldom.

Certain mystics have lived, and we suppose do live now, in a state of mind which might be described as indifference. But all mystics, big and little, are in a sense refugees. They have fled before the terrors and puzzles of the actual. They have found a refuge, but they have chosen to live aloof from the waking world, and the waking world is uneasy in their presence. The refusal to suffer is not always an ignoble thing, but it is not so noble as endurance.

TO THE MEMORY OF Mr. K. OKAKURA

Your great heart shone with the sunrise of the East
like the snowy summit of a lonely hill in the dawn.
Rabindranath Tagore.

Before the memory of this pilgrimage fades I want to record my impression of the days spent at Idzura. This place is sacred to the memory of one of the greatest of the sons of modern Japan, and one to whom Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude.

The name of Okakura is probably well known to the readers of the *Modern Review*, so I need not say anything of his life work in Japan and the part he played in the Renaissance movement in Bengal. The thought of his influence is in my mind as I write, for I am staying with Rabi Babu at the seaside house of the late Mr. Okakura, one of those lonely great men who do so much to shape the thought and history of nations.

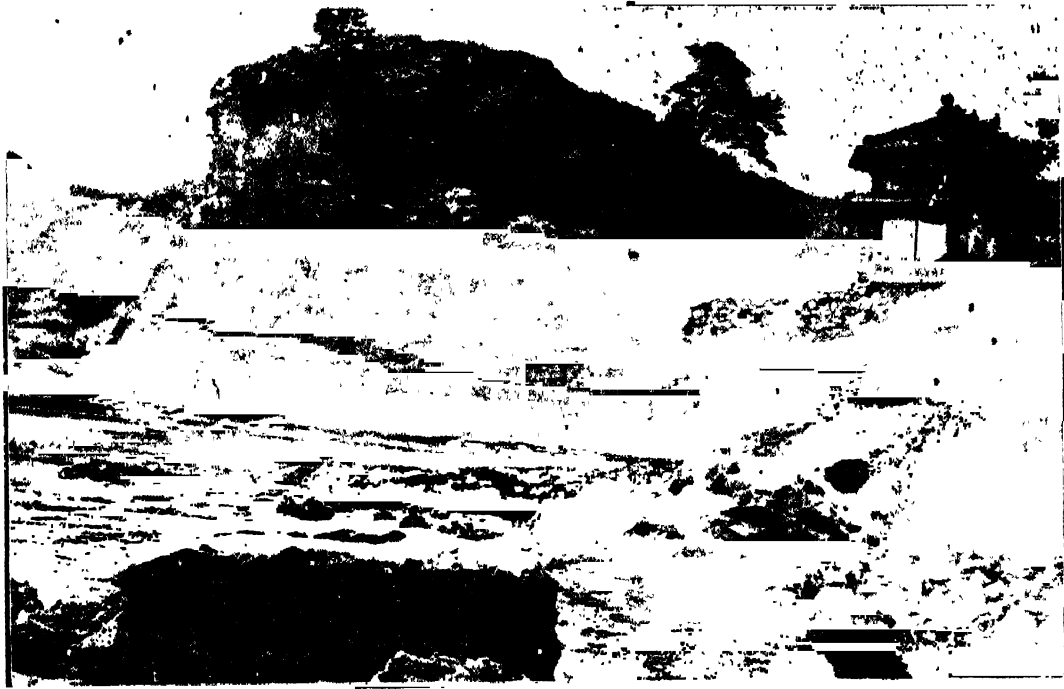
We started for Idzura from a beautiful place in the hills. There we had met the graduates of the Tokyo Women's University who had gathered together for part of their summer vacation in order to think of the deeper things of the spirit. These women students with their deep devotion had listened to the message of their Bengali guest, and had served him with their love and reverence. They stood on the station platform to bid him farewell, and garlanded him in Indian fashion with a garland of everlasting flowers from the hills.

When we entered the carriage which had been reserved for the poet, I saw a beautiful bunch of wild flowers by his seat. These had been placed there by the Station-master as a token of his respect for the visitor from India. This was an example of what has struck me so much in Japan, even when travelling by myself, when I have been able to observe the railway and tramway officials in their treatment of the common people, namely, that the Japanese remain human even when they become officials. All through our travels in this land of flowers we have seen how the official has still his human heart, and does not allow the fact that he is an official to turn him into a mere machine for the

carrying out of the orders of the higher authorities. It has more than once occurred to me that if only in India those of my own fellow countrymen who occupy the position of officials, could keep that human touch with those whom they are paid to serve, there would be more of happiness and contentment in India, though perhaps there might be less of efficiency.

The place we were bound for was the seaside residence of the Okakura family to which we had been invited by the widow and son of the late Mr. Okakura. The day was a rainy one, but fortunately the rain stopped just as we reached the station of Idzura. After leaving the station we had to pass through the village which is a fairly large one. The straggling street was lined on both sides by the village people, who could be counted by hundreds or even thousands. They had read in their daily papers that the Indian seer was coming to visit their village, and all had left their work and had come from their fishing boats and the fields and their shops to have a glimpse of him as he passed. It was a remarkable sight to see these weather-beaten peasants and fisher folk standing in respectful silence as the poet passed by. It was eloquent of the close touch that there has been between the India of the sages, the land which gave to the world the Buddha, and Japan, which even in these present times has not forgotten the debt she owes to India. Japan still has in her heart of hearts a true reverence for this ancient land and even the modern Western civilisation which she has acquired with such wonderful ease had not been able to rob her of her inner spirit of tranquility and reverence for beauty. As we passed through the rice fields on our way to the house outside the village, at every group of houses there were villagers standing silently watching as the poet passed.

When we reached the entrance to the garden we were welcomed by Mrs. Okakura who took us into the house. It stands on a rocky point at one side of a bay



LATE MR. OKAKURA'S SEASIDE HOUSE

This picture shows the artist's favorite room.

which holds in its quiet safety a little fishing village. In front of the house, overlooking the sea, is a small summer house which was the favourite room of the late Mr. Okakura. There Rabi Babu sat during the day, and wrote, or watched the fishing boats as they passed out of the bay into the open sea.

This evening, as I write, the music of the waves comes up from the bay and the shouts of the children playing on the beach mingle with the sound of the breakers of the sea.

We have just returned from the tomb of the late Mr. Okakura, before which incense filled the evening air with its fragrance. The tomb is a grassy mound with no stone on it, but a small garden by its side. As we stood before this green mound in the fading light a little fir tree was brought, and in the presence of Mr. Okakura's son Rabi Babu planted this tree in memory of his friend.

Then a bronzed fisherman came up and

placing some sticks of incense before the tomb made his obeisance before it. We were told that he was the fisherman who always used to accompany Mr. Okakura when he went out fishing.

Last of all the children of the family came and made their *namas* and as we turned away and walked back to the house they came round me and began timidly to sing the first lines of a Bengali song which I had tried to teach them the day before.

“জীবনে যত পূজা

হল না সারা

জানি হে জানি তাও

“ হয় নি হারা। ”

They did not know the meaning of the words, but as they sang I felt how true they were and how even before the grave of this great man's mortality we could feel sure that his work is not lost nor his worship finished.

W. W. PEARSON.

GLEANINGS

A Danish Artist on the Ajanta Cave Paintings.

The annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1914-15 A. D. is an interesting publication. We learn from it "that the view, advanced by certain antiquaries, that the Ajanta frescoes were in a state of rapid deterioration has proved on careful examination to be without any foundation. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that with adequate care the frescoes may last for several centuries more; while any attempt to remove them with a view to protect the frescoes will prove absolutely disastrous. During the visit of the Director General to Ajanta, M. Axel Garl, a Danish artist of great culture, was also asked to inspect the caves. His note on the art of Ajanta, which is attached to the Report, is of great interest." This note is reproduced below

The water-paintings in the rock-caves at Ajanta exhibit the classical art of India. That is to say they represent the climax to which genuine Indian art has attained, and they show the way to be followed by Indian artists

They belong to different periods and represent great varieties of style and different degrees of artistic value. But in these notes only the best of them are referred to, as they are to be seen in sadly damaged conditions, especially in caves Nos. 1, 2, 16 and 17.

I

The colours are deeper and often purer and the whole scale of colours is far richer than in other stucco paintings of similar dimensions (Egyptian tombs, Pompeyan houses, Italian churches from the Middle ages, etc.). Even though the many centuries may have given the rock-walls in Ajanta a harmonious veil of patina, which they did not perhaps possess fifteen hundred years ago, the combination of colours within the single groups, and in the individual figures show that the painters were guided by a highly developed sense in their blending of colours with a view to the total impression to be produced.

II

The composition of the wall paintings is exquisite. It is characteristic that the larger the figures are in proportion to the surrounding space, the better is as a rule the whole composition. It seems that the best artists have preferred to use the larger figures in their pictures.

The picture tells its story plainly in a manner which nobody can fail to understand. The eye is directed by the main lines of the composition towards the chief characters, which also attract our attention by their large size and by their carefully calculated position that has been given to them in the almost endless number and variety of figures.

Whenever superhuman beings, men, animals and plants are represented the three dimensions are observed with realistically executed contractions, and with true perspective in regard to lines and planes. But buildings and grounds are done without perspective, the walls being left unbroken and the plane remains undisturbed.

But however schematic and conventional these rocks and houses, gateways, pavilions, etc., look to us, they are excellently fitted to serve the purpose of dividing one picture from another on the same wall, of giving the setting of the picture, and of affording rest to the eye in the multitude and rush of figures.

III

The form is marked by a sharp and clearly accentuated outline. The contour is so true to nature and so well done, that combined with a perfectly correct volume it gives even in cases of the most difficult contractions a perfect impression of shape—even when the surface is nearly monochromatic with only a slight deepening of the colours along the edges.

Although no use is made of light and shade, the effect of shape, sometimes even of relief, is secured, and the plane is preserved as a matter of principle.

This technique which reaches its climax in a Bodhisattva figure (of more than life size in cave No. 1), bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo. If one placed a good photograph of this Buddha head by the side of a photograph of a figure from the Capella Sixtina one might be inclined to think, if no attention were paid to the different types of the figures, that they were painted by the same master.

A further aid in the matter of expressing form the Ajanta artists have found in an extensive use of ornaments. *Karas*, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, veils, ties, slings, flower garlands, etc., are drawn with such skill, are laid around a neck, a finger, a breast in such a manner, that the whole surface takes its form from it.

The folds of the garments, as well as their borders in all their simplicity are written with a remarkably sure hand and with an astonishing knowledge of the form underneath.

If the figures are moving such ornaments are used to give an impression of the speed. There are flying figures whose rapid movements are suggested most vividly, for instance by the heavy pendants swinging out almost horizontally.

IV

The figure style is highly developed and testifies to a thorough study of the human body. Every stillness, symmetry or mere monotony has been

overcome. The axis of most of the figures changes several times from head to feet without any apparent disturbance of the natural poise and balance. And one meets an unlimited freedom in the choice of postures and movements. Even those that are most improbable get appearance of life and reality. A group of beings (in the vestibule of cave No. 17) are flying on without wings—with movements so large and free and with a poise so graceful, that one has no doubt that this is their natural manner of moving about.

This perfect freedom in the painter's handling of the human body places Ajanta one thousand years ahead of all other paintings that we know. There is no exhibition of the painter's knowledge of Anatomy, nor is there—with a few exceptions—any offence against Anatomy. The Hindu racial type is simply concentrated and intensified in this art; and thereby have been secured a gracefulness and an expressiveness in the representation of the human body the equal of which it is hard to find anywhere.

Figures like those of "Primavera" by Botticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures in Ajanta (in the cella on the right in cave No. 2).

V

Behind those masterpieces lies a great and thorough study of nature. Not only the individual painter's independent efforts to master the form of nature, but also an experience and a tradition that have been cultivated patiently and industriously in an artistic school. And what we find here is not only great knowledge but also much practice. Everything in these pictures from the composition as a whole to the smallest pearl or flower testifies to depth of insight coupled with the greatest technical skill. That is what makes it possible for the artist to transcend reality as he does so often to express what is the distinctive aim of all oriental art, the soul, the spiritual side of the existence. He does not thereby violate the truth.

However unnatural and artificial an eye, for instance, may appear to the inexperienced observer, the connoisseur will discover with astonishment, that the anatomy of the eye is so well understood and so well reproduced in the drawing, that these strange and peculiarly curved lines cannot possibly represent anything else in the world except just a human eye.

A principle by which all Western artists are guided is to study nature and to learn from the antique. What has been said above shows that the ancient Hindu masters must have followed a similar way; combining the tradition of the school with individual study and practice. If genuine Indian art is to experience a renaissance it is that same principle which must still be followed. Europe got its renaissance through learning from the Greek antique. India will get hers if she turns to Ajanta and goes to school there.

Whoever wants to serve the cause of pure Indian art will find his masters here, in whose steps he must strive to go. He will do as they did, first of all study nature to master the secrets of form, volume and movement. But then he will go to Ajanta to cultivate his sense of deep and harmonious colours, of distinct and full composition, of expressive and pleasing lines and last but not least of genuine Hindu figure style. As he lives and studies among their works, he will catch something of their sacred fire, until in him he feels the heart vibrating while the hand draws a clear and bold line. That is why those

old Buddhist masterpieces so often leave on the observer the impression of a prayer or a hymn of praise.

An Effective Artificial Hand.

The construction of an artificial hand that shall be capable of natural movements and of the exertion of strength through attachment to the muscles of the fore-arm is now, apparently, approaching very near solution, owing to the investigations of two Swiss professors, Dr. Sauerbruch, a surgeon, and Dr. Stodola, a professor of mechanics, both of Zurich. The problem has two parts, a physiological one—the adaptation of the muscles to the artificial fingers, and a mechanical one—the construction of an artificial hand that shall be as strong and as capable of varied motion as the real one. Professor Sauerbruch relates his experiences in an article contributed to the *Medizinische Klinik* (Vienna). Despite the progress already made and the still greater progress likely in the immediate future, he warns us at the outset that the patient's own skill, as developed by practice, will remain an important factor in the successful use of artificial limbs. Says Dr. Sauerbruch:

"Of all limbs, the most delicate is of course the hand, and the most arduous problem, consequently, is to impart natural movement to artificial fingers. Even the artificial hand of the newest model, with its electrical springs, and so on, lacks the spontaneous faculty of seizing objects.

"We have had heretofore no surgical or mechanical solution of the problem. When I returned from the front, I met by chance Dr. Stodola, professor of mechanics at the Polytechnical Institute of Zurich. He suggested the possibility of constructing a normal hand, provided the surgical part of the problem could be satisfactorily solved. I immediately began to experiment with various animals and soon reached the conclusion that it was possible, after the amputation of a limb, to preserve in the remaining sinews and muscles sufficient plastic strength for purposes of motion. After this I operated on human bodies, and finally on six wounded soldiers, with most satisfactory results.

"That the operation may be successful, it is absolutely necessary that the sinews and muscles to be used be sufficiently retracted. The formation of a solid arm-stump is also of great importance. The problem is both surgical and physiological, and every case demands individual, careful treatment. If the operator proceeds too soon, he may lose all chances of success.

"After I had published Professor Stodola's and my own first results, my attention was called to the fact that in 1899 an Italian surgeon, Dr. Vanghetti, had described the theoretical and experimental basis of the process, and had given to the world his further researches in a monograph, published in 1906. After this, Professor Ceci, of Pisa, made three successful operations. To my great surprise I found, in the course of my own investigations, that as far back as 1867 Larrey had proposed to use the muscles of the stump to impart motion to an artificial hand. To come down to our own time, a Hungarian physician, Dr. Nagy, suggested, in 1915, that in the loss of single fingers, the sinews might be energized by enveloping them with skin. Professor Korte also has written me that he has experimented successfully on a Russian invalid, using the sinews of a fore-arm-stump for the vivification of an artificial hand.

"The Prussian War Department placed at my disposition a military hospital at Singen, and here our

success was beyond expectation, so far as the surgical end of the operation was concerned. We found, for instance, that in a plastically transformed forearm, by shortening its muscles by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches, a lifting force of 22 pounds may be developed. The flexing muscles of a forearm-stump perform, on an average, a work of 2 to 3 foot-pounds. The fear that these



A CLAWLIKE SUBSTITUTE FOR A HAND.

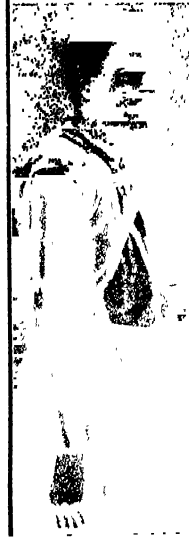
Compare this device with the artificial hand shown in the next column.

wonderful results might be but temporary has not been justified. On the contrary, with constant use the strength of the artificial hand grows.

"The technical part of the problem has a long and successful history behind it. . . . Relying partly on the experiments of his predecessors, Professor Stodola constructed his hand, whose fingers are put in motion through a set of pulleys. The transfer of force to the single fingers does not depend upon the position of their neighbors. Thus it is possible to embrace completely objects of any shape, the fingers being able to conform to the irregularity of the surface.

"We have, of course, to admit that, so far, most of our artificial hands have been constructed with an insufficient knowledge of the physiology and anatomy of that limb, and are therefore practically useless for the new purpose. Henceforth, surgeon, physiologist, and technician will have to work together.

"In brief, in view of the results so far obtained, I



A LIFE LIKE ARTIFICIAL HAND.

The upper picture shows how the hand is shut with the forearm bent. Below, on the reader's left, is shown the method of attachment. In the third picture the wearer is bending the arm with the hand open. The forearm muscles control the fingers.

am justified in making the statement that the surgical part of the problem can be considered solved, and that there is no doubt that, in the course of time, the technicians will satisfactorily solve their part of the task also.

"Almost every trade develops its own hands. Thus, the weaver, after losing his arm, is again able to work, if he can, at will, open and close two hooks modeled after thumb and forefinger, this motion being necessary to fix properly the treads at the weaving-loom. With the new method we are confident that we shall solve this problem of vocational differentiation.

"And let us not forget the psychological result. How happy our invalids will be in regaining their former appearance!"—*The Literary Digest*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE PRESS AND THE PRESS ACT. *K. Vyasa Rao, B. A. As. 10. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras.*

This is a pamphlet with the object of whose publication we are in entire sympathy, though in some matters of detail we cannot endorse what the author says. Its publication is very timely. The writer puts his case against the Press Act of 1910 ably, and has succeeded in proving that it was *not* a piece of panic legislation but one undertaken quite deliberately, possibly as a sop to the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic Cerberus. The Press Act must go. If the bureaucracy will not agree to its total repeal, the executive should be deprived of the power given by the Act of demanding, exacting and forfeiting a security without any reference to a judicial tribunal. At every stage there should be the intervention of a law-court. No security is to be demanded except in pursuance of the judgment of a judicial tribunal, and so on. But these are only suggestions by way of compromise. The Indian demand is for the repeal of the Act. We do not accept the author's suggestion that the Penal Law against the press may be made severer if the Press Act be repealed (pp. 37, 53). The Penal Code is already more elastic, vague and rigorous in the case of conductors of newspapers than it ought to be.

The importance of the press is very well brought out in the following sentences:—

"In the progressive evolution of political institutions, if the 'Government' has come to be recognised as the supreme static force of a society, the press has at the same time come to be acknowledged as its vital dynamic force. It may pass for a maxim now-a-days that just as order without a settled government is impossible, so is progress without a *free* press impossible..... We in India have only the Crown represented by the executive, as our legislative chambers are no more than a part of the mechanism of the executive. Under such conditions, the press in India is practically the only other estate of the Realm, besides the Executive. No statesman, who is more than a mere official, can afford to conceal from himself the fact, that the constitutional status of the press in British India as an estate of the Realm deserves to be protected from subordination to the executive."

The author exposes the absurdity of the provision which enables the executive to demand security even before any offence has been committed, by asking:

"Will a government feel justified in asking security of a medical or legal practitioner, because he may commit an offence in following his profession? Does it demand security of its own servants, because they may offend against the law of bribery? Does it demand security of a merchant, because he may employ false weights and measures or sell injuriously adulterated articles, or pass gilded brass for solid gold? Of which professional man, of which public servant, of which banker who receives public money does the Government take security as a preventive

punishment in advance? How then can it be justified that if one should start a press or a journal he should be liable to furnish security, merely because the executive desires to control the press more than it controls anything else?

It may be contended that the function of journalists differs from that of other men in that the former may disseminate opinions or principles subversive of the state. But may not any author, or any man who opens his mouth to speak, do the same? Why not then take security from *all* citizens? Military officers and soldiers may try to subvert the state, as they have done in all countries in some age or other. But no security is taken from them. True, rebellious officers and soldiers may be court-martialled and punished. But offending journalists may also be prosecuted under the ordinary criminal law.

MUSLIM HOME. *Part I A Present to the Married Couple. By H. H. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam Sahiba, C. I., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. S., Ruler of Bhopal, India. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1910. Cloth, Pp. 177. 74. Clearly printed on antique wove paper.*

In this lucidly written book, Her Highness the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal gives an exposition of the teachings of Islam on the conjugal relation, and shows what rights women have, or rather ought to have, according to Muhammadan Law. Muhammadans who are already married and those who are about to marry will be benefited by a perusal of the book. Non-Musalmans, too, will do well to read it; as it will give them a correct idea of the position of women in Islamic society, and will teach them to respect women and treat them kindly.

"The last word of advice which the Holy Prophet of Arabia had to give to his companions and through them to the whole world was to respect and maintain the sacredness of female right. 'The rights of women,' how nobly he exhorted, 'are sacred; see that women are maintained in the rights attributed to them.' 'Fear God, in regard to the treatment of your wives, for verily they are your helpers, you have taken them on the security of God.'"

Regarding the positions in life and duties of man and woman Her Highness writes:—

"In all Islamic teaching one does not fail to find a clear tendency to create equality between woman and man. The two sexes are, however, meant by nature, to perform separate duties and, therefore, do differ in their nature and constitution.

"If woman was, therefore, given the charge of domestic duties, man required to fight the hardships of the times. To secure peace and safety to life and property consequently fell to the lot of the stronger sex, who got therefore, a sort of precedence over the other. This one superiority in man was a necessary sequel of the respective part man and woman had to play in the propagation and protection of mankind; otherwise they were meant to be equal to each other in every other respect."

There can be no question that the rearing of

children is the peculiar duty of women. But surely they ought to and can do their social and public duties in addition to the domestic ones. For examples to clinch our argument we need not go far; Her Highness is herself a noteworthy example. In times past in India the Sultana Razia, the Empress Nur Jahan, Queen Ahalya Bai, &c., did their public duties well. In Bengal and elsewhere many women have managed big estates with great ability. In all countries in which women have the franchise, they do their political work as well as men.

The late Mr. W. T. Stead wrote in the *Chicago Chronicle*, December, 1903.—

"It is one of the advantages of monarchies that they afford women an opportunity of displaying their capacity for the direction of the affairs of State seldom possible to their republican sisters. Queen Victoria was a signal instance of this. She was, during the latter years of her reign, the most experienced member of the groups which govern the Empire. No male sovereign ever took a closer, more constant, more conscientious part in the direction of the State than did Queen Victoria, who, oddly enough, although exercising political functions absorbing her life, had a crazy horror of any other woman devoting even a fraction of her time to the study of political questions. She was a most brilliant example of what woman can do in the realm of statesmanship and the most ruthless opponent of the interference of woman—excepting herself—in political affairs.

"Queen Victoria was not alone among capable women who sit on thrones. The dowager Empress of Russia, the Queen regent of Spain, Queen Natalie of Servia, Queen Carmen Sylva of Roumania form a distinguished group of women whose political capacity was at least as their husbands'. To mention only one instance, it is an open secret that if the dowager Empress of Russia were but allowed to have had her way there would have been none of the interference with the constitutional liberties of Finland which stain so black a blot upon the present reign."

The book consists of the following chapters: Man and woman and their relative position, Marriage, Polygamy, Nuptial Rights, Mutual fidelity and love. Some measures to avoid ill-treatment and keep peace in the family, Separation between mah and wife, *Khula*, *Iddat*, Inheritance, and Kinsmen.

Her Highness's observations on polygamy are reasonable so far as they go. She shows that the teaching of the Quran strongly recommends monogamy, and that polygamy is allowed only under special circumstances, up to a certain limit, and under safeguards. But it cannot be denied that these circumstances have generally been lost sight of and the safeguards have not been of much avail, so that in modern times, among civilized peoples, perhaps the Musalmans are more polygamous than others. The authoress looks at the conjugal relation more from the point of view of the propagation and preservation of species and the maintenance of women than from any other. This has prevented her from seeing that even under the most favorable conditions polygamy prevents the development of the finer and finest phases of man's nature in relation to woman and of woman's nature in relation to man. Just as the ideal of womanly virtue is for a woman to be devoted to one man, so is the ideal of manly purity to be devoted to one woman, be she barren or the mother of children; be she sickly or healthy. In a polygamous

society, or in one in which polygamy is or can be practised without legal prohibition or social obloquy, these inter-dependent and complementary ideals of manly and womanly purity cannot reach full development; consequently a certain coarseness of tone as regards the sexual relationship cannot but characterize such a society. The ideal is for one woman to be the devoted wife of one man who is devoted to her alone. The condition of a prostitute is the worst imaginable. She is worse than a mistress, a mistress is worse than the legally married wives of a polygamous man, and these co-wives are worse than the single and only wife of a devoted husband. Of course illicit polygamous relations are worse than legal polygamy.

The Begam Sahiba expresses the opinion that "Virtue in woman should be given the chief consideration in the selection of a wife," and quotes "the following wise words of our Prophet" in corroboration:

"A woman may be married by four qualifications: one, on account of her money; another, on account of the nobility of her pedigree; another, on account of her beauty; the fourth, on account of her virtue. Therefore look out for a woman that hath virtue, but if you do it from any other consideration, your hands be rubbed in dirt."

The authoress also quotes the saying of Muhammad: "The world is provision, and the best provision of this world is a virtuous woman."

All these sayings of Muhammad may be commended to those who exact a "price" for their sons from the brides' parents.

Husbands, irrespective of the religion they profess, will do well to remember Muhammad's saying: "The best man among you is he who is best to his wife." Also the verse in the Quran where it says: "Women are a garment to you and ye are a garment to them." (Chapter ii, 187). The Begam Sahiba's explanation of this last sentence is worth quoting. "As garments are intended to cover person and things to be concealed, men and women are said to be as garments to each other, that they may hide each other's failings; and it need hardly be said how much this duty is necessary to the well-being of society."

As regards the duty of the wife to obey the husband, the authoress writes:—

"The husband is to be obeyed even above the parents. Obedience to parents is enjoined upon all children alike,.....but in view of the rights of the husband, married women are not bound to the same duties towards their parents as their unmarried sisters; for a woman her first duty is to her husband, which is also her highest duty. But it must be remembered that parents or husband shall only be obeyed so long as obedience to them does not constitute a sin in the sight of God. Holy Prophet has said that 'no obedience is due to a creature in respect of any sin against the Creator.'"

Islam allows divorce "only in extreme cases when there is no help left. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said: 'The most hateful of lawful things in the sight of God is divorce.'"

One of the most beautiful things contained in the book is "the following tradition from the Holy Prophet":

"Abu Hurairah reports that a man said, O Prophet of God, who is most worthy to do good to? The Prophet said, Thy mother. He said, And after her? He said, Thy mother. The man said, Then after her? The Prophet said, Thy mother. The

man said, Then again after her? The Prophet said, Thy father." R.C.

THE TALE OF THE TULSI PLANT AND OTHER STUDIES is the title of a book from the pen of Mr. C. A. Kincaid, a Bombay Civilian. The book contains faithful Puranic accounts of the three well-known plants held in high regard by the Hindus, viz., the Tulsi, the Bel, and Sami Tree and a few exceedingly interesting cameos of Maharatta history and Chivalry. The tales regarding the plants are taken from the Puranas as well as from the stories current about them in the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Kincaid's study of Maharatta history has not been with a view to find fault with everything that is Indian. He appreciates the chivalry and heroism of the Maharattas and does not share the opinion with so many European writers of Indian History that Shivaji was a freebooter or those illustrious Maharatta Statesmen and Generals who followed him were actuated by feelings of self-aggrandizement and plunder. The author is thoroughly familiar with the highways and byeways of Maharatta country and history and has tried to put a romantic surrounding to them.

The get-up of the book is good but it bristles with misprints. RANENDRANATH BASU.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE COOKING OF DHOLL (CAJANAS INDICUS) by B. Viswanath, T. Lakshmana Row, B. A., and P. A. Raghunathswami Ayyangar D. A., Assistant to the Government Agricultural Chemist, Madras.

Everyone is familiar with the fact that cooking qualities of different dholls (Rahar in Bengal) like all other pulses, vary considerably. Some cook very quickly and others taking a long time to reach the desired stage and it is the common object of all consumers to have a kind of the former type. The present memoir is one of the publications of the Chemical Series (Vol. IV, No. 5, April, 1916) of the Department of Agriculture in India, Pusa, and the authors have dealt with the following factors affecting the cooking of Dholl:

(1) The effect of the composition of the water upon the rate of cooking.

(2) (a) The influence of the fat content.

(b) Differences in the rates of cooking due to variety.

(c) Differences in the rates of cooking due to methods of preparing the dholl

(3) The influence of various Salts on the liquefaction of Starch.

The following results of their experiments may be interesting.

1. Dissolved Salts, such as are found in natural waters exert a marked influence on the time taken to cook dholl.

2. Calcium and magnesium salts and the chlorides of hydrogen and sodium exert a strong retarding effect. Whereas alkalies and alkaline carbonates have the reverse action.

3. Whether the action exerted by any Salt is a retardation or an acceleration, the effect is approximately proportionate to the concentration, i.e., the harder the water the slower is the rate of cooking.

4. The addition of Sodium bi-carbonate or sodium Carbonate to a hard water materially hastens the cooking.

5. The rate of cooking of dholl is approximately proportionate to the rate of solution of the dholl substance, i.e., to the rate of solution of the proteid and starch.

6. The proportion of proteid to starch dissolved is not constant but varies with different solutions. Alkalies and alkaline carbonates dissolve a greater proportion of proteid than starch as compared with pure water, whereas hydrochloric acid dissolves a greater proportion of starch. In addition, alkalies and alkaline carbonates greatly accelerate the rate of cooking.

7. The rate of solution of the proteid appears to be the factor which mainly controls the rate of cooking.

8. The fat content of the dholl plays a very unimportant part with regard to the rate of cooking.

9. Dholls of different localities have varying rates of cooking.

These results have been obtained under conditions prevailing in south India but the conclusions arrived at, in the opinion of the authors, will hold good generally.

We wish the authors every success in their future investigations.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA, L. Ag.

JAINISM NOT AN ATHEISM AND THE SIX DRAVYAS OF JAINA PHILOSOPHY by Mr. H. Warren, Hon. Secretary, The Jaina Literary Society, London. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Presented by Kumar Devendra Prasad, Editor, The Jaina Scripture Gift series, Arrah (India). Price - A Careful Perusal.

Mr. Warren is an eminent writer on Jainism. The booklet under review contains his two essays originally published in some Jaina periodicals. The first of them which has been translated into vernaculars and distributed among the people, aims at to prove that Jainism cannot properly be called an Atheistic religion as is generally believed. More can be said on both the sides of existence and non-existence of God than what Mr. Warren has actually said in refuting the latter view, but the kernel of his essay is good and right which we are glad to reproduce:—

"Jainism does not deny the existence of God (Paramatman). God is described in Jaina scriptures, but there is a difference between the description of God as given in these books and the description given in the religious books of other faiths. The chief difference is that while God is described in the books of some other faiths as being a creator and ruler, God is not so described in the Jaina books. God according to the Jaina description is an all-knowing and perfectly happy soul with infinite capacities of activity, a pure and perfect soul without any material body, a being that cannot perish or become degenerate."

THE IMPORTANCE OF VEGETARIAN DIET by Chhaganlal Paramanandadas Nanavaty, Assistant Manager, The Bombay Humanitarian Fund, Published by Lallabhai Gulabchand Jhaveri, Honorary Manager, The Bombay Humanitarian Fund, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay. (Intended to be freely distributed.) Pp. 31.

The Bombay Humanitarian Fund alias The Shri Jivadaya-jaana-prakashaka Fund at Bombay is the only well-organised body deserving of mention in India which earnestly advocated the vegetarian diet following the line adopted by the Order of the Golden Age, London (153, 155, Brompton Road, S. W.) of which the Herald of the Golden Age is an organ well-known to those who are familiar with the movement. The booklet under notice is apparently compiled from the

various pamphlets issued from time to time by the said Order of London; and so it supports from various points of view the necessity of vegetarian diet describing the evil consequences of animal food of which the people are completely blind. So rightly observes Sir William Barnshaw Cooper:—"In arts and science, in medicine and surgery, and in social culture, the human race has progressed by leaps and bounds in comparatively recent years, and yet there is one vital question, indeed, the most vitally important of all that still remains almost uncared for, unconsidered, and regarded as of no moment in the economy of human existence. In working out his own earthly destiny, it seems strange that Man should, consciously or unconsciously, overlook and neglect that very thing upon which the material body itself depends for the accomplishment of the great purpose of life—Food.

It has been truly said that the proper aliment of the human body is not in the least understood by our great scientists, and, if this be so, it may well be asked—what is the use of learning, of scientific discovery, and of intellectual development, if the comparatively simple matter of bodily nourishment remains an unconsidered item in the life's economy?"

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

HINDI.

SHREE VAISHNAVA edited by Shree Jagannath Das, Bharatpore. To be had of the Manager of the "Shree Vaishnava", Ajmere. Annual subscription—Rs. 2.

This has now been started as the chief organ of the Vaishnavas and has taken the place of the "Vaidik Sarvasva." The issue under review consists of 29 pages and contains some thoughtful articles besides the usual pages devoted to the present Vaishnava organisation. The poem "Vinita Vinga" is nicely written and instructive. Each issue is priced at as. 5. The journal could have been priced a little less.

AROGYA AUR USKAI SADHAN by Mr. Lakshman Narayan Garde. Published by the Granthaparakashaka-Samiti, Behares City. Crown 8vo. pp. 82. Price—as. 0.

This is a translation of a book written by Mr. Gandhi in Gujarati, which has been much appreciated and has been translated in Marathi as well. The book embodies Mr. Gandhi's personal experiences about health and hygiene and has thus a speciality and attractiveness about it. Simple but most useful hints have been given on all the subjects which affect health. The book does not repeat the stereotyped rules of hygiene and is for that reason particularly fascinating. Mr. Gandhi has devoted careful attention to hygienic rules in his own way. The book will no doubt prove very useful. The style and get-up are good.

SOOM KAI GHAR DHUM by Pandita Rupnarayan Pandeya and published by the Hindi-Grantha-ratnakar office, Hirabagh, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 35. Price as. 3.

This is based on a Bengali farce. A miser who is alive has been proved to be dead by the machinations of certain bullies in spite of his own protestations to the effect that he is alive. The way in which the plot for the purpose has been arranged is very skilful. There is much to laugh at in the book. At last the

miserly habits of the hero are removed and he is a reformed man.

BAL VIVAH KA AIK HRIDAYDRAVAN DRISHYA by Mr. Krishnalal Varma. Published by the Secretary of the Jain Swamimbara Conference at Darwaha, Distt. Yavatmahal, Surur. Crown 8vo. pp. 20. Price—as. 1, Rs. 5 for 100 copies.

The book has ended tragically in the untimely death of a promising young man on account of his early marriage. There is much in the book which will instruct the general public and a distribution of this pamphlet among them can do some real good.

SAYAJI CHARITAMRITA by Pandita Shreeram Sharma. Published by Bhagavaddatta Sharma, Karali Bagh, Baroda. Demy 8vo. pp. 179. Price—Rs. 1.

This is a comprehensive biography of the great Ruler of Baroda, Maharaja Gaekwar. All the aspects of his life have been carefully dealt with and no important feature of his memorable career is overlooked. Occasionally details have been given about the special institutions organised by the Gaekwar. The printing and get up of the book are very nice. A genealogical table of the Gaekwar family has been given and several blocks in the book increase its attractiveness.

UPVAS CHIKITSA by Babu Ramchandra Varma. Published by the Hindi Grantharatnakar office, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 170. Price as. 14. Cloth bound Rs. 1-2-0.

All that could be said on the system of cure by means of fasting has been mentioned in this book and the writer has sought to prove the great efficacy of fasting. It has been suggested that medicines are after all not of much use. The subject has been thoroughly discussed. The book will no doubt be a very nice addition to the medicinal literature of Hindi. The theory propounded in it is not altogether unknown to Hindus, but such elaborate publications based on modern scientific investigations must be very welcome. The get-up of the book is very satisfactory.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

We have received three small books from the Broach Sanitary Association; one is a bulletin giving vital statistics, and the other two, pamphlets on Cholera, and Malarial Mosquitoes. They are written to enlighten people about Sanitary needs.

GRIHINI DHARM by Sankalchand Ranchhod Shah, printed at the Parmar Printing Press, Rajkot. Cloth bound, pp. 55. Price Rs. 0-6-0 (1916.)

The trite sayings about a woman's duty, every now and then paraded, fortified with Sanskrit verses, and expressions worn threadbare by now, find a place in this book; we trust it has pleased its author, if none else.

VAITAL PANCHAVASI, by Jagivan Dayalji Modi, printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. Thick cardboard, pp. 183. Price Rs. 1-3-0, (1916.)

Students of old Gujarati should feel very thankful to Mr. Modi for publishing this book. Till now it was thought, that old Gujarati possessed very little prose but this book helps to remove that impression. This compilation consists of two parts: verse and prose: both treat of the celebrated stories of vaital; the prose portion seems to have been written accord-

ing to the publisher somewhere after Samvat year 1699. It need not be said that it is written by a Jain. We are sure that the text and its modern Gujarati version would prove of use to philologists.

K. M. J.

MARATHI:

GITADHARMA OR RAHASYAKHANDAN by Mr. J. I. Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B., Publisher: The Aryabhushan Press, Poona. Pages 248, Price Re. 1-8.

This is a fairly exhaustive attempt at refuting the interpretation placed on Gita by Mr. B. G. Tilak in his *Magnum Opus* in Marathi, the *Gitarahasya* the appearance of which on the literary stage of Marathi last year kicked up a lot of dust and irritated not a few readers of orthodox type to such an extent that a stream of criticism has been ceaselessly flowing since then both in the press and on the platform all over the Marathi-speaking country. The unprecedented, phenomenal as one would like to say, sale of Mr. Tilak's work is due more or less to several causes, the chief of which, it cannot be denied, is Mr. Tilak's unrivalled popularity and the high position he has occupied in the estimation of the public. But the excitement produced by his work has also an intrinsic reference to the doctrine enunciated and expounded by Mr. Tilak in his work, which has given a rude shock to the popular understanding about Mr. Tilak, who was hitherto looked on as a staunch and blind follower of orthodoxy, and when such a man came forward with an unflinching and unblushing heart to question the correctness of the traditional interpretations placed on Gita by commentators like Shankaracharya and others, orthodox Shastrees and Pundits as well as several graduates of the old way of thought naturally felt the shock as a bolt from the blue and they could not restrain their feeling while giving expression to their indignation chagrin and disappointment much in the same way in which Julius Caesar is said to have uttered his last words 'Et tu Brute!' when he saw his dear friend Brutus dealing the fatal blow to that renowned Roman Consul. The whole controversy which has caused such immense commotion when briefly put, turns on the question whether the Gita preaches Renunciation after attainment of 'knowledge' as Shankaracharya has interpreted it or whether it enjoins Karma Yoga, a life of activity in its restricted sense of disinterested work. Mr. Kolhatkar, the author of the work which forms the subject of this review, follows the line of thought which characterises the Pundit class entirely, and firmly holds the first view and with the whole orthodox world at his back boldly challenges the latter view which is championed by men like Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and other scholars of the new type, and which is so forcibly and clearly voiced for the first time by Mr. Tilak in his work. Mr. Kolhatkar produces no other authority in support of his view excepting the lore of commentators and the inspira-

tion of his unnamed *Guru*. Indeed his confidence in the correctness of his own view based on tradition is so strong and unbounded that it has often overstepped all laws of controversy and set reason at naught. While arrogating to himself the correct knowledge of Vedānta Mr. Kolhatkar has in his overweening confidence denied even a fair modicum of it to his adversary, which is not just. It would be superfluous for the reviewer in a periodical to enter into the details of the discussion which has occupied hundreds of fairly large-sized pages of books written by controversialists. A reviewer can at best attempt to present a resume of such controversy and make a few suggestive remarks about the comparative merits and demerits of the two views placed before him. To my mind there is much of common ground, ground of agreement, between the two seemingly opposite views. Both Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kolhatkar agree in so far that it is knowledge of Self that makes for Salvation or Moksha. The difference comes in when Mr. Kolhatkar asserts that activity after the attainment of that knowledge is neither necessary nor significant. Mr. Tilak, on the other hand, is prepared to concede so far that a man after having attained that spiritual knowledge may not, if he chooses, interest himself in the activities of the world and his choice of an inactive life will surely not come in his way of attaining Moksha, but he would prefer a *Dnyani* to be actively engaged in some self-less work rather than waste the sweetness of life in the desert air of Renunciation, of wrapping himself in contemplation in complete indifference to the interests of the world in which he moves. So that the real question when reduced to such a small dimension is, as one writer has very aptly put it, one of preference, and one really wonders why there should be so much fuss made over such a simple question. Works like the *Gita* have as much a practical value as they have their metaphysical significance, and looking at the peculiar circumstances of India at present, the former, i.e., the practical or ethical value of *Gita* should appeal more to our people. The greatest need of India at present is that of men who look upon the teaching of the *Gita* in its practical light, rather than attach a mere metaphysical significance to that divine song. It is enough for us to see that while interpreting *Gita* in this light of practical use, no violence is done to the sentiment of the original author of the *Gita*. Within these limits modern commentators have as much right to interpret old works as commentators of old like Shankaracharya.

Though Mr. Kolhatkar has completely lost sight of this view in his controversy with Mr. Tilak and consequently his book is devoid of all living interest, still it has its own value inasmuch as his criticism is likely to prove useful in balancing one's judgment and strengthen one's confidence in the possibilities of the future achieved by means of strenuous and self-less disinterested work.

V. G. APTE.

NOTES

Patna University Bill.

WHAT PATNA UNIVERSITY IS
INTENDED TO DO.

In introducing the Patna University Bill Sir C. Sankaran Nair said that "as soon as the new province of Bihar and Orissa was constituted in 1912 it was recognised that in order to make it a self-contained province it was necessary to furnish it with two institutions in particular, viz., a High Court and a University." Previous to this the *Beharee* had written in the course of a leading article:—

We have always pointed out to the public as well as to the Government the absolute necessity of expediting the establishment of the Patna University and this we have done, not because we hate the province of Bengal from which we have separated ourselves, again, not because we dislike the present administration of the Calcutta University, but because we are anxious to make our province fully self-contained. The idea of our having a separate university has its origin in our King-Emperor when he announced the formation of the province of Behar as a separate entity; and thereafter later on when it was more distinctly announced by Lord Hardinge the surmises of the thoughtful people were that the Calcutta University would be the prototype of the proposed one. We had not then clamoured for a name which would be utterly incapable of exercising its controlling influence independent of the bureaucratic influence and to this day when we request our Government to establish the Patna University, we do so with the full knowledge that the University we shall get will be equipped with all the improvements that have made the Calcutta University so distinctly enviable in the eyes of the other Universities. We want a University which should be similar to the Calcutta University.

In the Imperial Legislative Council, when Sir C. Sankaran Nair had finished speaking, Mr. Krishna Sahai of Bihar rose to support the Patna University Bill and observed in the course of his speech: "The establishment of a separate University for Bihar and Orissa will make the province fully self-contained."

It is clear then that both Government and the people of Bihar intend and desire that the Patna University should make the province "self-contained" in education. The use of the expression "self-contained" by Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Krishna Sahai and the *Beharee* alike is rather a curious coincidence. The people also desire, as we

find it stated in the *Beharee*, that the new university should be similar to the Calcutta University.

What is "self-contained"?

The question is, will the Patna University, as it is going to be constituted, make Bihar and Orissa "self-contained"? Even the best and most lavishly endowed universities in the world do not teach all subjects. Cambridge and Oxford do not teach *all* the subjects in which the University of Birmingham, for example, specializes. Harvard does not excel in every one of the subjects in which Columbia excels. Nor are even powerful and prosperous independent countries "self-contained" as regards education. Previous to the war, there were German students in Great Britain and British students in Germany. Technology is certainly not as well taught in Great Britain as it is in Germany. Forestry is another subject in which Germany excels. As regards India, not to speak of any single province, the whole country is not self-contained in education. Government recognise the fact by closing the Imperial Services to all Indians who are graduates of Indian Universities only, and giving appointments in them to a very few who have graduated in foreign Universities.

So, though it is a legitimate ambition to wish to make a province self-contained in education, it is also certain that the Patna University cannot make Bihar and Orissa self-contained in any broad sense. But even in the narrow sense in which the existing Indian Universities have made five provinces self-contained, the Patna University will not make Bihar and Orissa self-contained. For neither from the speech of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, nor from the Patna University Bill itself, can anybody be encouraged to hope that this new University will have anything to do with teaching Medicine, Engineering, or Commerce. In another respect this new University will be glaringly deficient. At present there are collegiate classes in Bankipore and Cuttack for teaching women students up to the Intermediate standard of the Calcutta University. Among the University and

External Colleges which are mentioned in Sir Sankaran Nair's speech and the Bill as constituent parts of the University, we do not find these classes mentioned, nor is there any proposal contained anywhere for the establishment of a Women's College. Unlike Bombay and some other parts of the country, Bihar is a *purdah*-stricken province and even in *purda*-free Bombay people have felt the need of a separate college for women. So in Bihar the co-education of men and women is out of the question. But if there be not co-education there should be arrangements made for the separate higher education of women. At present there may be no demand for the higher education of women among the indigenous population of the province, and the demand among them even for the elementary education of girls may be small; but at least for the girls' schools of the province lady teachers will be required who have received higher education.

The cry of "Bihar for the Biharis" is very popular in Bihar. But how will the province get Bihari doctors, Bihari engineers and Bihari school mistresses in sufficient numbers unless there be a Medical College, an Engineering College and a Women's College as component parts of the Patna University?

It would be a narrow and illiberal policy for any college in any province to close its doors to students from any other province. But no medical or engineering college in any province of India is sufficiently large to admit all the students of the province who want to be admitted; and as a matter of fact every year they have to refuse admission to a considerable number of students. It cannot, therefore, be expected that any such professional college will be able to admit and train a sufficient number of Bihari and Oriya students.

SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE PROVINCE.

In no province of India, and certainly not in Bihar and Orissa, have the people been able to sufficiently exploit its material resources. Industrially the whole country is in a backward condition. For different provinces, the lines of industrial advance may be somewhat different. In the new province large coal-fields and other mineral-bearing areas have been included. What would be more appropriate and necessary than to have a college teaching mining

engineering, mineralogy, metallurgy and allied subjects? Again, there are extensive agricultural areas, producing rice, wheat, sugar-cane, indigo, &c. What is more necessary than to have a faculty of agriculture in the new university with a college devoted to the teaching of the subject? True, we have the college at Pusa. But it does not and will not form part of any university, and does not grant university degrees. There are large forest areas in Orissa and Chota Nagpur, making it extremely desirable to make the highest education in forestry available in the province. Lastly, Orissa has a long sea-coast. When the ancient maritime and mercantile history of Orissa is properly written by some Oriya scholar, the maritime and commercial enterprise and achievements of the province will be fully understood, and her present and future possibilities measured to some extent. If the Oriyas were sufficiently educated and had a government under popular control, they would certainly try to have some good harbours along their sea-shore. A progressive government ought certainly to make arrangements for teaching ship-building and navigation to the people of Orissa.

But the new University is not going to meet the special needs of the province. It will for the most part turn out pleaders and clerks, who are undoubtedly required; but was a new university needed for the purpose?

UNEQUAL FACILITIES FOR THE SUB-PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS.

The province of Bihar and Orissa consists of three sub-provinces with the attached Native states. Their area and population are:—

Sub-province	Area in sq. m.	Population
Bihar	42361	23752969
Orissa	41789	8928316
Chota Nagpur	27679	5754008

The district of Santhal Parganas geographically forms part of Chota-Nagpur, Manbhum geographically and linguistically forms part of Bengal, and a portion of Purna, too, forms part of Bengal. But all these tracts have been included in the administrative sub-province of Bihar, thereby making it appear larger and more populous than it is. Still Orissa contains more than one-third of the population of Bihar, and Chota Nagpur contains one-fourth of the population of Bihar. But Bihar will be served by 5

colleges, Orissa by one and Chota Nagpur by one. Among the Colleges to be entirely supported by Government, two are in Bihar, one is in Orissa (not so well-equipped as Patna College), and none in Chota Nagpur.

But it is when we look at the areas of the sub-provinces that their unequal educational facilities appear still more glaring. Bihar and Orissa are about equal in extent; and if the artificial appendages of Bihar are taken away, Orissa is a more extensive tract than Bihar. But Bihar is to have five times the educational facilities of Orissa. Chota Nagpur has two-thirds the area of Bihar and would appear larger still, if the Santhal Parganas were added to it. But Chota Nagpur is not to have even one-third of the educational facilities of Bihar. The greater part of Orissa consists of small Native States; as the ruling chiefs are mostly like small land-holders, and under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and cannot have separate universities or colleges of their own, we have naturally taken Orissa to mean the whole region denoted by that name, both "British" and "Indian."

In questions of educational facility area is an important consideration. For this reason in official educational reports one sometimes finds it stated that in such and such a province there is one school in every three square miles or in every six square miles. Institutions situated at a great distance from the students' home are not of any use to the majority of them, who are poor. Hence it is important to bear in mind that Government is going to provide in Orissa one college for an area of 41,789 square miles, and no State college in Chota Nagpur but only an aided Christian mission college, for an area of 27,679 square miles. The language of Bihar is not the language of Orissa, and it is but one of the principal languages of Chota Nagpur. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that each sub-province should be sufficiently provided with educational facilities within its own borders.

If we examine the facilities to be enjoyed by the different districts of the province, the number of colleges strike us as extremely inadequate. The five districts or rather towns, of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack and Hazaribagh, out of a total of twenty-one districts, are to

have colleges. At present Monghyr has a college, but it is to be abolished. In Bengal, with which the new province is still educationally connected, there are only about half a dozen districts, like Rangpur, Bogra, Faridpur, Dinajpur, etc., which have not got colleges. But active efforts are being made in Rangpur and Faridpur to start colleges and in a few years, it is to be hoped, that no district of Bengal will be without a college.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION MADE STATIONARY !

The most astonishing feature of the Bill is that it practically makes university education stationary in the province. And this in a province of which Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, with his 17 years of service there, speaks in his presidential address at the Bihar Students' Conference as follows:—

"Bihar has been 50 years behind the other provinces in taking to English education, and must make more exertions than they to come to the front line and take her legitimate place in the march of national progress."

As we are concerned here only with university education, let us see how far behind some of the other provinces of India the new province lags. According to the Bill it is to have only seven colleges. With this figure and some others taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, Vol. V, 1915, we have prepared the following table:—

Province.	Population.	Number of Colleges.
Bengal	45,483,077	51
Madras	41,405,404	39
Bombay	19,672,642	15
United Province	47,182,044	49
Punjab	19,974,956	19
Bihar & Orissa	34,490,184	7

With three-fourths of the population of Bengal the new province is to have less than one-seventh of the number of colleges in the latter. With more than three-fourths of the population of Madras it is to have less than one-fifth of the latter's number of colleges. With nearly double the population of Bombay and Punjab it is not to have even half the number of colleges each of them possesses. With nearly three-fourths of the population of the United Provinces it is to have one-seventh of its number of colleges.

"But," the reader may exclaim, "surely Bihar will have more colleges in the near future as years roll on!" No, if the Bill passes in its present form. For the Bill lays it down definitely that

(2) No educational institution shall be admitted as a college of the University, unless the following conditions are complied with, namely :—

(a) the college buildings are situate within one mile from the Senate House of the University.....

(3) No educational institution shall be admitted as an external college, unless the following conditions are complied with, namely :—

(a) the college buildings are situate in one of the following towns, namely :—Muzaffarpore, Bhagalpore, Cuttack, or Hazaribagh ;.....

It may be contended that in these five towns of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack and Hazaribagh, there may be more colleges in future. Yes, it is *possible*, but not very probable. We shall say why.

It will be conceded that in the new province Government are following a policy with regard to university education which is not more progressive than that followed in the rest of India. Therefore in Bihar Government may be expected not to encourage the establishment of colleges in larger numbers than elsewhere. Patna has and is to have three colleges. Its population is 136,153. No other town in India with a population nearly equal to it, has three or more than three colleges. In fact, the towns of Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, which have more than three colleges each, are more populous than Patna. Though more populous than Patna, Ahmedabad, Amritsar, Benares, Cawnpore, and Karachi, have not got three colleges each. It is, therefore, not probable that Patna will be privileged to have more than the colleges it has, unless the Bill is changed or a more liberal policy followed.

As regards the other college towns in the Province, Bhagalpur is the most populous among them, and its population is 74,349. No town in British India with approximately this population has more than one college. In Bengal, which has more colleges than any other province of India, the only other town besides Calcutta which has more than one college is Dacca, which has a population of 108,551. It is not probable then that Bhagalpur or the less populous towns of Cuttack, Muzaffarpur, and Hazaribagh will have more colleges than one each.

It is a strange principle that the Bill has adopted, namely, that those towns which have colleges now may have more, but those which have not got any must not have even one! This is tantamount to saying, those who are sufficiently or in-

sufficiently fed may have more food, but those who are absolutely starving must not have any! It is almost an accident that some towns have colleges and others have not. Darbhanga is more populous than Cuttack, Muzaffarpur and Hazaribagh, and its Maharaja is sufficiently rich to maintain a college, nay, even a university. Gaya is more populous than Muzaffarpur and Hazaribagh. Why should it not then have a college? Chapra, Puri, Arrah, Bihar, Ranchi, Bettiah, Sasaram, Balasore, Purulia, Jamalpur, Hajipur and Bhadrak are more populous than Hazaribagh. Why should not they then have colleges, if they or some patrons of learning can find the money? In Bengal, not to speak of small towns like Uttarpara, Bankura, Barisal, Comilla, &c., which have colleges, the populous villages of Daulatpur and Hetampur have colleges. In fact, in connection with the location of colleges, the question of the populousness of a place need not arise at all. If a village be healthy and accessible and if the funds for maintaining a college be forthcoming, it would be more preferable to locate a college in or near a village than in or near a crowded town, though crowded towns also must have their educational facilities.

If the relative healthiness of the towns of the new province be considered, we shall find many which are more healthy than those in which there are colleges. In 1915 the annual death-rates per thousand of the five college towns were: Patna 23, Muzaffarpur 39.2, Bhagalpur 22.2, Cuttack 21.2, and Hazaribagh 20.5. Hazaribagh appears to be the healthiest. But there are towns which are healthier than Hazaribagh, and therefore healthier than the other four college towns. We will mention a few with their death-rates per mille in 1915: Deoghar 17.9, Giridih 15.9, Ranchi 14.8, Lohardaga 19.4, Purulia 14.1, &c. We have counted 44 towns with a lower death-rate than Muzaffarpur. It is not then on the ground of superior healthiness that it can have the superior privilege of having one or more colleges denied to many other towns.

Ranchi was once chosen by the Bengal Government to remove the Calcutta Presidency College to. Later it was proposed to start a model college there. But now this very healthy place is not considered worthy to have a college even in the distant future. Another healthy town, Puru-

lia, the healthiest in the province in 1915, has already expressed an earnest desire to have a college. The local organ, *Manbhumi*, wrote on July 10 last, in expectation of the visit of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the town :—

In the whole province of Chotanagpur there is only one college and that is in Hazaribagh which is conducted by the Dublin University Mission. In Orissa there is a Government College, so also in Patna. Can not Chotanagpur rightly claim one for her? The students who pass from this district as well as from Singhbhum choose to go either to Calcutta or to Bankura except those who secure Government scholarship, as they are forced to join the colleges of the province of Bihar and Orissa. But when the Patna University will be opened and the schools of this Province will be affiliated to that University where will they go? They will either have to go to Cuttack or Patna, and we all know how our students are treated there. They are not allowed seats in the hostels attached to the colleges, consequently they have to manage for themselves in a place where they have no acquaintance. It is for these difficulties which beset our students that a Government College should be established at Purulia, which is centrally situated and unlike Hazaribagh having direct railway communication. Would not any one of our esteemed townsmen explain the situation to His Honour?

Nor can the difficulty of controlling and supervising colleges at a distance from the seat of the university be adduced as a ground for practically putting a stop to the establishment of more colleges. If colleges at Hazaribagh and Cuttack can be controlled from Patna, why should colleges in places which are nearer and more accessible be impossible to control? Of course, should it be thought at any time in future that there were more colleges than could be properly supervised and controlled, the remedy of founding one or more new universities could be applied at once. And it is an officially sanctioned and prescribed remedy. For one of the objects of the projected Dacca University is to reduce the number of students under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. And as regards the Patna University Bill, the last paragraph runs as follows :—

The constitution of the new University will enable the Province of Bihar and Orissa to obtain a University of its own, and will effect some reduction in the large number of students now under the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta.

It is to be hoped no official apologist of the Bill will say that seven is the maximum number of colleges which one university can properly guide and control. But should such a absurd statement be made our reply would be : "The time has come

then to give Orissa and Chota Nagpur a separate university each." It is the express desire of His Majesty the King-Emperor that the light of knowledge should brighten the homes of his subjects in all parts of his Empire. No servant or servants of His Majesty ought to stand in the way of the fulfilment of this desire.

We do not say that Colleges can or must be founded all over the province at once. What we do say is that it should be made practicable for every district and every considerable town to have a College; and certainly it should not be made impossible for all but five towns to have a college. How have the districts of Gaya, Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Purnea, Sonthal Parganas, Balasore, Angul, Puri, Sambalpur, Ranchi, Palamau, Manbhumi, and Singhbhum offended, that they are to be by Act of the Governor-General in Council debarred from having colleges? What have the towns of Darbhanga, Gaya, Monghyr, Chapra, Puri, Arrah, Bihar, Ranchi, Dinapore, Bettiah, Sasaram, Balasore, Purulia, Jamalpur, Hajipur, Bhadrak, Madhubani, Mokamah, Kendrapara, Dumraon, Motihari, Purneah, Sahibganj, Sambalpur, Siwan, Jajpur, Deogarh, Buxar, Sheikhpura, Khagaria, Giridih, Katihar, Sitamarhi, &c., done to merit the punishment of being prevented from having colleges?

The Case of Monghyr.

In his introductory speech Sir Sankaran Nair said :—

The Committee had proposed the expenditure of very considerable sums for the improvement of most of the external colleges which will be admitted to the privileges of the University, but here also, owing to the financial stringency, it has been decided to proceed at once on the basis of the colleges as they exist at present.

The Committee were of opinion that the Diamond Jubilee College under private management was a small and weak institution, and the Government agreed with the committee that we would not be justified in spending the very considerable amount that would be required to equip and maintain it efficiently. It has not been therefore proposed to include it in the new university.

This means that most of the external colleges are in an unsatisfactory condition; but the Committee have allowed all except the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr to remain. If their weakness could be tolerated, why could not the weakness of the Monghyr College be tolerated? It may be the weakest college in the province; but

that is no reason why it should be destroyed. This Spartan principle of killing the weak does not commend itself to us. The teaching of Christ is to take particular care of the weak. Christian servants of the King-Emperor ought to follow that teaching. If Government cannot spend money for the improvement of the Monghyr College, why could not the leaders of Bihar, including those of Monghyr, be asked and given time to raise a definite amount to make it equal at least to the weakest among the colleges which have been allowed to remain?

We have spoken of the destruction of the college at Monghyr because according to section 11 of the Bill,

11. Notwithstanding anything in any other law for the time being in force, no University established by Act of the Governor-General-in-Council shall, after the commencement of this Act admit any college to any privileges whatever, and any privileges granted to any college prior to the commencement of this Act, shall be withdrawn on the commencement of this Act.

The Case of Patna.

Sir Sankaran Nair has said that in Patna "no colleges will be affiliated to the university which are not situated within one mile of the council house at Patna." In the Bill the words "Senate House of the University" are used instead of "Council House." We do not know whether the Council House is to be used also as the Senate House, or whether a Senate House is to be built hereafter. In any case, we are not sufficiently conversant with the topography of Patna to be able to say whether within one mile of the Council House there are sufficiently large, open and unoccupied plots for the foundation of colleges. We hope there is no magic in the words "within one mile of the Senate House." In this age of Motor cars and Telephones, perhaps two or four or ten miles would do as well. We know from Sir Sankaran Nair's speech that the Secretary of State had agreed to the establishment of two more colleges at Patna, but the idea had to be dropped owing to financial difficulties. But these financial difficulties may not be everlasting. Therefore there should be some provision in the Bill according to which it may be easy to establish these colleges at Patna when the financial stringency is over. And as the Secretary of State had sanctioned the establishment of a Mission college, the foundation of a Hindu or Sanskrit College and of an Islamic College

ought also to be provided for in the Bill. This is better than to have to pass in future a supplementary Bill for founding one or more colleges.

Self-Government and the Bill.

In reply to a question asked by Mr. B. N. Sarma in the Imperial Legislative Council Sir C. Sankaran Nair said that "the Government of India look forward to an extension of local Self-government, but have not laid down any definite scheme for introduction after the war."

Then again, in the important Circular to Local Governments, addressed by the Government of India on the relation of local bodies to educational institutions within their jurisdiction and on other educational matters, it is said :—

6. As stated above the attitude of the [Decentralisation] Commission regarding the control of education is on the same general lines in respect of all classes of local bodies. Their objects throughout is to give to such bodies a greater share in the control of such classes of education as are entrusted to their care and by so doing to enlist a greater degree of interest and enthusiasm in the educational administration under their charge. They recognised that the majority of educational officers consulted were of opinion that this policy would lead to loss of efficiency but they considered that this view should not prevail against the recognised public policy of educating the people in self-government, and they were further influenced by the consideration that primary education (with which local bodies were chiefly concerned) should be adapted to the needs of the people and that this could best be effected by securing for local bodies more direct responsibility for its evolution and management. This consideration is in accordance with the views already expressed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State and the policy which it represents may be accepted as the guiding principle which, as far as practical conditions permit, should regulate the relations of local bodies toward primary education.

In Sir C. Sankaran Nair's reply to Mr. B. N. Sarma "an extension of local self-government" is stated to be intended by Government. In the Circular quoted above "educating the people in self-government" is declared to be "the recognised public policy." We are, therefore, entitled to ask that this just, statesmanlike and liberal attitude towards self-government be maintained in the case of the Patna University Bill in particular and of University education in the country generally.

The Curzonian Universities Act of 1904 officialised the Universities to a far greater extent than was the case formerly. The Patna University Bill redresses popular

influence to a nullity and makes the official element supreme. So the new university is going to have a much worse constitution from the point of view of self-government than the existing ones. If the Bill is to pass in its present form, it would be better to make the university a department of the Bihar Government in name also as it is to be in reality. There is no beauty or utility in having two authorities in name while in reality there is only one.

We need not repeat our observations in our last issue on the constitution of the Patna University and on other matters relating thereto. The senate should be enlarged to a body of at least 100 members, of whom at least 60 should be elected. Its resolutions should be binding on the syndicate, which latter body should consist of a clear majority of members elected by the senate. The Vice-Chancellor should be an elected officer, as in the Benares Hindu University. He should not have more powers than the Vice-Chancellors of the existing universities. In the Bill he has been made too much of an autocrat and practically a whole-time paid officer of the Government. And it is difficult to see how a mere mortal man, as the Vice-Chancellor would most probably be, would be able to conscientiously and satisfactorily discharge all his duties, which are :—

(2) The Vice-Chancellor shall be the principal executive officer of the University, and shall, when present, preside at every meeting of the Syndicate or of any other University body (except in the Senate when the Chancellor is present) of which he is a member. (3) The Vice-Chancellor shall be charged with the due carrying out of the provisions of this Act and of the Regulations. (4) The Vice-Chancellor shall appoint and control all officers and servants of the University other than the University staff. (5) The Vice-Chancellor shall have the right of visiting and inspecting the external colleges. (6) The Vice-Chancellor shall decide finally all matters of discipline in the University, and such matters of discipline in the colleges of University as are not delegated to other authorities by the Regulations.

The Bill proposes to confer on the Chancellor certain powers which that officer does not enjoy in the other Indian universities.

Irresponsible power can seldom be exercised properly. Not only are checks necessary, but, as no man or body of men can be a repository of all wisdom, help in the shape of criticism, suggestion and advice is also needed. One may say, without possessing any knowledge of their working, that syndicates, as collections of erring mortals,

may sometimes go wrong; but concrete examples of the mistakes and even the perversity of such bodies would not be at all difficult to bring forward. They must therefore occasionally require the help of the senate. But the latter has been made only a deliberative body. It has been lost sight of that men do not deliberate with all their earnestness, intelligence and wisdom when they know that their deliberation would not practically influence the course of affairs. Earnest discussion in the senate, by the elected representatives of the public, of problems of high education, arouses interest in such questions among the people at large and is an effective means of educating them in the consideration of such matters. The public would lose this indirect but important advantage if the Bill passes in its present form.

What the Colleges would teach.

Regarding the standards up to which and the subjects which the university colleges and external colleges would teach Sir C. Sankaran Nair says :—

As to the courses of study it is intended that the University is to undertake the whole of the science teaching of the University colleges at Patna, law teaching and the Honours B. A. and the Post-graduate work in arts subjects. Provision is to be made for a system of intercollegiate lectures in the B. A. pass and so far as is possible in the junior classes at Patna, but the external colleges will teach in arts subjects only up to the Pass B. A. and to the intermediate science in science subjects. As exceptions to the above the Cuttack College will provide teaching for the Honours B. A. and the pass B. Sc., and the Bihar National College will provide teaching for the pass B. Sc. On this question also there was a difference of opinion among the members of the committee. It is, no doubt, possible to give Honours and Post-graduate instruction of some kind at various centres as is now done elsewhere and to so arrange the examinations that the students could pass them without any further or better training, but the majority of the members were of opinion that the higher branches of University study required the scientific co-operation of a number of the best teachers working under the best conditions and a considerable body of students with such natural capacity and so well equipped as to be fit to receive advanced instruction. As these conditions do not exist in the various other colleges nor are they likely to arise, it is believed, for many years to come, the Government have come to the conclusion that the external colleges should teach the various subjects only up to the B. A. pass standards and science subject only up to the standard required for the intermediate examination.

We emphatically and entirely dissent from the conclusion at which the Government have arrived. The power of colleges

to teach any subject up to a high standard is entirely a matter of resources in men and money. Let the university only fix the number and qualifications of the professors required and give an idea of the sort of laboratories and libraries necessary for teaching a subject up to a certain standard. If any college can satisfy these requirements, let it have the privilege of high teaching. It is absurd to take it for granted that only Patna would be found up to the mark. As the Government have so severely limited the number of colleges, it is their bounden duty to equip all these colleges properly, so that they may all be able to teach at least up to the Honours B. A. and Honours B. Sc. standards, which are after all not very high standards. What is the good of keeping these external colleges alive and continuing to call them colleges, if they are to be practically no better than glorified high schools?

Every well-informed educationist knows that even lower standards are taught better and in an inspiring manner, if a master mind does the teaching. The students of the first year class of a well-equipped first grade college may have the advantage of being taught by professors of great ability, but if a college is doomed to teach a subject only up to a low standard, it is but seldom that its students can come under the influence of very able professors. The inestimable advantage of freshmen coming under the influence of master minds is so well understood that at Cambridge and other leading universities many professors who have achieved distinction by original research lecture to freshmen.

Second and third grade colleges are, no doubt, better than no colleges at all. But where the number of colleges is so small, each college should be equipped as a first grade college. It may not be possible to do it now, but it can be done after the war. The present temporary financial stringency can never be a sufficient reason for permanently crippling the external colleges.

The province has an area of 83,181 square miles, that of England being 50,874 square miles. The population of Bihar-Orissa is 34,490,184, that of England being 34,045,290. In England the University of Oxford has 22 Colleges and 3 private Halls, and Cambridge has

17 Colleges and 1 Hall. Then there are the Universities of Durham, London, Victoria (Manchester), Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield. London University has 24 colleges giving instruction in 8 faculties. There are also University Colleges at Exeter, Reading, and Southampton. There are besides seven special Agricultural Colleges in 7 places in England. We do not forget that the new province is not England. But surely one or two colleges, for higher teaching (and that too not very high) are not sufficient to meet even the present demands of a province much more extensive than England and slightly more populous than the latter. Governments as well as peoples ought to have reasonable ideals and legitimate ambitions. We are sorry to find that the Government of India have set before themselves so low an ideal of its educational duties towards the new province.

Regulations.

The Bill lays it down that

(2) The first Regulations shall be framed by the Local Government. The Senate may, from time to time, make new or additional, or may amend or repeal the Regulations.

(3) The Syndicate shall have power to draft and propose to the Senate Regulations to be made by the Senate, and it shall be the duty of the Senate to consider the same.

(4) All new Regulations, or additions to the Regulations, or amendments to, or repeal of, the Regulations, shall require the previous sanction of the Local Government, which may after the opinion of the Syndicate has been taken sanction, disallow, or remit the same for further consideration.

From the character of the Bill it would be easy to guess the character of the Regulations to be framed by the Local Government, and, as official influence is sure to be supreme in the Senate and the Syndicate, the additions and amendments to them or the repeal of any of them is not likely to improve their character to any appreciable extent. Everything coming from an official source is not, of course, to be condemned. But at the same time the utter absence of popular control and criticism cannot be held to be desirable. It would be of some use if the Regulations to be framed by the Local Government were published for public criticism and suggestions.

It is not clear whether the new University will fill its colleges through the door

of the Matriculation or of the school final examination, or whether the Principals will be empowered to impose some other test or qualification on candidates for admission to their first year classes. This is a very important matter, and on it will depend the supply of undergraduates to the University. The popular view is, and it is a just and reasonable view, that the Education Department ought not to have any direct or indirect power to check the spread of high education such as school final examination, may be made to confer on it

Residential Colleges.

In the course of his introductory speech Sir C. Sankaran Nair said :—

The main feature of the scheme is that there should be a central residential and teaching University at Patna. This represents the form of University from which according to the present ideas the best educational results may be expected to follow. Some of the members of the Committee desired to have a University established which was entirely of this description, but the majority were of opinion that there were other considerations which precluded the establishment of such a University. There were several colleges in the province situated at a considerable distance from Patna at which students were being already educated for a University career and from which it was impossible to expect a complete migration of students to a Central University. It was accordingly decided that in addition to the university Colleges at Patna there should be a series of external colleges at various centres outside Patna itself. The Central University at Patna, therefore, and the external colleges are to be united so as to form a single University governed by common regulations and under the same general control.

It is a piece of good fortune that the University has not been made a centralised and purely residential one. Residential Universities and Colleges are more costly than non-residential ones, and therefore they are utterly unsuited to the requirements of an extremely poor country like India. If the Scottish Universities had been residential like Oxford and Cambridge, University education would not have been more widespread there than in England. When Sir C. Sankaran Nair observes that the central residential University "represents the form of University from which according to the present ideas the best educational results may be expected to follow," he merely repeats and echoes the prevailing Anglo-Indian bureaucratic idea, for which there is little justification to be found in the facts of recent

University development in Great Britain, not to speak of the continent of Europe. We are not blind to certain advantages of residential institutions. But if from residential universities alone, according to the latest and most authoritative opinions on the subject, "the best educational results may be expected to follow," how is it that in England, in none of the Universities founded after Oxford and Cambridge has there been an exact reproduction of the form or model of those mediaeval Universities? Englishmen are independent and self-governing. If the residential idea had been the best and most up-to-date they would not have departed or permitted any departure from that idea in any of the new Universities. For the best educational results the residential form is not essentially necessary; but it may be required by the bureaucracy to serve some political purpose of theirs. But that is a different matter altogether.

State Control of Universities.

This brings us to the question of State control of Universities. Anglo-Indian bureaucrats hold that university education in India must be subject to interference and absolute control by the State, if it is to be in any way "effective and efficient." In our opinion that is a wrong view. The following paragraph lends support to our opinion.

At the annual meeting of the University of London Graduates' Association on March 16, the president, Sir William Collins, said that the two cardinal vices of higher education in Germany were the identification of the University with the State by State-appointed and State-paid professors, and the bestowal of degrees by the professors on their own students without independent examination. This led to the worship of the State and a belief that it could do no wrong, and propagated this doctrine in the rising generation.

What is bad in and for Germany can not be good in and for India. May we not hope that British Statesmen and officials in India will not copy from an enemy country any harmful ideas and think that they can be good for the British Empire.

The Patna University Bill, a Menace.

We have written at some length on the Patna University Bill, as we think the educational interests of not only the Province of Bihar and Orissa but of the whole of India may be prejudicially affected by it.

For sometime past there has been a demand, on the part of official and non-official Anglo-Indians, as expressed in their organs, for legislation amending the Indian Universities Act of 1904 in such a way as to still further weaken the power of the non-official Indian element in the senate,—to make it, in fact, a quite impotent factor. The Patna University Bill gives the public some idea of such amending legislation. The bureaucratic method is to introduce retrograde measures first in provinces where public opinion is comparatively less pronounced than where it is more articulate. The Patna University Bill may therefore be taken as the thin end of the wedge. The cause of high education in India would suffer most seriously if the existing universities were fashioned after the model of the Patna University. The quality of high education might or might not, then, improve, but its spread would certainly be arrested.

It is, therefore, the urgent duty of the educated public all over India to discuss the Bill in all its aspects and bearings and to send representations on it to the Government of India.

The Duty of the Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Leaders.

As for the leaders of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, their duty is to make their voice heard distinctly against all the retrograde and obstructive features of the Patna University scheme. They should print copies of the Bill and Sir C. Sankaran Nair's speech, and send them for opinion to such Indian Vice-Chancellors and ex-Vice-Chancellors as Dr. Sundar Lal, Dr. Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Dr. Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, &c., and to the Indian non-official members of syndicates, Indian Principals of unaided colleges and other Indian educationists. When these opinions are received, they should be summarised and forwarded to the Government.

As things are, Bihar is educationally in a very backward condition, Orissa is in a worse position than Bihar, and the condition of Chota Nagpur is the worst. And the Bill proposes to give fixity to this deplorable state of things. Public opinion and the press are not at all strong in Bihar, they are weaker in Orissa and al-

most non-existent in Chota Nagpur. It is all the more necessary, therefore, for the leading men of each of the three sub-provinces to do their part like men. And the weakness of the new province increases the responsibility of the older provinces. Duty towards brethren and self-interest alike require that they should exert themselves to the utmost.

An Educational Circular to Local Governments.

Replying to a question put by the Honourable Mr. Sastri, the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair has made public an important educational circular of the Government of India. It is dated the 19th September, 1916. We have already quoted a paragraph from it in which it is declared to be the recognised public policy of the Government to educate the people in self-government. That declaration is in welcome contrast with the spirit of the Patna University Bill. The whole circular appears to breathe a different spirit, as a few examples will show.

It is proposed in paragraph 488 of the report of the Decentralisation commission that

Divisional "Commissioners should have the power to call for information from Inspectors of Schools, to express views, and to stop any action of the Education Department within their divisions which they consider undesirable. In paragraph 502 it is proposed that every Government college, secondary school, training and technical school should have a Board of Visitors of which the Commissioner, the Collector and the local Sub-Divisional Officer as well as non-officials should always be members, and that no new Government college, secondary school or training or technical school should be started and no alteration should be made in the status of an existing institution without the Commissioner and Collector being consulted. It is further proposed in paragraph 539 that the Collector should always be entitled to call for any information which he thinks fit from any officer of Education Department and to have such information given to him spontaneously in matters of importance.

"The replies of local Governments to show that Commissioners and District Magistrates can, under existing practice, already call for information from educational officers; that there are already facilities for consultation and that important educational schemes are not likely to be initiated without taking the views of executive officers. These arrangements appear to the Government of India to be satisfactory, but they would impress upon local Governments the extreme importance of the recommendations made by the Commission, the advantages of unofficial consultation between executive and educational officers, and the desirability of regarding the Inspector and the District Deputy Inspector as the

educational advisers of the Commissioner and District Magistrate respectively."

The circular then proceeds to observe that *At the same time the Government of India are opposed to any rigid rule whereby a Commissioner can stop action by the Department of Public Instruction as such a rule would tend to substitute official conflict for official co-operation; and by fostering official co-operation it would be possible to render any such procedure superfluous.*

The circular also enlarges the powers of local bodies in respect of primary education.

In their dealings with primary education the Commission would vest local bodies with very considerable latitude in such matters as the provision of buildings, the hours of attendance, the grant of holidays and of prizes, the levy of fees and the disbursement of grants-in-aid. In most parts of India local bodies are already in possession of fairly wide powers in these respects and where this is not the case the Government of India agrees that efforts should be made to evoke the interest of local bodies in primary school administration by the withdrawal wherever reasonably feasible, of such restrictions on their action in respect of the above-mentioned matters as may be at present imposed by local rules or educational codes. As regards the educational establishments the same principle should be observed as that accepted by the Government of India in their resolution of 28th April 1915 on local self-government policy in respect of local establishments generally, namely, that while such matters as have acting and travelling allowances, pensions or provident funds and maximum salaries should be governed by rules prescribed by the local Government, the local bodies should have a free hand in the creation and filling up of appointments and in the punishment and dismissal of the occupants. Similar discretion should be allowed (as is already the case in most areas) in respect of the opening and closing of schools, but it should be understood that the Collector should have power to order the opening of new primary schools where he considers this to be necessary and it will be open to local Governments to require if they so wish, that the closing of a school should be subject to the sanction of the Collector or the Director of Public Instruction.

CURRICULA IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

8. The Commission further recommend the exercise by local bodies of a somewhat similar discretion as regards the adoption of curricula in primary schools. The present practice is for the local Government on the advice of the Department of Public Instruction to prescribe the curriculum, and it is understood that a certain measure of choice of subjects is sometimes permitted. The Government of India desire to see this latter practice emphasised and made more general. Course of various kinds may be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction and the adoption of them with or without any alterations (subject

to the intervention of the Collector in cases where considerations other than educational may be involved) may be left entirely to the local bodies. Text-books which are not approved by the Education Department should not be prescribed without the sanction of the Collector but a free choice should be given for the selection of text books from lists of approved works adopted by the Department, care being taken to prevent too frequent and unnecessary changes.

Biharis and Bengalis in Bihar.

The progress of every province depends on the cordial co-operation of the different sections of its inhabitants, so long as sections exist; and we have no doubt the spirit of co-operation will ultimately prevail everywhere. From this point of view it is a matter of sincere satisfaction to note that that able and public-spirited citizen, Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha, has been returned to the provincial council by a Bihar constituency. Equally satisfactory is the choice of the Bihari students of the distinguished teacher and historian Professor Jadunath Sarkar to preside over their last conference held at Darbhanga. We should have been better pleased if we had not to speak of such occurrences as noteworthy, as they ought to come about quite as a matter of course.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Practical" address.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar calls his presidential address at the Bihari Students' Conference "severely practical." Practical it is, not in the sense of wanting in idealism, but in the sense of showing the way to the realisation of some ideals. The first lesson which students should learn from his address is that they should remain students even when their academic career is over and they "have ceased to prepare for any examination." Prof. Sarkar considers himself a student still. His observations in connection with social service by students should be borne in mind by "leaders," demagogues and journalists.

In this connection, I deprecate the prevailing custom of appealing to the students as if they were the saviours of society and must act as drudges at every work of social utility. Social service of the type I shall describe later, is allowable in a student, and is indeed necessary for the completion of his education; but it should normally be restricted to his leisure hours and should not be out of proportion to his period of necessary toil for school or college.

Regarding the social service which stu-

dents may render without any interference with their proper duties, the professor observes :—

There is one way in which every student can help the expansion of education and thereby repay his debt to the community.....Every young man should during the long vacation privately teach the three R's to ten of his neighbours and thus help to diminish the appalling mass of illiteracy in the country. The cost in primers and slates will work out at 1½ annas per pupil. No great sacrifice is required on the part of the teacher ; all that we need is the spirit of social service in the workers and organisation on the part of the leaders. I, therefore, propose for your consideration that in every town and large village there should be a small local committee, which would enrol the names of volunteer teachers during holidays, supply them with books and slates and furnish reports of their work, showing the number of teachers, pupils and days of actual work, and the cost. Such statistics should be laid before our Conference and printed in its report. The Central Committee should subsidise the work by bearing half its cost, the other half being raised locally.

Our students may also utilise their holidays to spread light in their villages, by talking on sanitation and other useful matters, and keep small stores of medicine for distribution among the poor in cases of emergency or epidemic. Organisation on these lines will yield the happiest results at a small cost.

There is another matter in which our students can influence society and set a very effective example. They can take a vow never to attend a dance by professional women, or a play in which actresses of the disreputable class take part. If this is done, then in a few years, when the young men of to-day will have become the heads of their households, they will refuse to allow *nautches* at any ceremony in their families, and social purity will be easily effected.

In Prof. Sarkar's opinion,

Our supreme need to-day is the modernisation of Bihar,—casting off the methods, habits, thoughts and practices of the declining days of the Mughal empire and Nawabi rule, and adapting ourselves to the modern world, modern methods, modern ideas, and above all, the modern spirit,—that modern spirit, which feels a divine discontent with things as they are, and restlessly seeks to make them better,—that modern spirit which is not satisfied with second-hand information, but tries to penetrate to the very roots of objective truth, by experimenting, analysing, and looking at everything in the focus of light concentrated on it from all directions.

The paragraph which immediately follows the above extract has been taken by some journalists to mean that Prof. Sarkar condemns the endeavour to gradually make the vernaculars the vehicles of instruction in all grades of educational institutions :—

The English language is the key to this modern knowledge, and English literature is the surest medium for acquiring this modern spirit. Judging from the actual growth of our vernaculars as they stand to-day, it will be many years before a fairly high modern education can be imparted *solely* through the medium of our mother-tongue. We must

be taught and examined in a foreign and painfully acquired language. It is an abnormal phenomenon, it is an unpleasant fact ; but it is a fact, and we must face it in our generation, though our children may probably be better off in this respect in their days.

But we do not see any such condemnation here. He rather looks forward to the day when the normal method of instruction through the vernaculars will replace the present "abnormal phenomenon." Moreover, we have not forgotten his article on the Teaching of History in a previous number of this REVIEW, in which he described how he used the vernacular of Bihar to teach history to his students in Patna College. And he says in another part of this very address that Bihar can be modernised "only by imparting modern knowledge, *through the Vernaculars or English.*"

He administers a well-merited rebuke to the "reactionaries, of pretended orthodoxy."

I fail to understand the pessimistic cry that has been raised by some of our elders, "Enough of English education." All the ills of our country are due to it. Replace it by the indigenous teaching of our ancestors." The reactionaries who say so, call themselves lovers of orthodox Hinduism. I am myself a Hindu and I have studied ancient Hindu literature and history. I can say that true Hinduism never shrank from truth of any kind ; true Hinduism produced the universities of Takshashila and Nalanda and the schools of Mithila and Benares. These opponents of English education do not want to go back to the free and fearless quest of truth which marked the period of Hindu greatness, but to the superstitions and slackness of the 18th century, when the Mughal civilisation had lost its vital force and society was sunk in darkness corruption and lethargy. These old women of modern India want to issue an edict like the late Dowager Empress of China, ordering the people to "return to the learning of Confucius," i.e. to be again what they were in 2000 B.C. No greater calamity than this can befall Bihar or the Hindu community.

These reactionaries of pretended orthodoxy are only playing the game of the insidious enemies of India's progress who cry, "Cheap education is nasty and worse than illiteracy." To-day it is needless for me to refute this theory. Every European country has made primary education free and compulsory.

He then examines the question whether college education is necessarily bad when it is cheap.

Take the case of Scotland. Only a hundred years ago, many a poor Scotch student used to go to the Edinburgh University from his village home carrying a sack of oatmeal on his back, hire a small bedroom, keep the sack in one corner of it, and live on the oatmeal. Here was education as cheap as could be imagined. Thomas Carlyle, when a boy of 14, had to walk a hundred miles alone on foot to his university and live there in the same humble style. To-day, no doubt, this "discipline of poverty and self-

denial," as Froude calls it in his "Life of Carlyle," is not so austere; but, thanks to the Carnegie endowment, no Scotch student has now to pay his fees. Is Scottish education, then, nasty because it is cheap? Are Scottish graduates worthless because their entire college expenses do not come up to the price of "the latest flannel checks" of the young aristocrats of Oxford and Cambridge? On this point I shall not presume to say anything of my own, but simply quote a very recent pronouncement of Sir Harry H. Johnston, a distinguished colonial governor, explorer and statesman: "[The present British] politicians, therefore, saddled with the inadequate education I have characterised, acted like the fox in the fable who had lost his tail; they were desirous that we should all be tailless. They, therefore, saw to it that all the avenues to public education were controlled by their contemporaries at Oxford or Cambridge. In short, to such [men] the world-teaching of Oxford was the Ark of the Covenant, just as an education at Eton or Harrow was supposed to make a better officer on the field of battle, a more upright and intelligent minister of state than the education at a Scottish, a Midland or a Welsh University." He then shows how very prejudiced such a view is. English philosophy and the English public services bear witness to the efficiency of cheap Scottish education. When we look around ourselves we find Scotchmen filling the places of all the bankers, jute mill managers and assistants, and marine engineers in India. If these are the deadly fruits of the tree of cheap knowledge as it grows in Scotland, let the tree be transplanted to India by all means; we are ready to risk our lives by eating such fruits.

The professor concludes his address to the students with an inspiring call to idealism.

I have hitherto spoken to you in a practical spirit. But that does not mean that I despise ideals. On the contrary I hold that we shall all be the better for choosing and pursuing a particular ideal for our individual selves, for vowing to live "the life dedicated" as Lord Haldane called it in his Rectorial Address. The outer world may seem hostile to us; our circumstances and environment may be discouraging; but, no true heart will falter for that reason. The ideal will ever be before our mind's eye, though it may be lost to our material vision now and then. To such the noble lines of Matthew Arnold about the scholar-gipsy will ring true:

"Why faintest thou? I wander'd till I died.
Roam on! The light we sought is shining still.
Dost thou ask proof? Our tree yet crowns the hill,
Our Scholar travels yet the loved hill-side, ..
Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
Still clutching the inviolable shade."

The possession of "prohibited" or "seditious" literature made penal.

In our "Notes" in the last number we quoted a paragraph on "seditious literature" from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1915 and observed that it "seems to foreshadow, at least to seek to prove the need of, further repressive legislation." We also ob-

served: "The law of sedition in India is such that classical works and others of undoubted authority and value may be brought under it; and the possession of these may be made penal under the new law indirectly demanded. And if there be an official demand, there will be an official supply."

What we anticipated has come to pass not in the shape of a new Act but in the form of a notification under the Defence of India Act, as the following telegram from Simla published in the dailies will show:

The Government of India have issued a notification under the Defence of India Act prohibiting the possession of documents containing any words, signs or visible representations which instigate or are indirectly (a) the use of criminal force against His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or against public servants generally or any class of the public or any public servant, or (b) the commission or abetment of anything which is an offence against Sections 121-A, 122, 131, 435 and 436 of the Indian Penal Code, or of the offence of robbery or dacoity or anything which is an offence under the Indian Arms Act 1878, the Explosive Substances Act 1908 or Section 27 of the Indian Army Act 1911. No person shall knowingly have in his possession or under his control any prohibited documents in such circumstances as afford reasonable grounds for believing that he is about to publish or circulate such document, and whoever contravenes the provision of this rule shall, unless he can prove that he had such documents in his possession or under his control for a lawful object, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. No Court shall take cognisance of any contravention of this Rule save on complaint made by an order, or under an authority from the Governor-General-in-Council, the Local Government or some officer empowered by the Governor-General-in-Council in this behalf.

Our opinion that even classical works may be considered seditious according to the Indian law of sedition finds support from the following prophetic words of Lord Morley:

Let us look at it as practical men who have got to deal with the government of the country. Supposing you abolish freedom of the Press, or suppress it, that will not end the business; you will have to shut up schools and colleges, for what would be the use of suppressing newspapers if you do not shut the schools and colleges? Nor will that be all. You will have to stop the printing of unlicensed books. The possession of a copy of Milton or Burke or Macaulay, or of Bright's speeches, and all that flashing array of writers and orators who are the glory of our grand and noble English tongue, the possession of one of these under the peculiar and unfair notions of Government will be like the possession of a bomb, and we shall have to direct the passing of an Explosives Books Act. All this and its various sequels and complements make a policy, if you please; but after such a policy had produced a mute, sullen, muzzled, lifeless India, we could hardly call it, as we do now, the

brightest jewel that ever sparkled in an Imperial Crown. No English Parliament would permit such a thing, and the last man to acquiesce in such a policy is Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India.

"The Mecca Revolt."

The Review of Reviews writes :—

THE MECCA REVOLT.

It is quite evident from the Indian press that the Mecca revolt has not commended itself to the Indian Muslims. They say that the holy places of Islam must be held by a strong Muslim Power capable of defending them against any non-Muslim attack. Since the Sheriff who has headed the revolt is not strong enough to maintain his independence, they consider that his action has placed the safety and sanctity of Mecca and Medina in jeopardy. Resolutions to this effect have been passed at meetings convened in Lahore, Lucknow and Calcutta, and Muslim organs like *The Mussalman* of Calcutta have expressed themselves in sympathy with them. *The Statesman* of Calcutta and other Anglo-Indian journals are seeking to discount these views by saying that the agitators represent nobody; but such a man as the Raja of Mahmudabad, who represents the Muslim community of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the Supreme Legislative Council, cannot be so described.

In the present state of affairs it is very difficult to ascertain the true Moslem feeling in the country.

"Impatient" Internationalism.

The following cutting from a Japanese paper will be read with interest:

COLOURS OF THE NATIONS BURNED IN NEW YORK.

Unfurling Banner of International Industrialism.

New York, June 1.—An American flag and the Colours of many other nations were burned to-night in a "melting pot" in the yard of the Rev. Bouck White's Church of the Social Revolution. The "ceremony" was conducted by Albert Henkel, introduced as "an artist." After the Colours had been destroyed, Henkel unfurled the banner of "international industrialism."

The flag burning was preceded by services in the church, at which one of the speakers was the Rev. Mercer Green Johnston, who recently resigned as rector of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church at Newark, N. J., because, he said, some of his vestrymen wanted him to run his church "like a grocery store."

After the church services White announced the congregation would adjourn to the yard and "witness the birth of internationalism."

After a speaker had declared, no moment could be "more auspicious for the merging of all nations into international commonwealth," Heinrich Weber, who spoke in German, renounced the flag of his fatherland and cast it into the flames.

Weber was followed by natives of Great Britain, Russia, Japan, Italy, Sweden, Roumania and Greece, who cast the Colours of their countries into the "melting pot." Then Henkel cast the American flag into the fire.

The "Pan-Turanian" Movement.

A Special Correspondent of the Central News Agency states:—

For some years a new movement has been noticeable in Turkey, known as "Yeni-Turan"—New Turan. Its object is to revive Turkish nationality at the expense of the Moslem religion, and on this basis to unite in a general federation all the Turco-Tartar and kindred races, Bulgarians included. Its promoters are hostile to Islam, on the ground that (so they say) Islam tends to destroy the feeling of nationality, and has prevented the formation of a "Turkish" civilisation: they want to "make the Turkish national soul independent of Islam." Islam in fact, has no place in their programme unless some fragments of it, much modified, are to survive in the new Turkish "national" religion.

The movement has both a literary and a political side. The former seeks, among other things, to glorify the history of the Turanian races: Ghengiz Khan is made a hero and a statesman by those who dream of restoring his empire. The political side concerns the Arab race. Bitter hostility is shown to them. They are a "misfortune" for Turkey; they must be Turkish; their "khands" must become Turkish colonies, their history and customs must be forgotten; above all, their language must be forbidden and replaced by Turkish. All this has been constantly advocated by Turkish nationalist writers, and a Turk preaching in Syria has declared that the existence of the Prophet was a fiction invented by the Arabs.

Yeni-Turan is worked by a society, subvented by the State, known as "The Turkish Hearth"; and behind it are the Committee of Union and Progress, whose leading men are not Moslems in any sense and who, as a Government, have been denounced by Moslems for many acts contrary to the Sheriat.

The movement is, of course, warmly encouraged by Turkey's German task-masters. Since Germany discovered that it was impossible to seduce from their allegiance the great Moslem populations embraced in the Empires of France and Britain, her enthusiasm for Islam has cooled remarkably; while the world now knows (thanks to the capture by the famous circular addressed by the German Government to its colonial agents) that all the time Germany was seeking to destroy the Moslem religion in her late African colonies. Germany, in fact, is to Islam the most dangerous of all enemies, the enemy who poses as a friend.

Information supplied by a news agency is at all times liable to be coloured and vitiated by the political bias of the agency or by the political influence and pressure to which the agency or its correspondent is subjected. This is particularly the case in these days of international strife and hatred. Hence it is not certain to what extent the above description of the Pan-Turanian Movement is correct, or whether there is such a movement at all. All that can be said that such a reaction against Arabian influence must come in some period or other of a Moslem nation possessed of vitality.

There is an element in human genius which is common to all races. Hence the religion and culture of one race may be imbibed by another. But there is also an element of individuality in the genius of each race which distinguishes it from that of other races. The Christianity of all Christian races has the same Semitic origin. But the vigorous individuality of many western races has enabled them to divest their Christianity of what was peculiarly Semitic in it. As for the civilisations of countries like England, France, Germany, &c., they are not derived from Palestine, but largely from Greece and Rome, and moulded by the national genius of the peoples inhabiting those countries. In Moslem countries, Arabian religion and culture still hold supreme sway, though, of course, in actual life an Indian Musalman's beliefs and practices are not identical with those of a Chinese Musalman. There are, no doubt, exceptions, as for example, the Sufis of Persia. Sufism is not Arabian in spirit. Still Musalman nations have less national individuality than Christian Nations.

National movements rest on a firm belief in the fact that on the whole every country was, is, or can be equal to any other country in all essential expressions of the human spirit. For this reason an Indian Nationalist in the widest and truest sense, while not rejecting any truth from any quarter and while advocating world-wide exchange and interdependence in all spheres of human thought and activity, cannot be content to remain forever in spiritual, intellectual, political, industrial, or any other kind of bondage to any nation, ancient or modern. We Indians must justify our possession of a soul, of mind and heart and bodily powers and skill, by expressing ourselves in religion, in art, in science, in philosophy, in literature, in political institutions, in social customs, and various other ways.

If there has been a Pan-Turanian Movement in Turkey, it must be because the Turks or some of them have found that they have souls possessed of individuality distinct from those of the ancient and modern Arabs, and they want their souls to find unfettered expression in all ways.

Rise of Wages in America.

Aynes C. Laut writes in *Maclean's Magazine* that in America

Wages have risen automatically 10 per cent. for unskilled labour all over the country; and skilled labour is commanding prices that seem almost incredible. In some of the munition factories men are earning on piece-work £6 to £8 a day. That is—the workman is in many cases earning as much in a month as he formerly earned in a year. He is earning as much in a month as a foreman, or book-keeper, or teacher, or preacher, earns in a year.

In India, a *mistri* of any sort earning from Rs. 90 to Rs. 120 *per diem* is unimaginable.

Conditions of Legitimacy in Government.

Guizot, in his *Lectures on Civilisation in Europe*, thus describes the conditions of legitimacy in Government:—

"The conditions of legitimacy are the same for the government of a religious society as for that of any other; they may be reduced to two: The first, that the power should attach itself to and remain constantly in the hands of the best and most capable, as far, at least, as human imperfection will allow of its doing so; that the truly superior people who exist dispersed among the society should be sought for there, brought to light, and called upon to unfold the social law, and to exercise power: the second, that the powers legitimately constituted, should respect the legitimate liberties of those over whom it exercises itself. In these two conditions, a good system of forming and organising power, and a good system of guarantees of liberty, consists the worth of government in general, whether religious or civil; all governments ought to be judged according to this criterion."

Royalty the Sovereignty of Right.

The French thinker and historian pursues a similar line of thought in another lecture, where he dwells on that aspect of royalty which is "the personification of the sovereignty of right."

"Royalty is quite a distinct thing from the will of a man, although it presents itself in that form; it is the personification of the sovereignty of right, of that will, essentially reasonable, enlightened, just, and impartial, foreign and superior to all individual wills, and which in virtue of this title, has a right to govern them. Such is the meaning of royalty in the minds of nations, such the motive for their adhesion. Conceive to yourselves the smallest assembly of men, I will not say a people: conceive that assembly under submission to a sovereign who is only so *de facto*, under a force which has no right except that of force, which governs neither according to reason, justice, nor truth; human nature revolts at such a supposition,—it must have right to believe in. It is the supremacy of right which it seeks, that is the only power to which man consents to submit. What is history but the demonstration of this universal fact? What are the greater portions of the struggles which take place in the life of nations, but an ardent effort towards the sovereignty of right, so that they may place themselves under its empire? And not only nations but philosophers believe in its existence and incessantly seek it. What are all the systems of political philosophy, but the

search for the sovereign of right? I affirm, and the interest common sense will acknowledge, that the sovereign of right completely and permanently can appertain to no one; that all attribution of the sovereignty of right to any human power whatsoever, is radically false and dangerous. Hence arises the necessity for the limitation of all powers, whatever their names or forms may be; hence the radical illegitimacy of all absolute powers, whether its origin be from conquest, inheritance, or election..... This principle being laid down, it is no less certain that royalty, in whatever system it is considered, presents itself as a personification of the sovereign of right. Listen to the theocratical system: it will tell you that kings are the images of God upon earth; it is only saying that they are the personification of sovereign justice, truth and goodness. Address yourself to the juris-consults; they will tell you that the king is the living law; that is to say, the king is the personification of the sovereign of right, of the just law, which has the right of governing society. Ask royalty itself, in the system of pure monarchy; it will tell you that it is the personification of the State, of the general interest. In whatever alliance and in whatever situation you consider it, you will always find it summing itself up in the pretension of representing and reproducing the sovereign of right, alone capable of legitimately governing society. There is no occasion for astonishment in all this. What are the characteristics of the sovereign of right, the characteristics derivable from his very nature? In the first place he is unique; since there is but one truth, one justice, there can be but one sovereign of right. He is permanent, always the same; truth never changes. He is placed in a superior situation, a stranger to all the vicissitudes and changes of this world; his part in the world is, as it were, that of a spectator and judge. Well! It is royalty which externally reproduces, under the most simple form, that which appears its most faithful image, these national and natural characteristics of the sovereign of right."—Guizot, *Civilisation in Europe*, Ninth Lecture.

Lincoln on the Paramount Political Purposes of Government.

Having defined the paramount political power of government, Lincoln also defined the paramount political purposes of government in his first message to Congress, delivered July 4, 1861. Mark his words:

"This is essentially a people's contest... It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government *"whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from the shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford to all the unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."*

This is also the English theory of the State, namely, that the state exists for the people. In fact in England the state and the people are practically identical. Though in India that is not yet, still there is no

insuperable difficulty in the way of the state here conforming entirely to the ideal of English theorists and of Lincoln, in opposition to the doctrine promulgated by the German writer Treitschke that the state is greater than the people and the people exist for the state. The English theory is coming to be recognised in India, too, though very very slowly.

Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Fund closed.

The Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Fund is now closed. What further help may have to be rendered, will be given from the balance in the Treasurer's hand. We tender our sincere and respectful thanks to all the generous donors who have enabled us to relieve the distress of hundreds of famine-stricken men, women and children.

Helping the Filipinos to self-government.

The Philippine Islands came under American rule about 18 years ago. The whole of the archipelago is now under civil government. The central government is composed of the Governor-General, who is the chief executive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight Commissioners (three Americans and five Filipinos). The Philippine Commission constitutes the upper house and the *elective* Philippine Assembly the lower house, of the legislative body. The members of the Assembly hold office for four years, and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States, who hold office for the same term. Those are members of the United States House of Representatives, with a voice, but not a vote.

The islands are divided into 36 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special. The government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a governor and two vocals. The governor is the chief executive of the province and presiding officer of the board. *He and the vocals of the board are all elected by popular vote*, just as if our provincial governors and lieutenant governors and their executive councillors were elected by our votes. The government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years. For other details of the advanced state of self-government in the Philippines the readers may consult our notes and

articles in previous numbers and the chapter on the Philippines in Mr. Lajpat Rai's book on the United States of America.

The Jones Bill introduced in the United States legislature proposed to confer complete independence on the Filipinos not later than four years from the passing of the bill. On the wide-reaching effects of the measure, as the Filipinos hoped it would be passed, the Hon'ble Rafael Palma writes in the *Philippine Review* :

The independence of the Filipinos under the conditions proposed in the Jones Bill represents a notable progress, the scope and results of which in the sphere of international politics may not even be understood or appreciated to-day in the United States. It signifies not only an act of reparation, an abandonment of the imperialist doctrine which constitutes the profession of faith of the great powers, but also the adoption of a new dogma that implies the renunciation of acquired rights, where these rights are not founded upon morality and justice. It signifies, moreover, the noble and loyal fulfillment of all the engagements implied in the voluntary acceptance of a trusteeship for the Filipinos, and the inauguration of a new method for the peaceful and legal solution of the question of one people's dependence upon another. It furthermore signifies the reaffirmation of the principle enounced in the Declaration of Independence, that peoples should always be governed by their own consent, never without their consent.

The Jones Bill has not been passed in the form in which it was originally drafted ; but even in the form in which it has become law, of which we are going to give the reader some idea, it would greatly help forward the Filipinos on the road to complete self-government and ultimate independence ; and for this reason the Americans are entitled to a large part of the credit which is implied in Señor Palma's observations quoted above.

The *Springfield Republican* says that it is a fact of importance to Americans that the Filipinos seem to be satisfied with the passage of the Philippine Government Bill for the "contentment of a people with their government is one of the final and conclusive tests of the character of that government." Then, briefly summarizing the bill this journal notes that

in place of the present Philippine Commission, which is abolished, the Filipinos are to elect a Senate. The House is already elected by the people, and, with the election of the Senate, the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about 200,000 Filipinos vote now the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor-General is retained and there is to be a vice-governor, an American, whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor-General. The functions of the legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage, currency, and immigration

laws shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally, all Americans residing in the Islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the Islands. The *Republican* points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence, but simply states "that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a suitable Government can be established therein." Therefore, enlarged powers of self-government are granted "in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

The enactment of this law has furnished the occasion for Mr. Manuel Quezon, Commissioner of the Philippine Islands, expressing himself as follows in a statement which he has issued to the press :

"He flies in the face of history who ignores the fact that no people ever stop or even hesitate in the middle of the road once they begin to struggle for their liberty. Every advance made is an encouragement to take further and faster steps."

"Beginning from to-day we shall use this legislation to remind the American people that they have promised us independence, and when the government provided for in the act is established we shall run that government in a way that will show the world that we are in fact a nation, capable of fulfilling our obligations to ourselves and other peoples, and fully competent to live an independent life. We are bent upon convincing the American people within the next year or two that a stable government can be established in the Islands. Then having fulfilled the condition imposed, independence will be forthcoming."

. United Provinces Conferences.

Recently the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have given proofs of much civil vitality and activity. Not only were there held last month political, social and industrial conferences in those provinces, but, as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani stated in his able, informing and lengthy presidential address at the political conference at Jhansi,

No fewer than four special provincial conferences have been held between the last and the present sessions of our regular annual Conferences—the memorable Conference of the 30th May, 1915, held to protest against the House of Lords' action in regard to the constitution of an Executive Council in these provinces, the Municipal Bill Conference held at Cawnpore, the Educational conference held at Lucknow, and, last in point of time but not the least in importance, the Hindu Conference at Benares. Our grievances remain unredressed and we are alive to the necessity of continued effort, but we may claim without immodesty that the United Provinces can no longer be looked down upon as a sleepy hollow and that, however slow-footed the Government may be, the

exponents of Indian opinion at any rate have fairly awakened to a sense of their public duties

Regarding the future position of India in the Empire Mr. Chintamani said :—

I associate myself wholly and entirely with my esteemed friend the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in an observation he recently made, that we will put up with much suffering before we shall accept the domination of the colonies over us, and I feel sure that in saying this I am expressing the unanimous opinion and feeling of all members and every member of this Conference. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will lose no time in informing His Majesty's Government of this keen feeling of India.

Mr. Chintamani did well to dwell on the deplorable state of education in the U. P., the most deplorable among the major provinces, and to criticise the restrictive policy pursued, in the paragraph quoted below.

In the face of such a situation, which is no credit to anybody concerned and which is a public peril, is it not incredible that a restrictive policy should be pursued in the blameless name of Efficiency, a word which seems to bring much comfort to the mind of the official educational reformer, as the more doubtful word Prestige stands for so much in Indian politics generally? No one of us is an advocate of worthless education, this is only a convenient assumption of officialdom to belittle the value of our criticism of its policy. As our Conference has declared year after year it is our conviction that in the present state of the country and of these provinces, the governing principle of educational policy should be the wider diffusion of education, and efficiency should be secured to the greatest extent compatible with such diffusion. Insist upon elementary board schools if you think that the agency of aided private schools must be discarded, but do not discourage the latter unless and until you open an adequate number of the former. Carry out your policy of restricting the size of classes, but do so only to the extent that the number of schools and colleges allows of your giving effect to it without turning into the street large and increasing numbers of young men who may become desperate in the absence of facilities for education and of sympathy. See by all means that students do not breathe an unwholesome political atmosphere, and bring them up in proper discipline, but do not deprive them or their teachers of legitimate freedom, do not follow a policy of suspicion of all and sundry, and do not think that wisdom lies in substituting departmentalism for popular control in increasing measure. Give our young men better education most certainly—we shall bless you for that—but educate all our young men—an increasing number of them as year succeeds year—and to this end, adopt a policy of freely encouraging and liberally assisting private effort to supplement the resources and activities of the state. And pray cease to treat the department of public instruction as the Cinderella of departments. There are several other departments on which you may practise economy when you are in that mood or under that necessity, not only without detriment to the public weal but with great advantage. If, for instance, you spend a little less on your C.I.D., you will find to your agreeable surprise that you will hear less of

that 'unrest' which apparently gets so much on your nerves. Trust the people, educate the people, be just to the people, and you will be free from all anxiety and your C.I.D. will find its occupation gone.

These words should be pondered over not by U. P. officials alone, but by the bureaucracy all over India; for the educational policy is everywhere the same.

The full meaning and implication of the words, "a situation, which is no credit to anybody concerned," should be properly understood. If the Government have not done their duty to the best of their ability, neither have the people who possess education and means.

Conferences in Bombay.

Bombay has also recently held some conferences. Over the political conference, the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. In the course of his masterly presidential address, he said :—

Is it possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South Africa, with few millions of population, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London? Having regard to the rapidly growing wants and demands of the people and the tremendous progress and changes that India is going through every few years, is it possible to govern India from Whitehall, or Downing Street? To those who know India and understand India, it is clear that she no longer will merely obey, but wants to manage her own affairs. Peace, prosperity and security which satisfied her a decade ago are no longer enough. The Soul of Young India has been roused and it yearns for Political Freedom. However well our physical and material wants may be provided for, that is not sufficient, India wants to raise herself to a status which will command the respect of the Nations of the World for her and which will be befitting her National honour and self-respect. It is not now a question of a few posts; it is no longer a question of a few grievances or reform of internal matters of administration, it is a question of complete change of policy. The question at issue is not merely of details but it relates to the fundamental structure of the Government and we require a statesman to deal with the present situation and re-fashion and re-construct the constitutional form of the Government of India. It is said that there is dissatisfaction in the Country; it is said a Political agitation is kept up which is embarrassing to the Government; it is said that the Home Rule League movement is not desirable; but what is the cause of it all? Surely, those are not merely the signs of an excessive imagination as explained by some people for want of better knowledge. It is quite clear that this is due to the awakened political consciousness of the people, who demand a new polity and resent—and rightly resent—

sion or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to municipalities, district boards or other local bodies.'

But in spite of what appears to us to be a defect in his masterly address, it was a very weighty pronouncement, lucid, reasonable and convincing because of the note of sincere conviction which rang through it. His scheme of provincial autonomy, apart from its intrinsic merit, gains in authority from the fact that it is the constructive demand of an able lawyer, legislator and leader, the president of the first United Bombay Provincial Conference, and the President-elect of the ensuing session of the All-India Moslem League.

The "New India" Cases.

The High Court of Madras has not been able to give any redress to Mrs. Annie Besant in the matter of the forfeiture of the *New India* security. In the other case in which the legal power of the Magistrate to demand security from her was called in question, two of the three judges have expressed the opinion that the Magistrate has acted *ultra vires*, but all the same they have pronounced the opinion that they have no power to undo what the Magistrate has done. Mrs. Annie Besant may have redress by bringing a civil suit against the Magistrate; and that she says she will do.

The Chief Justice of Madras has in the course of his judgment said that the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers in India are extremely hazardous. So they are. Even if Mrs. Besant had won both her cases, it would not have shown that the Press Act of 1910 was not a very stringent and repressive measure. For not many editors have the financial and intellectual resources of Mrs. Besant to be able to fight in the way she has been doing; nor are all of them cast in the heroic mould. Her defeat makes the case against the Press Act stronger. And the divergency in the judgments of the three judges as regards the particular articles in *New India* which have and which have not offended against the Act, shows the extreme uncertainty of the scope of its principal section. If three trained lawyers who are judges of the High Court, can differ so widely, what are we poor editors to do? As things are, our existence depends entirely on the forbearance of the executive. That is a very precarious and

produce good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation :-

There is but one question besides the question of cow-killing and street music which has proved not only a thorny question but an obstacle which kept the two communities hitherto apart. But the solution is not difficult. It requires a true spirit of conciliation and give and take. The Mahomedans want proper, adequate and effective representation in the Council Chambers of the country and in the District and Municipal Boards, a claim which no right minded Hindu disputes for a moment. But the Mahomedans further require that representation in the various boards and Council Chambers should be secured to them by means of separate electorates.

This question of separate electorates has been before the country since 1909, and rightly or wrongly the Mussalman community is absolutely determined for the present to insist upon separate electorates. To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand the demand for separate electorate is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity, to the Mahomedans who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long. Differences in details such as method of securing to Mahomedans their adequate share in the Council Chambers, Municipal and District Boards should not be allowed to create an "impasse" and one side or the other must give in. I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Mahomedans even if it involves some sacrifice in this matter of separate electorates.

The "true spirit of conciliation and give and take" does not appeal to the Hindus alone to *give in*. No Mahomedan leader, so far as we remember, has ever said in what respects, even in provinces or places where the Musalmans are in a majority, they are prepared to be conciliatory and to "give in." Both in matter and manner Mr. Jinnah's views are not such as would promote harmony.

In 1910 Mr. Jinnah's political outlook was perhaps more widely national than now. For in that year he moved at the Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress :

That this Congress strongly deprecates the exten-

humiliating position. The Government of a country cannot be progressive, nor can the people advance, so long as the press is subject to such uncertain and humiliating restrictions. The Press Act should be repealed, and the law of sedition should be altered and liberalised, and brought into harmony with the view that nothing is seditious which does not directly or indirectly foster disloyalty to the sovereign and to the British connection.

Mrs. Annie Besant has rendered signal service to the cause of liberty in general and of liberty of the press in particular by bringing her grievances before the High Court. Her intellectual powers, forensic ability and courage cannot but extort admiration. Her determination to appeal to the Privy Council shows that she will leave nothing undone to make it a fight to the finish. It cannot be a normal state of things which requires anybody to spend so much money and energy and make such sacrifices merely to obtain justice.

One indirect good result of the case relating to forfeiture of the *New India* security, has been the declaration of the Madras Government through their Advocate General that they are not opposed to the propaganda of Home Rule, so long as it is conducted in a proper way. A similar declaration was made by the Bombay Government when Mr. Tilak was made to show cause why he should not be bound down to be of good behaviour. But the difficulty is to find out what in the opinion of the executive would be the proper way. To thoroughly convince the people that Home Rule is wanted and that Home Rule would be better than the present form of administration, concrete illustrations must be given. The danger lies in giving these illustrations. There are officials who are not prepared to admit that what they do can be productive of bad results. There are some others who may allow editors to point out the evil consequences of laws, regulations, ordinances, executive orders, &c. But there are perhaps no bureaucrats who will admit that any of them can have any bad motive in any of their official acts or measures. They draw the line there. They will not allow any ascription of bad motives. But does official position raise men's natures to such a high level that they become incapable of acting from bad or unjustifiable motives? Or are official motives inscrutable?

Public Spirit in the Provinces.

Madras, we believe, is the only province which has regularly held district conferences, and provincial conferences, too, as a matter of course. For some time past it has been ringing with the Home Rule cry. Home Rule literature is also being circulated there widely. In previous notes we have spoken of conferences held in the Bombay Presidency and in the U. P. Home Rule lectures are also being delivered in the Deccan. Mr. Sastri has been delivering Home Rule lectures in the U. P. One wonders what is wrong with Bengal. There is no political activity in this province. Social and Industrial Conferences have not been held here for many a year. There is some social service in the province, no doubt. But that is not a special feature of Bengal. It exists elsewhere, too, and in the Bombay Presidency, judged from this distance, it seems better organised than here. Women's education is a thing to laugh at in Bengal. As Bengalis we should like very much to know in what kind of public activity Bengal is equal to the most advanced of the other provinces.

Can it be said that Bengal is so immersed in the deeper things of life that no surface activity is apparent? We do not know. Is earnestness growing among us? It is difficult to say.

The Non-official Councillor's Memorandum on Post-war Reforms.

The Memorandum presented to the Government of India by nineteen elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council is a very important document. It has been signed by members representative of the lauded aristocracy, who are ordinarily called by Anglo-Indians the "natural leaders of the people," by those who represent the educated middle class and the professions, by Musalman representatives and those who represent Indian commerce. The signatories have taken time by the forelock and have thus shown commendable zeal for the public good. Differences of opinion there must be as regards details. But the essence of the demand for self-government cannot but be endorsed by the whole of this big India. Some of us want more than what the honorable members have asked for, but certainly we cannot be satisfied with anything less.

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